

The Role of Drugs in Terrorism and Organized Crime

■ *by Engin Durnagöl**

INTRODUCTION

Transnational organized crime, drug trafficking and international terrorism, which are described as “new risks” or “non-state actors” are, today, major challenges for internal and international security and stability. Although these three risks are not new, they have become global, multidimensional, and complicated. There is no doubt whatsoever that there is a strong linkage between non-state actors and national, regional and international security issues. For this reason, they have become much more important to understand than ever before if one is to effectively combat these problems.

As Politi (1997) explained, these risks are major obstacles for nations because of some reasons. The first reason is the effect of different factors to the nation-state, from the local level to the global level, but the evolution of new forms of government should not become the victim to forces which will destroy every social, political, and cultural *acquis*. The second reason is that the establishment of democratic governance plays crucial role in new democracies and developing countries. At the beginning, this evolution is especially fragile to these non state actors. If developing countries do not succeed in making the transition, the developed countries will face more serious challenges such as violence, drugs, illegal immigration within their own borders and will have to spend much more money, resources and individual lives, in humanitarian and peacekeeping missions in an attempt to mitigate

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the effects of international neglect. Thirdly, all countries are affected by the new risks. Transnational organized crime and illicit drug trafficking like mushroom are pervasive. All countries are affected by non state actors in other words; no country is immune from these. Transnational organized crime facilitates illegal drugs and immigration, human trafficking which can be thought as a new form of slavery. Fourthly, ordinary citizens are directly affected by mentioned risks and, their political choices are affected as well. If security becomes an obsession for the electorate and governments, rational and tolerant choices might be wishful thinking. Finally, the strategic feature of non state actors is being increasingly underlined by global actors like the United Nations (UN), European Union (EU) and by other security organizations.

Illicit drugs and its trafficking could contribute to terrorism in at least five distinct ways in source, transit and consumer countries. First of all, it supplies cash for terrorism. Second, it creates chaos in countries where drugs are produced, through which they pass, or in which they are sold at retail and consumed. Sometimes chaos is deliberately cultivated by drug traffickers and terrorists and organized crime groups to provide an environment conducive to their illegal activities. Third, it generates corruption in law enforcement, military, and other governmental and civil institutions in some ways such as building public support for terrorist-linked groups or weakening the capacity of the society to combat terrorist organizations and actions. Fourth, it provides services which are useful for terrorist actions and movements of terrorist personnel and material, and also it supports a common infrastructure, such as smuggling capabilities, illicit arms acquisition, money laundering, or the production of false identification or other documents, capable of serving both drug-trafficking and terrorism purposes. Last one is competing for law enforcement and intelligence attention. (Kleiman 2004, CRS-2-3)

In this research paper my aim is to examine the link between drugs, terrorism and organized crime; particularly, the role of drugs in terrorism and organized crime, the answer to why illicit drugs is important for terrorist and crime organizations, why they are interested in the illicit drug business, and what kind of relationships there are between them.

This paper consists of three main chapters. In the first chapter terrorism is defined although it is possible to meet various sources and different approaches regarding the origin and cause of terrorism. In addition to this, international terrorism is examined and the factors have an impact on the international dimension of terrorism is emphasized.

In the second chapter, after defining of organized crime, the simi-

larities and differences between terrorist organizations and organized crime groups are analyzed.

In the third chapter which is called “the nexus of drugs and terror & crime organizations”, first of all, necessary information about illicit drugs and the illicit drug market is given in order to understand its dynamics and the reasons for its success. Then the diffusion of the drug business into the fiber of local and global economic life is examined under the sub-title of “no business like the drug business”. Next, the relationship between organized crime and illicit drugs, and the impact of illicit drugs and transnational organized crime on states, organized crime in drug trafficking are examined. Finally, after examining differences and similarities between terrorists and drug traffickers, the answer is given “why do terrorist organizations interest in drugs and its market?” And “Is there any risk for terrorist organizations in the drug business?”

1. TERRORISM

1. 1. Definition

From the beginning of human history, we can see, more or less, traces of violence and terror everywhere. (Onat 2004, 8) Terrorism is as old as the history of mankind, from sociological, psychological, historical points of view. (Aydiner 2005, 1-7) But the first period of modern-era terrorism dates back to the aftermath of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars.(Derlugian 2006, 425) Violence and terror now have a global dimension. They can no longer be isolated in a particular region, society or group of people. It is now a global issue that mankind has to face. (Onat 2004, 8)

The definition of terrorism is difficult. However, defining terrorism is not a technical one but political issue. For instance “one man’s terrorist is other man’s freedom fighter.” (Derlugian 2006, 418) It is possible to find various definitions of terrorism in different sources. There is no doubt that terrorism is armed violent acts, but there are different approaches regarding the origin and cause of terrorism and what activities are defined as terrorist acts. (Dilmaç 2006, 450)

There are many definitions of terrorism provided by governments and international organizations.¹ Nonetheless, according to the Terror-

¹ For instance, according to the European Parliaments definition (November 2001): “ Each Member State shall take the necessary measures to ensure that the following offences, defined according to its national law, which are intentionally committed by an individual or a group against one or more countries, their institutions or people with the aim intimidating them seriously altering or destroying in the fundamental freedoms, democracy, respect for human rights, civil liberties and rule of law on which our societies based will be punishable as terrorist offences.” (Wilkinson, 2005, 9), and also according to United Nations (UN) Council Resolution 1566, October 2004: terrorism: “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, which constitute offences within the scope of and as defined in the international conventions and protocols relating to terrorism, are under no circumstances justifiable by considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or other similar nature, and calls upon all States to prevent such acts and, if not prevented, to ensure that such acts are punished by penalties consistent with their grave nature...”
<http://www.treas.gov/offices/enforcement/pdf/unsr1566.pdf> (accessed 01, 2008)

ism Act 2000 of the United Kingdom (UK), terrorism is defined as the following:

“Terrorism: interpretation.

- 1) In this Act “terrorism” means the use or threat of action where
 - a) the action falls within subsection (2),
 - b) the use or threat is designed to influence the government or to intimidate the public or a section of the public, and ;
 - c) the use or threat is made for the purpose of advancing a political, religious or ideological cause.
- 2) Action falls within this subsection if it—
 - a) involves serious violence against a person,
 - b) involves serious damage to property,
 - c) endangers a person’s life, other than that of the person committing the action,
 - d) creates a serious risk to the health or safety of the public or a section of the public, or
 - e) is designed seriously to interfere with or seriously to disrupt an electronic system”.

Professor Wilkinson defines terrorism briefly as “the systematic use of murder, injury, and destruction or threat of some to create a climate of terror, to publicize and cause and to intimidate a wider target into conceding to the terrorist’s aims.”(Wilkinson 2005, 9)

Though some journalists and politicians have tried to use it as a synonym for guerilla warfare, terrorism is as a special mode of violence which since the late 1960s, has more often than not been used totally alone, in a pre-insurgency situation. It is this kind of attack-spasmodic bombings, shootings, kidnapping which have been the characteristics of modern pattern in western democracies. (Wilkinson 2005, 9)

Although some try to argue that terrorism is purely a subjective experience and there is not any objective criteria which can be used by society as a whole to distinguish terrorism from other forms of violence, according to Wilkinson (2007) and Dr. Frédéric Esposito (2007, 19) terrorism is obviously a different form of violence from other types of violence and conflict such as riots and street violence or conventional wars. Dr. Esposito also distinguishes terrorism from other types of violence, on the basis of the characteristics formulated by Wilkinson (2007):

- it violates the norms regulating disputes, protest and dissent,
- it is premeditated and designed to create a climate of extreme fear,

- it is directed at a wider target than the immediate victims,
- it inherently involves attacks on random or symbolic targets, including civilians,
- it is considered by the society in which it occurs as “extra normal”, that is in the literal sense that it violets the norms regulating disputes, protest and dissent,
- it is used primarily, though not exclusively, to influence the political behavior of governments, communities or specific social groups.”

The objective of terrorist organizations is different from the ideology they adopt and the country they are active in. General purpose of terrorism seems like to overthrow its target regime and to establish a new system in the light of their ideology. (Dilmaç 2006, 451)

In general we can list these purposes that seem merged into each other as (Dilmaç 2006, 451);

- to coerce the target regime, the political system, and to weaken the existing authority and the thrust of the people towards the state,
- to voice and to draw internal and external attention to their causes,
- to weaken the resistance of the society by means of violence, and to eliminate the negative impact on their cause,
- to damage the unity and the order of the society by bringing the groups that have different cultural infrastructure and understanding face to face to involve them in a fight against each other.

If we think that terrorism is used as a tool to achieve some political and economic benefits, the purpose of terrorism will then be defined in a different way. In such cases purpose of terrorism is to create a specific environment in target country and society to have gains. Terrorists create reactions in accordance with their aim. The most interesting feature of this strategy is the indifferent attitudes of the terrorists towards their victims in all-terrorist activities. Not the acts, but the result of the act is important for the terrorists. (Dilmaç 2006, 452)

1. 2. Terrorism as a Major Challenge

Terrorism also serves ideologies. The vast part of terrorist organizations rising in 1970s had a Marxist background and they identified themselves as part of a revolutionist anti-imperialist movement. (Başeren 2006, 14) Due to movements whose ideology based on Marxist-Leninist doctrines related to political developments (conflicts) after World War II, that time period may be named as Ideological Terror Wave of Terrorism. (Dilmaç 2006, 454) Owing to the fact that Marxist ideology was the source of the international terrorism during the Cold

War Era, it was assumed that terrorism received support from eastern bloc countries. But after the Communism Bloc collapsed, it has become nostalgic. Nevertheless, in various regions there are still some terrorist/domestic movements whose ideology is based on Marxist-Leninist doctrines. (Dilmaç 2006, 454)

After the collapse of the former Soviet Union, and after the threat of international communism was eliminated, the Islamic ideology is now occupies the center of the international terrorism stage. According to the new broad definition, terrorism is radical religious movements, and in accordance with its specific definition, terrorism is based on Islamic radicalism. (Dilmaç 2006, 455)

On the other hand, according to Dilmaç, (2006:455) those who consider the Islamic belief and or the Islamic radicalism as the current and the future source of terrorism exaggerate the issue. Also the Islamic world shows reactions to the identification of terrorism with Islam and governments of the Muslim countries consider that this identification harms the Islamic world and so they do not want the term of Islamic terrorism to be used.

