

THE FUTURE OF TERRORISM*

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Abstract

The dramatic rise of terrorism has accelerated after 9/11 Attacks and it has comprehensively affected the world within public eyes and academic world. Although every human being use the terrorism term and they know what terrorist's methods are, most of them can't explain properly the meaning of terrorism or theory of terrorism. Evaluating modern history of terrorism is very hard to categorize too. Furthermore, there are a lot of definitions and description of terrorism in academic world. But there is no prominent consensus about its definition and description in international community. But David Rapoport's academic article "The Four Waves of Terrorism" has been accepted as the most respectful analyzed theory which is about history of modern international terrorism in security and terrorism studies literature. According to his theory, terrorism waves emerges, peaks, and recedes in a wave like pattern. The first wave began with anarchist terrorism and they have been currently going on with fourth waves of terrorism which is a religion wave. Numerous studies were conducted after his four waves of modern terrorism theory. Most of them have searched for fifth waves which may be seen in the future. But they haven't been accepted as influential as David Rapoport's four waves of terrorism theory. In this perspective this study aims to add a new accessible approach for fifth waves of terrorism. Thus it simply seeks to fulfill this need.

Keywords: Terrorism, Theory, Theory of Terrorism, Wave of Terrorism Theory, The Fifth Wave of Terrorism.

Jel Codes: H70, B10, B00.

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TERÖRİZMIN GELECEĞİ

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Öz

11 Eylül Saldırıları sonrasında terörizmin dramatik yükselişi hızlanmış, kamuoyu ve akademik dünya nezdinde edünyayı kapsamlı bir şekilde etkilemiştir. Her insane terror terimini kullanmasına ve teröristlerin yöntemlerinin ne olduğunu bilmesine rağmen çoğu terörün anlamını veya terror teorisini tam olarak açıklayamamaktadır. Terörizmin modern tarihini değerlendirmek de kategorize etmek oldukça zordur. Ayrıca akademik dünyada terörizmin pek çok tanımı ve açıklaması bulunmaktadır. Ancak uluslararası toplumda tanımı ve tanımı konusunda belirgin bir fikirbirliği yoktur. Ancak David Rapoport'un "Terörizmin Dört Dalgası" adlı akademik makalesi, güvenlik ve terörizm çalışmaları literatüründe modern uluslararası terörizmin tarihine ilişkin en saygın analiz edilen teori olarak kabul edildi. Onun teorisine göre terror dalgaları dalga benzeri bir düzende ortaya çıkar, zirveye çıkar ve geri çekilir. Birinci dalga anarşist terörle başladı ve şu anda din dalgası olan dördüncü terror dalgasıyla devam ediyor. Dört dalga modern terörizm teorisinin ardından çok sayıda çalışma yapıldı. Bir çoğu gelecekte görülebilecek beşinci dalgayı araştırdı. Ancak David Rapoport'un dört dalga terörizm teorisi kadar etkili olduğu kabul edilmedi. Bu perspektiften bakıldığında bu çalışma, terörizmin beşinci dalgasına yeni ve erişilebilir bir yaklaşım eklemeyi araştırmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Terörizm, Teori, Terörizm Teorisi, Terörizm Dalgası Teorisi, Beşinci Terörizm Dalgası.

Jel Kodları: H70, B10, B00.

Introduction

The dramatic rise of terrorism has accelerated after 9/11 Attacks. It has comprehensively affected the world within public eyes and academic world. Currently, terrorism poses a big threat for world system, Nation-states as defined by Weberian perspective and humankind. Moreover, it has mostly influenced our perception of ordinary life.

Although every human being use the terrorism term and they know what terrorist's methods are, most of them can't explain properly the meaning of terrorism or theory of terrorism. Evaluating modern history of terrorism is very hard to categorize too. Furthermore, there are a lot of definitions and description of terrorism in academic world. But there is no prominent consensus about its definition and description in international community. Because terrorism is a political concept and there are serious ontological and epistemological problems about its definition, description and structure. Nation states, their governments, academics and citizens evaluate terror actors as their interests, identity and perceptions. It simply means that one man's terrorist is another man's hero in international community (Gupta, 2006: 6-13).