Realities revealed after attacks in the USA on September 11, 2001 which are the biggest terrorism activities known until now, had impact not only on the USA, but also whole world, and the world faced the global wave of terrorism. Although this al-Qaeda based attack was motivated by religion and, due to its international dimension, its asymmetric affects, multinational militant cadre and not being confined to one region or country, it was named as global wave of terrorism. (Dilmaç 2006, 455) There is no doubt whatsoever, 11 September was a turning point in dealing with international terrorism. The attacks showed that terrorism can lead to more casualties and destruction than conventional war conducted with technologically advanced systems. Current security structures are not enough to eliminate this threat and it is impossible to solve this problem just with the security measures. Up to now, terrorist and anti-terrorist activities were considered as regional efforts and were often ignored due to political reasons. Since 9/11 it has become the concern of the international community. For example, European countries raised their awareness on international terrorism after the 11 September and Madrid Attacks in March, 2004. Since terrorist bombs killed 191 people in Madrid, EU politicians have argued strongly in favour of the greater European co-operation in fighting terrorism. The attacks demonstrated that, terrorism in particular radical Islamist groups remain a serious threat in Europe and beyond. (Keohane 2005, 1; Onat 2004, 8)

In the 21st century, terrorism has extended across a wide field, institutionalized, technologically upgraded, and has global influences.

Terrorist organizations broadcast their political message to large audiences via internet, TV and radio networks. They can raise funds and propagate their propaganda. (Aydin 2007, 243) It is agreed that terrorism has gained an international dimension and terrorist organizations, although they do not have very close relations with each other, they have contacts at a certain level. Because many events occurred in the world prove that the terrorist organizations are in cooperation with each other. So, terrorism appears to be not only a problem for a few countries, but also it is a problem affecting whole world. Violence and terror can no longer be isolated to a particular region or society or group of people, it is now a global issue with a global dimension. (Onat 2004, 8) Global terrorism does not necessarily determine specific states or military targets, it can determine any individual or institution or place as a target. In this context, all civil citizens, institutions and administrations view themselves as a potential target. (Çelik and Dağdeviren 2004, 23)

2. TERRORISM AND ORGANISED CRIME RELATIONS

2. 1. Definition of Organized Crime

Transnational organized crime is both a key problem and a very complex phenomenon, overlapping and linked with warlordism and terrorism. Because each one feeds off the other. There is no commonly accepted definition of organized crime yet, owing mostly to the fast development and changing of the forms where organized crime appears. (Dobovšek 1996, 1)

Academics, jurists and police forces are far from agreeing on the definition of transnational organized crime. However organized crime is a category based on several factors: (Bailey and Godson 2000, 599)

- The number of participants perceived scale of illicit operations;
- The level of business development and organizations attributed to the social agents who live off of the illegal business or who at some point participate in that business;
- The danger these participants may pose in specific situations for the existence or effective exercise of the rule of law.

There are many definitions of organized crime provided by governments and international organizations. But according to United Nations Convention on Transnational Organized Crime ²: “Organized criminal group’ shall mean a structured group of three or more persons, existing for a period of time and acting in concert with the aim of committing one or more serious crimes or offences established in accordance with this Convention, in order to obtain, directly or indi-

² For further information about “United Nations General Assembly Resolution 55/25, United Nations Convention on Transnational Organized Crime. Annex I, Article 2, Subsection A, 8 January 2001” see <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/560/89/PDF/N0056089.pdf?OpenElement>

rectly, a financial or other material benefit...”.

Organized crime has many forms and involves a wide variety of criminal activities. For instance, according to Hugo Brady, (2007, 5-6) there are four main types of gangs posing the most serious danger. First, there are the big domestic gangs such as the Italian camorra.³ Second, Albanian, Chinese, Turkish, Moroccan and Russian immigrants have formed violent ethnic gangs in several countries particularly in many EU member-states. This type of illegal organized crime organization accounts for much of the illegal drugs and human trafficking in their host countries and maintain strong links to their home countries. The third kind of group is disorganized crime: networks of perpetrators with little or no fixed organization, hierarchy or location. For example, Nigerian organized crime tends to follow this pattern. These groups may only come together on a crime-by-crime basis. Some may never even meet in person, communicating by phone, or through internet chat rooms or mail. Finally, there are the illegal motorcycle gangs. These gangs operate globally through strictly organized chapters. In this sense, Hells Angels⁴, Bandidos⁵, and Outlaws⁶ are dominant in Europe. These gangs which are active particularly in Belgium, Germany and the Nordic Countries combine strict organization with a large international presence and are involved in crimes ranging from drug smuggling to car theft to human trafficking and contract killings.

2. 2. Similarities and Differences Between Terrorist Organizations and Organized Crime Groups

There are many similarities between terrorist organizations and organized crime groups. According to Uyar, (2006, 560-561) these stands as following:

- First of all, both operate secretly. Although both terrorist groups and criminal organizations have a strong central leadership, they are mainly based on cell structures to achieve their own goals. Day to day operations are carried out by members of small cells.
- Both use violence and produce mostly civilian victims.
- Intimidation and fear are characteristics of both groups.
- They use similar tactics, such as kidnapping, assassination, extortion.
- Terrorist and crime group organizations use front organizations

³ For farther information see: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Camorra> (accessed April 30, 2008)

⁴ For further information see: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/this_world/3311057.stm (accessed April 30, 2008)

⁵ For further information see: <http://www.seattleweekly.com/2006-07-12/news/bad-boys.php?page=full> (accessed April 30, 2008)

⁶ “The Outlaws Motorcycle Club is partly responsible for the proliferation of cocaine in northwest Indiana, as well as Indianapolis. The Outlaws is one of the “Big Four” motorcycle clubs operating in the United States, and it deals mainly in cocaine. The Outlaws was formed in Joliet, Illinois, in 1959 and has approximately 60 chapters in the United States, Canada, Australia, and Europe. U.S. chapters account for 300 members” for further information see. <http://www.usdoj.gov/ndic/pubs0/660/cocaine.htm> (accessed April 30, 2008)

such as legitimate businesses or charities.

- Both uses similar means to conceal profits and fund raising.
- The activities of both groups are in cross the national-regional-transnational divide; both groups require safe havens, and as a result both tend to take advantage of Diaspora communities.
- Both groups are assisted by corrupt officials whose services provide mutual benefits, such as access to fraudulent documents, including passports and other identification and customs documents to smuggle goods and weapons.

Experts and practitioners agree that the structures and practices of terrorism and organized crime continue to evolve and they are increasingly fluid and dynamic. Terrorist and organized crime groups have been more entrepreneurial than law enforcement, they have responded more quickly to changes in technology, markets, regulations and the dynamics of skilled labor markets. Both of them have become more diffuse and difficult to identify as the specialized knowledge and skills of participants are increasingly mobile. Explorations of the swarming characteristics and changing structures and alliances within terrorist and organized crime groups have valuable insights into the diffusion of skills and specialized knowledge for purposes of illicit and terrorist activities. (Mace 2007, 239)

One can distinguish terrorist organizations from other type of organized crime groups, on the basis of the characteristics formulated by Uyar (2006, 561-562)

- Terrorist organizations are generally ideologically, politically, or religiously motivated while organized crime groups are profit-oriented. Unlike terrorist groups that usually have non-financial goals: publicity, dissemination of an ideology, the destruction of a society or regime, and simply spreading terror and intimidation, drug traffickers and organized crime groups first and foremost seek monetary gain.
- Terrorist groups often wish to compete with governments for legality, but organized crime organizations do not.
- While terrorist organizations usually enjoy media attention, organized groups do not.
- In general terrorist victimization is less discriminate than the violence used by organized crime groups.

Although terrorist groups have non-financial goals, the first and foremost goal and aim of organized crime groups is material, financial, monetary benefits. From this perspective for organized crime groups, drug trafficking is the most lucrative way to earn money among their

– legal and illegal- activities. On the other hand, for terrorist organizations dealing with drugs is not a main objective. For them, drug trafficking is a tool to earn money, to motivate militants and to undermine fundamentals of the society, to damage individuals. Otherwise, the huge profit from drugs may shift terrorist organizations towards more typical organized crime business than terrorism. In other words the dazzling revenue of illicit drugs can transform terrorist groups to organized crime.

3. THE NEXUS OF DRUGS, TERROR & CRIME ORGANIZATIONS

3. 1. Illicit Drugs

3. 1. 1. Global Outlook

Around 92 per-cent of the world's heroin (for no other drugs is production so concentrated in a single area) comes from poppies grown in Afghanistan. (UN World Drug Report, 2007) Annual demand for opium is about 4,500 tons. Last year a record of 6,100 tons were produced in Afghanistan alone. That country's production is 30 percent more than the total world demand. (Costa 2007, A17)

According to the UN World Drug Report 2007, in recent years, the world heroin market has been divided into three regional submarkets:

- Afghanistan: its opiates have supplied the markets of neighboring countries, Europe, Africa, and the Middle East.
- South-East Asia: its opiates have supplied the markets of China and other South-East Asian countries, Oceania as well.
- Latin America: its opiates have supplied the North American market.

Most of the world's cocaine comes from coca leaf cultivated in Peru, Colombia, and Bolivia. Cocaine is often trafficked in to Europe via the Caribbean region and, increasingly, via Africa. The total consumer market for cocaine is estimated at 14 million people. While the consumer demand in North America has ceased to expand, cocaine is making worrying inroads into new and growing markets. North America and the EU are the first and the second largest consumer markets for cocaine, respectively. An estimated 250 tones of cocaine enter the Union annually via maritime shipments, air freight and air couriers. In 2004, 75 tones of cocaine was seized in the EU; about 65% of this amount was seized in Spain and the Netherlands. This underlines the prominent role of these countries as entry and subsequent distribution points for cocaine to other Member States. Consumption increased significantly in Europe, doubling or tripling in several countries over the last decade. In Africa, notably in the countries of West Africa, co-

caine use has also increased. (Europol Drugs, 2006)

According to the UN World Drug Report 2007, it is impossible to accurately estimate the location and total number of hectares under cannabis, because it is grown in at least 172 countries. Cannabis is the largest illicit drug marketed by far, including roughly 160 million annual consumers. The widespread nature of production and consumption make it very difficult to define and quantify. The production of cannabis resin (also known as hashish) is concentrated in North Africa (Morocco) and in the South-West Asia/Middle East region, particularly in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Resin production declined strongly, from 3,070 mt in 2003 to 1,070 mt by 2005. Most of this production is consumed in Europe. (UN World Drug Report, 2007)

The largest production areas for methamphetamine continue to be in South-East Asia (including Myanmar, China and the Philippines) and in North America. Traditionally, the majority of methamphetamine in the United States of America (USA) was produced domestically, with the precursor chemicals smuggled into the US via Canada or Mexico. In South Africa, where methamphetamine is produced for the domestic market, both production and consumption have increased. The Oceania region, notably Australia and New Zealand, continue to be important producers and consumers of methamphetamine, but there are no indications that these drugs are exported from there. (UN World Drug Report 2007)

Amphetamine production continues to be primarily located in Europe, notably in the Netherlands and Poland, followed by the Baltic region and Belgium. (UN World Drug Report 2007) "Europe is the world's largest producer of illegal amphetamines, such as 'ecstasy'. Illegal factories produce such drugs in the Baltic states, Belgium, Germany, Poland, the Netherlands and the UK." (Brady 2007, 1) Amphetamine production also takes place in North America (notably in the USA) and in South-East Asia. Ecstasy production also continues to be largely concentrated in Europe, though the expansion of ecstasy production, in recent years, has mainly taken place outside Europe, notably in North America and in East and South-East Asia. Global demand for amphetamines (methamphetamine and amphetamine), which increased strongly in most parts of the world in the 1990s, is now showing signs of overall stabilization. At close to 25 million people, the global amphetamines consumer market is larger than the markets for cocaine or heroin. Between 15-16 million of these users are thought to consume methamphetamine. (UN World Drug Report 2007)

According to the European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction (EMCDDA), after cannabis, the most commonly used drugs in the EU are synthetic drugs, either amphetamine or ecstasy.

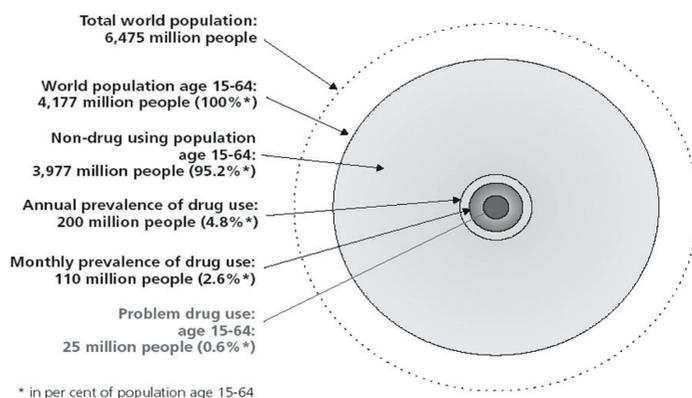
(Europol Drugs 2006)

***Drugs consumption**

As you see on the chart 1, while a huge share of the world's population which is about 5 per cent of the population between the ages of 15 and 64, uses illegal drugs each year, only a little share of these can be considered "problem drug users" (0.6%). (UN World Drug Report 2007)

The second chart shows that about 200 million people use drugs each year worldwide. Not surprisingly, the main problem drugs at the global level continue to be the opiates (notably heroin), followed by cocaine. For most of Asia and Europe, opiates continued to be the key problem drug; in South-America, drug related treatment demand continued to be generally linked to the abuse of cocaine; and in Africa, the bulk of all treatment demand is linked to cannabis. (UN World Drug Report 2007)

Illegal drug use at the global level (2005/2006)



*Annual prevalence is a measure of the number/percentage of people who have consumed an illicit drugs at least once in the month-period preceding the assessment.

*source: UN World Drug Report 2007

3. 1. 3. No business like the drug business

There are few businesses, whether legal or illegal, that are more lucrative than the drug trade. Every kind of drug trafficking offers sufficient profit at each stage of the trade, from cultivation or manufacture through to street-level dealing. It is the idea of profit that encourages the involvement of criminals of all levels. (Europol Drugs Information Bulletin 2003-04, 3)

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development calculated in 1990 that as much as \$122 billion was spent each year in the United States (US) and Europe on heroin, cocaine, and cannabis

which are the most popular illicit drugs. (Stares, 1996, 2-3) “In the 2005 World Drug Report, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) valued the world narcotics trade at some US\$320 billion, a figure in keeping with previous estimates from a variety of sources.” (UN World Drug Report 2007)

	Cannabis	Amphetamine-type stimulants		Cocaine	Opiates	of which heroin
		Amphetamines	Ecstasy			
(million people)	158.8	24.9	8.6	14.3	15.6	11.1
In % of global population age 15-64	3.8%	0.6%	0.2%	0.3%	0.4%	0.3%

According to these figures, the rewards of the drug trade are larger than the gross national product of three-fourths of the world. (Stares, 1996, 3) In other words the drug trade is one of the biggest commercial activities in the world.

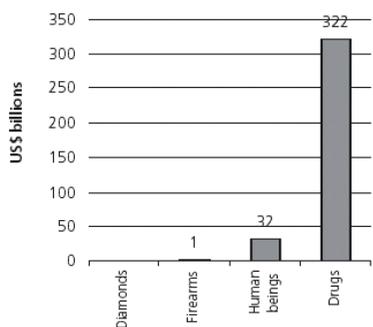
As you see the figure 3, in comparison with other illicit markets, illicit drug trade is also much more profitable. For instance, the International Labor Organization estimated the value of global human trafficking to be US\$32 billion in 2005. Estimates of the value of the trade in conflict diamonds range between 1.5 - 2 per cent and 3 -15 per cent of the overall trade in rough diamonds. Small Arms Survey puts the value of the illegal firearms trade at no more than US\$1billion. The relatively high value assigned to the drug trade is understandable due to the fact that, unlike human beings, diamonds or firearms, the drug supply is consumed each year and in need of continuous renewal. In summary, drug trafficking remains the single most lucrative sector of transnational criminality.(UN World Drug Report 2007, 170)

3. 1. 4. Globalization and drug trade

Globalization has been simply widening, deepening and speeding up worldwide interconnectedness in terms of economical, cultural, political, social, and unfortunately criminal aspects. Worldwide economic integration has intensified as the spreading out of global commerce, finance, and production relations together the destiny of nations, communities, and households, across the world’s most important economic regions and beyond within an emerging global market economy.(Mcgrew 2006, 19-20) The net result of globalization is that the world is becoming more and more “borderless”. Non-governmental and

transnational actors play an ever-growing role in shaping the social, political and economic life of the earth. (Stares 1996, 5)

The drug trade, as a consequence of globalization, has progressively become a more transnational forces and player. In reality, international criminal organizations have arguably been the main beneficiaries of economic integration and liberalization. Hence the global diffusion of technical expertise and internationalization of manufacturing have made it possible to cultivate and refine drugs in remote places of the world and still be within the reach of distant markets. Not only the expansion in trade, transportation network, tourism, but also expanding personal mobility, especially the growth of mass media, and global telecommunications, the growing integration of the global financial system which have provided opportunities to launder money, and invest in other licit or illicit activities has made easier for drug traffickers. (Stares 1996, 6; Patrick 2006, 19)



Source: UNODC, 2005; ILO, 2005; US GAO, 2002; Small Arms Survey, 2002iv

It is a fact that globalization has pros and cons, in other words it has a dark side. As a consequence of overpopulation, it has created desperate conditions, environmental degradation, chronic under development, civil strife, civil war, terrorism, unemployment, and poverty in many parts of the world. On the supply side, dealing with drugs is an easy and profitable economic incentive

for people living under these conditions, to cultivate and manufacture drugs because of livelihood they provide where few alternatives exist.

In the global world, after the end of the Cold War, weak and failing states ⁷ have arguably become the most important problem for international order. Drug trafficking organizations have already created *de facto* sanctuaries in many weak and failing countries. (Stares 1996, 6) “Beyond posing terrorist or proliferation risks, weak, failing and post-conflict states are said to provide ideal bases for transnational criminal enterprises involved in the production, transit or trafficking of drugs, weapons, people, and other illicit commodities, and in the laundering of profits from such activities.” (Patrick 2006, 19)

3. 2. Illicit Drugs and Organized crime

3. 2. 1. The impact of illicit drugs and transnational organized crime

Transnational organized crime, and especially its association with

⁷ For the definition of “weak and failing states” see Patrick 2006, 7-12

drug trafficking, is an obvious threat not only for certain governments but also for all societies for the following reasons.

- Worldwide transnational organized crime and drug trafficking and the production of illicit narcotics are serious security problems and also they are hazard to the foundations of civil society and sovereignty. (Bryan 2000, 2) The economic resources generated by drug trafficking and organized crime are directly and intentionally used for destabilizing the society, the political system, the administration and the economy of a country. (Politi, 1997) The transnational networks attack territorial integrity both within and at the borders of a given country. Whenever organized crime controls an area, transnational organized crime has free access and law enforcement finds a 'no-go' area which is also called 'grey zones' or is anyhow ineffective. (Politi, 1997) The lives lost or ruined during criminal confrontations or by drugs are not only a regular and high cost for a demographically stable population, but also directly or indirectly represent an economic gain for dangerous actors who challenge the authority of the state and the law, from beyond its borders. (Politi, 1997)
- As a symptom of the failure of some economic development strategies and the lack of viable economic alternatives, drug trafficking has a negative impact on an economy. (Bryan 2000, 2) The huge amount of profits engendered through trafficking which can be used to destabilize economies. (A Report of the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies Conference on "Organized Crime" 1999, 19) "Criminal money may also destabilize the financial system of small countries and have a negative impact on savings and economic stability. The accumulated balances of criminal money could represent inflows that are larger than a country's traditional annual inflows; these balances could be used to corner markets and dominate small economies. Furthermore, the proceeds of transnational crime are often invested in ways that are inconsistent with economic fundamentals. If an economy becomes contaminated by money controlled by criminal elements, there is an erosion of confidence in the markets. Moreover, rapid infusion of money from transnational crime may also contribute to the increased volatility of the aggregates in a country's financial system. The money that criminals "invest" is actually flight capital, ready to be shifted via almost instantaneous wire transfer when better or less risky opportunities present themselves elsewhere. Large and irregular activities could distort the economic database, obscure the realities of national fiscal and monetary policies, and complicate economic policymaking. In turn, these could have consequences for

interest and exchange rate volatility. Consequently, containment in the growth of criminal capital formation is perhaps the major challenge confronting the international financial community at the start of the twenty-first century.” (Bryan 2000, 8)

- The illegal drug trafficking and organized crime are the major contributors to corruption in national security. Illicit drug trafficking like transnational criminal activity is also fostering a worldwide “culture of corruption”. Corruption can be a significant tool and facilitator for crime groups that successfully corrupt government and law enforcement officials as well as various legitimate markets and businesses. Corruption is thus a barrier to economic, social, and political development, with repercussions such as the weakening of democracy, loss of integrity in the public services, distortion of the distributive role of the state, and waste of human and financial resources. (Bryan 2000, 7)
- The narcotics trafficking generate and aggravate ordinary crime. (Bryan 2000, 2)
- Illicit drug trafficking promotes substance dependency, diverts national funds. (Bryan 2000, 2) Insufficient and valuable national resources are diverted from infrastructure development, education, and health care to fighting the illegal drug problem.
- Illegal drug trafficking and organized crime creates serious controversy in the relations among states. (Bryan 2000, 2) Many Central and Eastern European countries and some Mediterranean countries have been becoming less reliable partners, owing to the fact that organized crime and drug trafficking are undermining them, even if they might sometimes consider themselves merely countries through which drugs transit. (Politi, 1997)
- Finally, the increasing links between organized criminal groups engaged in drug trafficking and insurgent and terrorist groups. The amount of profits earned through drug trafficking allows for the financing of insurgency movements. (Albini, Raven-Hansen, and Sullivan 1999, 19)

3. 2. 2. The relationship between illicit drugs and organized crime

It is undeniable that there is strong relationship between illicit drugs and organized crime.

For illicit drugs, organized crime is *sine qua non*. In other words, organized crime can exist without drug trafficking but illicit drugs can not live without organized crime. (Politi, 1997) It is a fact that, under the broad definition of the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, almost all transnational drug trafficking is

conducted by organized crime groups. According to the Convention:⁸ “Organized criminal group’ shall mean a structured group of three or more persons, existing for a period of time and acting in concert with the aim of committing one or more serious crimes or offences established in accordance with this Convention, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit...”. It means, that transnational drug trafficking generally requires the involvement of at least three people, it requires some time, and is profit-motivated, so most drug trafficking groups would be considered organized crime groups under this schema. (UN World Drug Report 2007, 170)

For organized crime dealing in illicit drugs is a perfect lucrative activity not only in legal but also in illegal activity. If we look at it from an international context we can see that in general, organized crime groups interest in profitable illegal sectors such as drug trafficking, money laundering, computer crimes, trade in light weaponry, the smuggling of people, commodity smuggling (vehicle theft, theft of intellectual property, “economic” citizenship (illegal passport). But, among these illegal activities, drug trafficking is the single most lucrative sector of transnational criminality. Because as mentioned above⁹ the rewards of the drug trade are larger than the gross national product of three-fourths of the world. Some argue that “the worldwide narcotics trade alone is estimated to be a \$300-500 billion business, on a par with (at the low end) the global automobile industry and (at the top end) with the global oil industry.” (Patrick 2006, 19)

Today drug trafficking groups appear across a broad spectrum. On the one hand, there are the groups which are thought as large, highly-structured, very old groups, the criminal equivalent of a transnational corporation, may be best typified by the Sicilian Cosa Nostra in its glory days. On the other hand, there are the small, elastic and impermanent associations of entrepreneurs and criminal service-providers generally labeled “criminal networks”, of which West African organized crime groups are often used as examples. Even less organized are those groups which, while they may fit the UN Convention definition¹⁰, engage a large number of people who would not consider themselves professional criminals, organized mainly by market forces. While all of these probable play a role in worldwide drug trafficking today, it remains ambiguous what shares of any given drug flow each group commands. (UN World Drug Report 2007, 170)

According to Makarenko, (2002, 6-7) in terms of organized crime groups, there are two main actors in illicit drug trafficking. The first

⁸ For further information about “United Nations General Assembly Resolution 55/25, United Nations Convention on Transnational Organized Crime. Annex I, Article 2, Subsection A, 8 January 2001” see <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/560/89/PDF/N0056089.pdf?OpenElement>

⁹ see “No business like drug business” ph. 14

¹⁰ United Nations General Assembly Resolution 55/25, United Nations Convention on Transnational Organized Crime. Annex I, Article 2, Subsection A, 8 January 2001,

group of actors is drug mafias / traffickers which are identified by their domestic base (they generally do not have an international network in place), and a membership normally restricted to specific clans or ethnic groups. Frequently they engage in unlawful trade at local markets in their particular country of operation. Their role in the drugs chain appears to be restricted to buying raw drugs from farmers and selling shipments to international buyers. Drug traffickers are thus considered nothing more than middlemen in the regional drug trade. Obviously they are motivated by criminal intentions. Drug mafias or traffickers are directly responsible for either distributing opium poppy seeds to local farmers, or for providing farmers with loans to plant opium poppy crops. These loans are then repaid in opium resin which is the raw form of opium. Furthermore, drug mafias constitute the first line of buyers in the international opiate trade and as such, they exercise a considerable degree of influence in countries.. Their situation has been further strengthened by their long-established relations with local elites and warlords. (Makarenko 2002, 6-7)

The second group of actor organizations which engaged in the regional and international drugs trade is transnational criminal. These groups pose very important threat to the region which they are in, as they are composed of a chain of regional and international players including officials in several governments and in the security services. As a result of this, some transnational criminal groups entertain political motivations. As with most criminal organizations operating throughout history, transnational organized crime organizations use corruption and intimidation to establish and exert their influence. Given their membership base – including political, law enforcement, custom and military officials – the scale of intimidation and corruption perpetrated by this group of actors has been extensively more destructive for state and regional security than internal drug traffickers. Having displayed their propensity for using violence, transnational crime groups have established a more secure base from which they could effectively bribe officials. Faced with an option between death or injury to family members and bribery, many government and security officials have chosen the latter, particularly when the threats are combined with enormously low wages. (Makarenko, 2002, 8-9)

Organized crime organizations to deal with drug trafficking also interested in other type of illegal sectors. (Europol Drugs Information Bulletin 2003-04, 4) For instance, for the time being the main uses of computer crime by organized and terrorist organizations are coded communications, the transmission of sensitive documents such as bomb fabrication or drug refining instructions, lists of adult and child prostitution centers, and, of course, money laundering which is intimately connected with computer crime, and represents in part the

intangible dimension of organized crime. Estimates of money laundered annually worldwide amount range from \$300 to \$500bn (30-40% drugs-related). (Politi, 1997) Criminals are continuously trying to enter into new markets and so have adapted drug trafficking networks to facilitate illegal immigration, alcohol and tobacco smuggling and sex slave trafficking into the EU. (Brady 2007, 6)

3. 2. 3. Has organized crime become less organized in drug trafficking?

Crime experts agree that the traditional image of organized crime groups as highly structured, hierarchical entities has become old-fashioned. Increasing emphasis is being placed on more flexible structures involving networks of skilled individuals. (UN World Drug Report, 2007, 171) In its 2006 Organized Crime Threat Assessment report, (The Threat from Organized Crime, 2006) EUROPOL remarks that organized crime groups in the EU are becoming more and more 'heterogeneous and dynamically organized in structural terms, moving towards loose networks rather than pyramidal monoliths'. (Zaitseva 2007)

Moreover, the consensus among experts seems to be that the global illicit drug trafficking has become more complex in recent years, with many groups emerging that are smaller, more flexible and more temporary than they were in the past.(UN World Drug report 2007, 171) "The old images of highly centralized and controlled drug distribution systems have largely disappeared in face of growing evidence of competitive violence and the failure of individual organizations to endure in dominant positions." (Reuter, MacCoun, and Murphy 1990, 23) This decentralization has manifested itself in some new features:

- Diversification of activities: Criminal activities are more and more diversified, with drug traffickers moving other forms of smuggled goods as well, and simultaneously engaging in lawful business. (UN World Drug Report 2007, 171)
- Diversification of personnel: While ethnic relations remain important, many groups involve people of numerous ethnicities and nationalities. If any organized crime organization need expertise which lies outside the group, either alliances may be made with other organized crime groups or individuals, or may be contracted to do the work. Otherwise these service providers may be uninvolved in criminal activity and maintain an image of legitimacy. Furthermore individuals who are from non-criminal backgrounds may be recruited for specific tasks, such as murder. Also gangs from ethnic minority communities may be contracted to do the "dirty work" of majority organized crime groups. Transnational organizations may make alliances with domestic crime organizations to reach a new territory as a destination or a transit zone.(UN World Drug Report 2007, 171)

3. 2. 4. Nationality/ethnicity and organized crime in drug trafficking

Criminal groups may be composed of persons of the same nationality or different nationalities. Most homogeneous organizations that operate in a particular member state are composed of nationals of that member state. On the other hand, by and large, international drug traffickers are composed of nationals from major source or transit countries. For instance Turkish and Albanian groups engaged in the trafficking of heroin; and Moroccan groups playing a role in the importation and distribution of cannabis; Jamaican, Colombian and Antillean groups involved in the importation and subsequent distribution of cocaine. (Europol Drugs Information Bulletin 2003-04, 3) Although there are certainly multinational and multiethnic organized crime and drug trafficking organizations, there remains a strong relationship between ethnicity/nationality and organized crime. Because of the transnational nature of crime, significant shares of the traffickers arrested each year are not nationals of the country where this arrest took place. For instance, of the 11,787 people arrested for cocaine trafficking by the federal authorities in the USA in 2004, 2,373 were foreign nationals (25%), including 1,410 Mexicans (12%). This does not include those US citizens of Mexican descent who are involved in domestic illicit drug markets. Old research has showed that just under half of all federal drug arrestees were Hispanic, and people of Mexican descent comprise by far the biggest Hispanic group in the USA. Likewise, in Ecuador, of the 915 people arrested for cocaine trafficking in 2004, 227 were foreign (25%), including 117 Colombians (13%). In Spain, 34 per cent of cocaine trafficking arrests in 2004 involved foreigners, as did 32 per cent of drug trafficking arrests on the whole. Looking just at major seizures, of the 40 people arrested with more than 100 grams of cocaine in Nicaragua in 2004 and whose nationality was known, 14 were foreign nationals (35%), including eight Guatemalans and five Hondurans. (UN World Drug Report, 2007, 173)

3. 3. Illicit Drugs and Terrorism

3. 3. 1. Differences and similarities between terrorist and drug traffickers

Although terrorists seek political power and the drug traffickers seek profit, there are some similarities between them.¹¹ (Perl 2001)

- Both terrorism and drug trafficking are typical examples of interdisciplinary issues.
- Both operate worldwide and transnational and benefit from

¹¹ For further information see "A National Symposium On Narco-Terrorism", Hosted by the DEA Museum & Visitors Center, Tuesday, December, 4, 2001, http://www.usdoj.gov/dea/ongoing/symposium_transcript.doc, (accessed February 02, 2008)

trends associated with globalization and an open deregulated environment.

- In the world which is a multiethnic, globally interconnected, seamless, both terrorists and drug traffickers try to merge into unsuspecting local, ethnic communities to provide a cover for their illicit activities.
- Both terrorists and drug traffickers operate from base countries or regions not under strong government control. They seek weak states in which to develop and implement operations.
- Both exploit porous borders and seek loopholes in immigration controls. Generally, they seek to take advantage of our trust and open society.
- Both rely heavily on technology to network and avoid detection. Examples include use of the internet, use of encryption technology, use of satellite and cell phones, surveillance and eavesdropping technology.
- Both types of organizations rely on the services of the underworld community. They need forged documents, safe houses, some items like stolen cars, guns, and they need money laundered.
- Both bring violence which is an instrument to an end to cities.
- They both seek to undermine rule of law.
- Both seek to create a climate of intimidation and fear in societies.
- Both are long-term, ongoing phenomena for which there are no quick fixes or all-decisive victories.
- Both indiscriminately target populations. For both the determined drug trafficker and the determined terrorist, it is open season with the general population as fair game.
- Both terrorists and drug traffickers target youth, especially as a source of recruitment to their ranks. Moreover, the determined terrorist often seeks to demoralize and intimidate a society by launching attacks against school children and a variety of youth locales, such as clubs and amusement parks. In the case of drug-trafficking organizations, youth are targeted for recruitment into long-term addiction.
- Both terrorists and drug traffickers seek a world incompatible with democratic principles, with the types of values, with terrorists seeking to destroy Western democracies and the values they represent. Terrorist organizations seek to exploit and subordinate the individual to their rule and ideology. Drug-trafficking organizations seek to exploit and enslave the individual with their

drugs. In societies ruled by terrorists and in societies where drug addiction prevails, individuals are not free to act and develop their potential.

3. 3. 2. Illicit Drugs as Component of Terrorism

3. 3. 2. 1. Drugs as financial resource

For terrorist organizations money is sine qua non. It plays a crucial role in terrorist organizations. They need money for: (Uyar 2006, 506; Poncy 2003,28; Sahin 2001, 19):

- day-to-day operations of terrorist cells, such as buying food, hiring a vehicle or securing lodging,
- weapons or other destructive instruments,
- safe houses and medical treatment for terrorist,
- terrorist training camps,
- illegal and legal psychological propaganda activities, such as postings, booklets, internet, publications, media broadcasting,
- recruiting new terrorist and terrorist supporters,
- telecommunications or this kind of equipment such as computer,
- political support or sanctuary within vulnerable populations or rogue states.
- In terms of financing, the problem is where to find money which they need to continue to operate. The reality is all terrorist organizations are funded from various sources which are not in the same way. These are as follows: (Hardouin and Weichhardt 2003, 10; Uyar 2006, 561)
 - State, nongovernmental or community organizations: Terrorist organizations set up front organizations receiving funds from sister NGO's in other countries or infiltrate established community organizations which receive grants. Besides, in addition to acquiring funding, terrorist organizations use their relationships with state sponsors to get access to secure territory or grey arms networks.
 - Legal investments and legitimate business, diverted charities: Legal business can be used by terrorist organizations and their supporters disguise a variety of criminal activity. Money earned from publications, restaurants, fast food stores etc. is used to acquire enterprises and engage in trade with profits being used to finance of terrorism.
 - Domestic, migrant communities or co-ethnic and co-religious support: Individual and corporate, voluntary contribution or coercive extortion.

- Illegal income generating activities: Fraud, illicit production and smuggling of drugs, kidnapping for ransom, smuggling, armed robbery, money laundering human trafficking and so on.

Among illegal income generating activities, since it is a relatively easy way and more sustainable, mostly, narcotic money catches attention. For terrorists, drug trafficking is quite an easy way to earn significant sums of money, as well as to gather or distribute large sums of cash without being detected by authorities, given the well-organized and hard-to-detect financial networks of the narcotics trade. If one considers that world's drug market is so huge (300- 500 billions \$), this amount will not only sustain terrorist organizations but also entire countries. (Laçiner 2008; Vreja 2005, 93) While the importance of drug trafficking in terrorist organizations in respect to financing has increased, generally speaking, state sponsorship of terrorism has been decreasing significantly as groups find it harder to obtain state support and states not respecting international standards are less willing to risk exposure to broad-based and severe international sanctions. (Hardouin and Weichhardt 2003, 11) It means that there is a strong relationship between terrorist organizations and drugs and the role of drugs in terrorism is getting much more important in terms of financial resources.

In this respect we should ask, how do terrorist organizations earn money from illicit drugs? What kind of links are between them? There is no doubt; there are reasonable links between terrorist and drug traffickers. These links take many forms ranging from facilitation to direct trafficking such as protection, transportation, and taxation by the terrorist organizations itself in order to finance their activity. (Hardouin and Weichhardt 2003, 15) The forms of terrorist groups' involvement in the drug trade vary from selling drugs as such; to collecting taxes from people cultivating or processing illicit drugs on lands that terrorists control; to support from states funded by the drug trade (such as Afghanistan whose former Taliban rulers earned an estimated \$40–50 million per year from taxes related to opium, Syria, or Lebanon). (Vreja 2005, 93)

Another important point is that only a tiny fraction of the world's drug dealing revenues flows to terrorist groups. (Kleiman 2004, CRS-3) According to the Kleiman (2004, CRS-3) "in particular, groups that live by "taxing" or facilitating the production of raw drug crops which is where terrorist groups are most likely to be involved, are dealing with drugs at the point in the supply chain where their value is the least. However, even though only a tiny fraction of the world's drug dealing revenues goes to benefit terrorist groups, that relatively small amount could still be a large fraction of the world's terrorist revenues." Nevertheless, by and large the dynamics of terrorist organizations' involvement in drugs issue are illustrated at three levels: (Politi, 1997)

local tax on illicit crops, involvement in commercial networks and development of international networks.

For instance, in Colombia, although there are a number of terrorist groups operating there, the three largest of which are the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia¹² (FARC), the United Self-Defense Groups of Colombia¹³ (AUC), and the National Liberation Army¹⁴ (ELN) which is the smallest and least-powerful of the three groups are all interested in illicit drugs. Revenue that they receive from narcotics cultivation, taxation, and distribution provides at least half of the funding that the FARC and AUC rely on to support their terrorist activities. (Mccarthy 2003; Hutchinson 2002) In Afghanistan the Taliban, the ruling authority at the time, benefited from the institutionalized taxation of heroin trafficking by taxing and, in some instances, being involved in drug trafficking. Taxation was institutionalized to the extent that they actually issued tax receipts when they collected the revenue from the heroin traffickers. Undoubtedly, at the same time, the al-Qaeda network flourished from the safe haven provided by the Taliban. (Hutchinson 2002) The al-Qaeda terrorist organization appears to have received millions of dollars per year through the production and distribution of opium. The opium grown in Afghanistan was smuggled through bordering states in Central Asia with a view of reaching the international market. (Hardouin and Weichhardt, 2003, 14)

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam¹⁵ (LTTE) is deeply involved in massive drug trafficking with the Burmese regime in making and distributing heroin. The LTTE employed a number of money raising methods, one of which is the drug business. There are many reasons for the LTTE to get involved in the drug business. First feature is their geographical position, and operational areas. Second, they have operational bases, offices, and cells in 54 countries, some of them are main drug producing countries such as Burma, Afghanistan, Cambo-

12 "Established in 1964 as the military wing of the Colombian Communist Party, the FARC is Colombia's oldest, largest, most capable, and best -equipped Marxist insurgency. The FARC is governed by a secretariat, led by septuagenarian Manuel Marulanda (a.k.a. "Tirofijo") and six others, including senior military commander Jorge Briceño (a.k.a. "Mono Jojoy"). Organized along military lines and includes several urban fronts. In February 2002, the group's slow-moving peace negotiation process with the Pastrana administration was terminated by Bogota following the group's plane hijacking and kidnapping of a Colombian Senator from the aircraft. On 7 August, the FARC launched a large-scale mortar attack on the Presidential Palace where President Alvaro Uribe was being inaugurated. High - level foreign delegations - including from the United States - attending the inauguration were not injured, but stray rounds in the attack killed 21 residents of a poor neighborhood nearby" for further information see: U.S. Department of Homeland Security U.S. Customs and Border Protection Office of Border Patrol. 2004. Terrorist Organization Reference Guide. <http://www.mipt.org/pdf/terroristorganizationreferenceguide.pdf> (accessed April 30, 2008)

13 For further information see: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Self-Defense_Forces_of_Colombia (accessed April 30, 2008)

14 Marxist insurgent group formed in 1965 by urban intellectuals inspired by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara. Began a dialogue with Colombian officials in 1999 following a campaign of mass kidnappings -each involving at least one US citizen to demonstrate its strength and continuing viability and force the Pastrana administration to negotiate. Peace talks between Bogota and the ELN, started in 1999, continued sporadically but once again had broken down by year's end." For further information see: U.S. Department of Homeland Security U.S. Customs and Border Protection Office of Border Patrol. 2004. Terrorist Organization Reference Guide. <http://www.mipt.org/pdf/terroristorganizationreferenceguide.pdf> (accessed April 30, 2008)

15 "Within only three decades, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam has emerged as one of the most feared terrorist organizations in the world. They have assassinated heads of states and set up a global network to fund their terrorist activities. The Tigers spun a massive web. It ranged from the northern Sri Lanka to North America, there to Europe where ethno-religious and linguistic ties facilitated operations." For further information see: (Sahin 2001, 52-68)

dia. Third, the LTTE operates a shipping fleet containing deep sea going ships, which is capable of not only shuttling between India and Sri Lanka, but charter operations. Fourth, 500,000 Tamil expatriates residing mainly in the developed drug consuming countries, which could help the LTTE operate in this countries easily carry out their secret drug business. Finally, their weapons trade and smuggling activities exercised on the same roads as heroin does. Many of these arms routes pass over, either directly or very close, the major drug producing and transit centers, including Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, southern China, Afghanistan and Pakistan. (Sahin 2001, 63-69)

Another example, in Peru, through a tax on drug trafficking, Sendero Luminoso¹⁶ which is also called “Shining Path” gets an average of \$5,000-10,000 (or the equivalent in arms) from Colombian ‘narcos’ for each small aircraft transporting drugs, with an estimated annual gain of around \$10 million.(Politi 1997; Hutchinson 2002)

In Europe, one of the most important regions of the huge market, Kurdistan Workers Party¹⁷ (PKK), time to time, has controlled 80 % of the drug market. At the beginning of 1980’s, the PKK started to act in both producing (hemp and opium poppy around the Lebanese camps such as Baelbek and Hermen that were under Syrian control) and transportation sectors of illegal drug business. In these years, because of Turkey’s lucky geographic position which is one of the most crucial routes for the European drug market, the PKK realized the huge wealth by controlling drug trafficking between the East and the West. Therefore, it began its operations by allowing transition and sustaining “security services” for ordinary smugglers. It was not difficult for the PKK to secure international drug transportation in the region and drug dispatching and distribution. Because “the PKK did not need an exclusive organizational structure to deal with drugs, its already existing migrant Diaspora of supporters in European countries was the necessary tool for street dealing and further, major drug [mainly heroin] routes toward the consuming zones were passing through its area of operation” (Sahin 2001, 39) and also it was organized almost in every district and villages of eastern Turkey, and in Istanbul and other western big cities in Turkey and Western European countries in which PKK had thousands of members and huge sympathizer network that assist it in drug business. Some times Kurdish immigrants were forced to help the PKK’s drug businesses in Western European cities.

16 Shining path: one of the most violent, ruthless and successful terrorist group among all the others was emerged in the Peruvian department of Ayacucho, high in the Andes, long ignored and the most impoverished in the country. It is one of the less known terrorist groups owing to its policy of silence rather than interacting with media which created an aura of mysticism blended with fear. For further information see: (Sahin 2001, 68-81)

17 “Founded in 1974 as a Marxist-Leninist insurgent group primarily composed of Turkish Kurds. The group’s goal has been to establish an independent, democratic Kurdish state in the Middle East. In the early 1990s, the PKK moved beyond rural-based insurgent activities to include urban terrorism.” For further information see : U.S. Department of Homeland Security U.S. Customs and Border Protection Office of Border Patrol. 2004. Terrorist Organization Reference Guide. <http://www.mipt.org/pdf/terroristorganizationreferenceguide.pdf> (accessed April 30, 2008)

As there was no effective second group organized as the PKK within a short time, the PKK strengthened its power in the European drug market in terms of production, transportation, distribution and marketing. After capture of Abdullah Ocalan who was the head of the PKK, the organization began to give more importance to drug business than before. (Laciner 2008)

“According to Interpol, in 1992, the PKK was orchestrating 80 % of the European drug market. This relationship was in the fields of processing, transportation, securing transportation, distribution, and marketing. With reference to 1992 Interpol data, the number of Kurdish organizations related with drug business was 178; and most of them were under the PKK control or they gave tribute to the PKK. İkbâl Hüseyin Rivzi, Interpol’s chief narcotics officer, explained that the PKK was heavily evolved in drug trafficking as a means to support terrorism in Turkey. At the same year, the reports of the Italian police clearly showed that the PKK set up special teams for international drug business. German high rank officials also stated that the 75 % of heroin caught in this country in 1994 was belonging to Kurdish origin Turks. Moreover, 70 % of drug sale in Germany was made by the PKK. Other sources similarly indicate that the PKK controlled between 60 % to 70 % of the European illegal drug market in 1994. The number of the imprisoned PKK members related with drug crimes in Germany was 30 in 1994. In the same year, the amount of the captured PKK drug was nearly 1.6 ton.” (Laciner 2008). According to Laciner, (2008) “... the PKK has developed by narcotic money. In the mean time, a new kind of mafia emerged in drug, smuggling, and tribute \ robbery areas. This formation, can be called as ‘PKK mafia’, has developed its own mentality beyond terrorist organization’s classic mentality.”

In general, there is a strong relationship between terrorists and organized crime groups which is called crime-terror nexus by Makarenko. Terrorist groups may themselves sell drugs for cash, or “tax” drug producers to get sufficient funds to finance their campaigns or arm the guerillas. So called narcoguerillas appear at the third link of the drug-crime nexus. In this context, a much discussed question concerns the links between illicit drug-trafficking organizations or trafficking itself and terrorism or insurgent groups in terms of financing operations, gaining political support or undermining an existing government. (Sahin 2001, 16) According to Makarenko, (2002) the crime-terror nexus refers to a security continuum that places traditional organized crime on one end of the spectrum, and terrorism at the other. In the middle of the spectrum is a gray area where organized crime and terrorism are indistinguishable from one another. There is huge gray area between legal and illegal transactions, a gray area that the illicit traders have turned to great advantage. (Naim 2006, 2) Again according to Makarenko (2002) the fulcrum of the spectrum refers to

three separate situations. First, it refers to traditional criminal organizations that initially use terror tactics as an operational tool, normally to get rid of competitors, but subsequently to seek political objectives (for example: the Russian mafia, Albanian criminal groups). Second, the fulcrum of the crime-terror nexus refers to terrorist groups who initially use criminal activities as a source of financing, but subsequently transform the focus of their ideological beliefs from political to financial (for example, Abu Sayyaf, the FARC). Finally, it may be applied to contemporary civil wars in which factions have evolved from basing their motivations on religion and ideology to crime (for example, the diamond wars of Sierra Leone and Angola). In Afghanistan and Central Asia the entire crime-terror continuum is represented. Thus, in addition to providing a base for organized criminal (drug mafias) and terrorist groups (al-Qaeda), this region is also home to groups that simultaneously appear to be criminal and terrorist in nature (the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan).

3. 3. 2. 2. Drugs for motivation

It is a fact that terrorists do not want and support drug use among their cadres [except for a motivational tool for suicide actions] and in the society they have been fighting for. (Sahin 2001, 85) But some times terrorist organizations use drugs as a motivational tool for suicide action and to encourage terrorists for certain actions against enemy targets. Drugs make this kind of an action easier. I do not argue that drugs play a main role in this type of motivation but perhaps has a secondary role. This method for the motivation is not new and surprising, because when we look at the history of terrorism we can see the example of the first narco-terrorist organization which was called Assassins. Hasan ibn-al-Sabbah (1034-1124) commonly known as Hasan-i-Sabbah was the first grand master of the order of Assassins. His feared organization's sinister name came from its member's ritual use of the drug hashish, which is called in Arabic hashshashin.¹⁸

Also for terrorist organizations drugs provide economic motivation, because people join terrorist organizations not only for their political, ideological or religious aim but also for economic reasons. For some terrorist coming from a poor family who is unemployed, being in a

¹⁸ "Hassan Ben Sabbah conditioned and organized a band of fearless political killers which had never seen before. His method of indoctrination was unique. He constructed a secret garden and furnished it with all the delights promised in the Koran to the faithful when they reached paradise. The chosen were drugged, one or two at a time, and taken to this garden by night. When they woke up in the morning they were surrounded by beautiful and scantily clad hours [in Muslim belief, women who live with the blessed in paradise] who would minister to their every need and desire. After being allowed to savor this false but pleasant and sensual paradise for a day or so, they were again drugged before being taken back to awaken in their own squalid hovel or cave dwelling. To them, it was as if it had been a vivid dream. Ben Sabbah then sent for them, told them Allah had given them a preview of paradise, and surprised them by telling exactly what each had been up to while in the secret garden. So successful was he in this method of conditioning and indoctrination that it was said he once astounded a visiting emir whom he wanted to impress with his power by sending for one of his men and ordering him to kill himself which he immediately did. When an Assassin was sent out by ibn-al-Sabbah to carry out some violent death, the Assassin was just as dedicated. So convinced were the Assassins that they would be rewarded in paradise that they never hesitated to fulfill their missions of murder, even though this often meant their victims' bodyguards would kill them immediately afterward" <http://www.skewsmc.com/assassin.html> (accessed April 01,2008)

terrorist organizations is a way to earn money for their family. For them, being a member of terrorist organizations is a financial issue. They provide money coming from the drug trade to their poor family, wife or children to provide a better life, health and education for them. From this perspective, terrorist organizations need much more money to keep terrorist militants within terrorist organizations. Besides thanks to the money coming from illicit drugs, the leaders and high level rulers of terrorist organization get rich, and gain affluence which provides them with prosperity and luxury. This is another important aspect of the role of drugs in terrorism.

3. 3. 2. 3 Drugs as a weapon against enemy

As I mentioned above, it is an undeniable fact that, on the macro level, drug trafficking and the production of illegal narcotics such as heroin, cocaine, cannabis are a security problem as well as a hazard to the foundations of civil society and to sovereignty. It is also a indication of the failure of some economic development strategies and the lack of viable economic alternatives. (Bardy 2007, 2-3) It undermines public safety, law and order. On the micro level; drug abusers become slaves to their habits. They are no longer able to make a payment to the community. They do not have healthy relationships with their partners, friends, families and society. They are no longer able to use their full potential to create ideas or to energetically contribute to society, which is the genius of democracy. They become weak because of the mind-numbing effects of drugs. The entire soul of society is undermined and democracy is diminished by drug use. (Hutchinson, 2002)

For this reasons, some terrorist organizations use illicit drugs as a weapon to make living environment and society insecure, to undermine the foundations of civil society and sovereignty, to make people and the younger generation some sort of slave, to create an unhealthy individual, generation, society. As an evidence for this, Deborah McCarthy says that “Unlike other crime, drug trafficking often has a two-fold purpose for some terrorists. Some terrorists do not only obtain operational funds through drugs, but also believe they can weaken their enemies by flooding their societies with addictive drugs. So while certain terrorist groups are increasingly involved in organized rackets in kidnapping, piracy, weapons trafficking, extortion, people smuggling, smuggling of cigarettes and other contraband, financial fraud, or other crimes, drug trafficking occupies a special position both in terms of profitability and as a perceived direct weapon used against the United States and certain other countries. Some terrorist groups in particular use this argument to rationalize their involvement in illicit activity to their membership or support base.” (Mccarthy, 2003)

Another example for this situation is what British Prime Minister Tony Blair stated: the “arms the Taliban are buying today are paid

for with the lives of young British people buying their drugs on British streets”, and subsequently added that the Taliban and Usama bin Laden “jointly exploited the drugs trade.” (Makarenko 2002, 1)

3. 3. 2. 4. Drugs for political influence

When we look at the purpose of terrorism we can see that it is to create a specific environment in target country and society. They want to win the public’s heart and mind in the target society which they have been fighting for. In the sensitive society which is against and suffers from drugs, they can manage to take their hearts and minds by combating drugs and its trafficking. That is kind of propaganda to influence public opinion.

For instance “the Provisional IRA, largely on moral grounds, has always refused to deal in drugs of any kind, and they have been at the forefront of an underground war both the north and south of Ireland aimed at undermining the distribution network of drug dealers, but they use drugs to gain political influence. Kneecapping and kidnapping drug dealers has become commonplace, and the IRA calculated that, by attacking the drug business, they will win support among the more conservative working-class groups, who will then tend to view them more as guardians of the community than as terrorists. At the end, they shared the profits of drug dealers and smugglers in a way that also supplied them substantial political support.” (Sahin 2001, 85)

3. 3. 3. Pros and cons analysis

Although illicit drugs and drug trafficking have got kind of values, benefits, they are not purely ways for terrorist organizations to use and make money because of some reasons.

Firstly, drug trafficking is not a secure way for terrorist and their illegal organizations to earn money. Because, not only terrorism and organized crime, but also illicit drug and its trafficking as an internal and international security problems are on the top of the list in the international arena. In the world, “the war on illicit drug” has been started by the developed states such as the US and international organizations such as the UN and EU. So, in comparison with the other terrorist organizations which are not involved in drug trafficking, the terrorist organizations which are involved in drugs can come across police forces much easier. The risk can be doubled in the drug trafficking.

In this sense another problem is that the links between some terrorists and drug trafficking may create exploitable vulnerabilities for the terrorist groups involved. Drug traffickers frequently offer information about one another to investigators, both to damage their commercial rivals and to build up their “favor banks with enforcement agencies, either for general future use or as a way of avoiding being charged in

a pending case. Terrorist groups generally have much less occasion to employ such tactics.” (Kleiman, 2004, 11)

Secondly, it can be detrimental for their human and financial resources and reputation. Terrorist organizations have a specific aim based on political, religious and ideological values which might be against drugs and drug trafficking. Because of its specific aim the people which are called sympathizers or supporters try to support them by different ways such as propaganda, charity etc. If well educated and conscious supporters or sympathizers learn this situation:

- They do not give money or logistic support.
- They, who are against drugs and want to be a member of terrorist organizations, may not be supporters anymore.
- Illicit drugs lead to confidence problem between supporters and terrorist organizations. Therefore for the terrorists, to make terrorist propaganda might have negative effects.

Besides governments, local authorities may use anti propaganda against terrorist organizations involved in drugs or its trafficking in a sensitive society against drugs in terms of psychological war on terrorism at national and international level. It could easily be argued that terrorist are not “freedom fighters they are just drug traffickers...” or “they abuse ideological, religious and political values and innocent people’s sense to make money...” or “they are poisoning our children, our generation to earn money...” by showing enough evidence to the public and to other nations and international organizations. Also this is another negative consequence of dealing with illicit drugs for the reputation of terrorist organization.

Thirdly, some states support terrorist organizations directly or indirectly by giving financial and logistic support or giving secure access to secure territories because of some reasons, such as historical, ideological, religious, ethnicity etc. In this sense they can defend themselves from international sanctions by using logical reasons due to lack of common definition of terrorism and its ambiguous character. But as I have mentioned above, the international community is now so sensitive about illicit drugs and terrorism. Under these circumstances, in comparison with the terrorist organization which is not involved in drug trade, it might be very difficult to conduct state-sponsored terrorism if that also means supporting narco-terrorist organizations.

It is true that, there is always organized crime groups in the place in which illicit drug trafficking exist. Because they are like “twin brothers”. Drug trafficking needs organized crime groups. As I have mentioned above illicit drug and organized crime groups create chaos, security problems, corruption, crime, fear, instability etc. No state wants to see these kind of problems in its territory and society. If the

state giving secure access to secure territories for terrorist groups learn that a terrorist group is involved in drug trafficking, the state would withdraw its support. Therefore terrorist groups may lose their secure territories. For these reasons, illicit drugs have negative effect on the relationship between terrorist organizations and supporter states. They can lose their supporters state because of illicit drugs.

Finally, terrorist organizations might be degenerated by illicit drugs because of its dazzling revenue. In the course of time, terrorist organizations can lose its political, ideological, or religious aim which makes them different from organized crime groups and might be transformed to organized crime organizations and their members can become drug traffickers. Because “in the case of drug organizations, the trade often becomes addictive to the people or the organization involved in the trade. And the danger to organizations such as al Qaeda, Hezbollah, or the FARC is that the trade becomes institutionalized and impossible to break away from.”(Perl 2001) “It is not surprising that in effect armed movements ‘degenerate’ and sink in the vicious circle of criminalizing resources. Beyond possible tactical alliances with criminal organizations, the most worrying feature is that armed movements acquire more and more ‘Mafia’ characteristics precisely because they become engaged in drug trafficking. The drawback for these movements is that in the longer run their legitimacy will be increasingly eroded in the eyes of dominated populations.” (Politi 1997)

In summary, terrorist organizations involved in the drug business have both advantages and disadvantages. There is no doubt dealing in illicit drugs is the most lucrative way to make money for terrorist organizations. On the other hand we can not say that it is a secure and harmless way to earn money. Nonetheless, the disadvantages of illicit drugs are outweighed by its advantages.

4. CONCLUSION

Transnational organized crime, drug trafficking and international terrorism are three main risks that must be fully included in the strategic picture of the world and European security.

According to the definition of the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, almost all transnational drug trafficking groups are also organized crime groups. Because transnational drug trafficking generally requires the involvement of at least three people, it requires some time, and is profit-motivated, so most drug trafficking groups would be considered organized crime groups under this schema.

It is very difficult today to distinguish pure terrorist activities from other organized crime activities. Owing to the fact that terrorist benefit from the same methods, criminal organizations exploit access to

financial resources to commit their activities; terrorists also cooperate with other criminal organizations and they adopt both criminal and ideological objectives side by side. Mutual financing methods dissolve terrorists' economic structures within organized crime organizations. In this sense, terrorist groups can be considered some type of organized crime or "suigeneris organized crime". Of course it is not the same as ordinary organized crime. The main difference between terrorist and organized crime groups is that terrorist organizations are generally ideologically or politically, religiously motivated while organized crime groups are profit-oriented. Although terrorist groups have non-financial goals, for organized crime groups the first and foremost goal and aim is material, financial, monetary benefits. From this perspective for organized crime groups, illicit drug is the most lucrative way to earn money among their – legal and illegal- activities. For illicit drug, organized crime is *sine qua non*. In other words, organized crimes can exist without drug trafficking but illicit drug can not live without organized crimes.

On the other hand, for terrorist organizations drugs is not their first and foremost aim. For them, dealing in drugs is a tool to earn money, to motivate militants and to undermine structure of the society, to damage individuals. Otherwise, they become organized crime groups not terrorist organizations. If they have enough financial resources they do not care to deal in drugs. As a matter of fact, money plays crucial role in terrorist organizations. Terrorist organizations need money for day-to-day operations, weapons or other destructive instruments, safe houses and medical treatment for terrorist, terrorist training camps, the propaganda, recruiting new terrorist and terrorist supporters, telecommunications, political support or sanctuary within vulnerable populations or rogue states. Although they have various sources such as the support of state, nongovernmental or community organizations, legal investments, diverted charities, illegal income generating activities, these are not enough resources because of some reasons: Firstly state sponsorship of terrorism has been decreasing significantly. Due to the fact that groups find it harder to obtain state support, they want to feel free from any state, it means that they want to be independent from any actors. Besides, states not respecting international standards are less willing to risk exposure to broad-based and severe international sanctions. Secondly, there is a strong struggle against financing of terrorism in international arena and among states. There exist strong common sense among states to cut down terrorist organizations' financial resources. Therefore, to finding enough money for terrorist organizations is getting much more difficult. Thus, under these circumstances the importance of drugs is increasing. Because drug trafficking is quite an easy way to earn significant sums of money, as well as to gather or distribute large sums of cash without being detected by authorities,

given the well-organized and hard-to-detect financial networks of the narcotics trade.

In summary, the illegal drug trade is the most crucial financial source of terror and tool to collapse the legal state in the target country. In order to end terror, as Laciner (2008) said, countries must succeed in ending drug smuggling; they will get more effective solutions than bombing terrorist camps. We, on the one hand, must eliminate the areas that are exploited by terrorists and extremists, and at the same time we must destroy financial infrastructure of terror and other crimes by cutting drug smuggling. Otherwise, we will continue to live with terror problems. In this respect, I would like to emphasize that the major threat to national and international security is not state sponsored terrorism anymore, but the terrorist acts carried out by terrorist groups or individuals increasingly motivated by the money obtained through organized criminal activity, particularly the traffic in illegal drugs.

After the main role of drugs in terrorism which is financial, the secondary role of drug in terrorism is that terrorist organizations use drugs as a weapon to undermine certain society at macro level and to damage individuals at micro level. Because, on the macro level, drug trafficking and the production of illegal narcotics such as heroin, cocaine, cannabis are a security problem as well as a hazard to the foundations of civil society and to sovereignty. It is also an indication of the failure of some economic development strategies and the lack of viable economic alternatives. (Bardy 2007, 2-3) It undermines public safety, law and order. On the micro level; because the drug abusers become slaves to their habits in the course of time, they are no longer able to contribute to the community. Besides, they do not have healthy relationships with their partners, friends, families and society. Moreover, they are no longer able to use their full potential to create ideas or to energetically contribute to society, which is the genius of democracy. They become weak because of the mind-numbing effects of drugs. The entire soul of society is undermined and our democracy is diminished by drug use. (Hutchinson, 2002)

Another important role of drugs in terrorism is that drugs might be used as a motivation tool to make militants brave before going to an action. In this sense, also money coming from the drug trade gives economic motivation to militants and its leaders to keep them within their terrorist organizations and to sustain terrorist organization as well. Also, surprisingly, sometimes terrorist organizations use drugs to gain political influence particularly in the societies which are sensitive and have been suffering from drugs by undermining the distribution network of drug dealers.

However this paper argues that for terrorist organizations, getting involved in the drug business causes some disadvantages. There is no

doubt that dealing illicit drug is the most lucrative way to make money for terrorist organizations. On the other hand, we can not say that it is purely secure and harmless. Besides, it can be detrimental for their human and financial resources and their reputation. Moreover, illicit drugs lead to confidence problems between supporters (individuals and states) and terrorist organizations. Finally, terrorist organizations might be degenerated by illicit drugs because of its dazzling revenue. Actually it is a “double-edged sword.” Nonetheless, the disadvantages of illicit drugs are outweighed by its advantages.

As Makarenko explained, (2002) in illicit drug trafficking there are three main actors. The first group of actors drug mafias / traffickers which are identified by their domestic base, and a membership normally restricted to specific clans or ethnic groups. Frequently engaged in unlawful trade at local markets in their particular country of operation, to get raw drug from farmers and sell it to international buyers seems to be the most important role of them in the drugs chain. Thus, drug traffickers are considered to be middlemen in the regional drug trade. Drug mafias or traffickers not only distribute opium poppy seeds to local farmers, but also provide farmers with loans to plant opium poppy crops. These loans are then repaid in opium resin (the raw form of opium). Besides, drug mafias constitute the first line of buyers in the international opiate trade and, they exercise a considerable degree of influence in countries. Their long-established relations with local elites and warlords have strengthened their situation in drug trafficking. The second groups of actors are transnational criminal organizations which are engaged in the regional and international drugs trade. These groups pose a very important threat to the region which they are in, as they are composed of a chain of regional and international players including officials in several governments and in the security services. The last group is terrorist organizations /insurgents.

Terrorist groups directly or indirectly involved in cultivating, manufacturing, transporting, or distributing illicit drugs. The relationship between drug-trafficking groups and terrorist organizations is a “mutually beneficial agreement”. They benefit from each other. For example, drug traffickers benefit from the terrorists’ military skills, weapons supply and access to secret organizations. Terrorists gain a source of income and expertise in illicit transfer and laundering of proceeds from illicit transactions. Drug traffickers may also gain significant freedom of movement when they operate in conjunction with terrorist who control huge amounts of territory. (Hardouin and Weichhardt 2003, 15)

This paper argues that the connection between transnational organized crime, terrorism and illegal drug trafficking is a serious threat for the government, society and economy of countries because it can result in the marshalling of significant resources to impose on whole regions, or indeed to corrupt a government and destabilize an economy, creat-

ing 'grey zones'. As Politi said; each time the international community refuses or fails to restore peace and order comprehensively, the area becomes prey to terrorist and organized crime groups and becomes a hub for trafficking (notably arms and drugs), directly endangering the world and European security.

To effectively combat, transnational threats like organized crime and drug trafficking, international terrorism, must be met with multi-dimensional responses. Preventive, diplomatic, economic and political means will provide the ultimate and necessary answer to these complex problems, while repression can have a complementary role.