Although there have been a few articles which were accepted solidly by international community in security and terrorism studies literature, David Rapoport's (Professor Emeritus of Political Science at University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA)) academic article "The Four Waves of Terrorism" which was published in "The Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace and Conflict Journal" at 2004, has been accepted as the most respectful analyzed theory which is about history of modern international terrorism (Rosenfeld, 2010: 2.) (Walls, 2017: 2) (Kaplan, 2008: 12-24). Numerous studies were conducted, numerous articles were written after his four waves of modern terrorism theory which include anarchist, nationalist, leftist and the current religious waves of terrorism. Most of them have searched for fifth waves which may be seen in the future. But they haven't

been accepted influentially same as David Rapoport's theory. In this perspective, this article aims to add a new accessible approach for fifth waves of terrorism.

1. Conceptual And Historical Framework of Terrorism

World system includes sovereign nation states since The Peace of Westphalia was signed at October 1648. Even though modern nation states have different kinds of military power, economic power and soft power, they are equal members of the world system. Weberian nation states don't have any right in other nation states territory but in own territory they have a right to coerce, use of force and give punishment to their citizens by jurisdiction. It means that they have a monopoly of using force and violence in their sovereign territory (Elfstrom, 2015: 41–85).

Max Weber who was a theorician of Weberian nation state recognized the state as a "human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory". According to Max Weber it is modern state's most important specialty (McConaght, 2017: 6). All terrorist movements have been obsessed with the state. It challenges, destabilizes and threatens legitimate state monopoly of using power and sole force in its own sovereign territory. Terrorism deliberately contests the legitimacy of the states. Terrorism is a threat mostly for this reason. As a result, it is a big threat for modern world system (English, 2021: 48-52).

First of all, the definition of terrorism question must be answered. Terrorism and terror terms are derived from the Latin verb "terrere" (Forst, 2009: 300). It means that cause to tremble, to frighten from in Latin (Wilkinson, 2003: 27). Terrorism is described in Britannica encyclopedia that "the calculated use of violence to create a general climate of fear in a population and thereby to bring about a particular political objective."

(Jenkins, 2022: (accessed 19 January 2022)). The Oxford Dictionary defines terrorism with these sentences. “The calculated use of violence or threat of violence to inculcate fear. Terrorism is intended to coerce or intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological (The Oxford Essential Dictionary of the U.S. Military, 2001, (accessed 19 January 2022).).

There has not been any consensus about definition of terrorism among United Nations member states. But the condemnation of the terror act at 1994 has been accepted by United Nations. It has been the most important definition of terrorism in international relations. According to this 1994 General Assembly Resolution, terrorism was defined as “Criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes are in any circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them.” (Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism, United Nations, 1994 (accessed 23 January 2022).)

Some of the terrorism criteria agreed in international community. From these definitions it is very clear to see seven terms that have relations with terrorism. Using politically motivated unlawful violence or threat,

1. The intention to use of fear,
2. Propaganda by deeds,
3. Conducted by non-state actors (group or person),
4. Target population,
5. Civilian or non-combatant victims,
6. Political motives and political aims.

Firstly, the main subject of terrorism is about politically aimed violence and its threats. If there isn't any politically aimed violence or threat, it will

not be considered as terrorism (Whittaker, 2004: 2). It may be named as criminal, mafia or crime syndicate without politically aimed violence or threat. For instance, The Gandhian movement cannot be named as a terrorist group. The Gandhian Movement was a political dissident of the colonial British Empire. Their nonviolent deeds against British Raj were too affective to decrease its political and softpower on Indian public. But it is not qualified as terrorism. The reason is that The Gandhian Movement was a nonviolent politically motivated group. There have been individuals or groups with the intention of overthrowing their rulers or governments like The Gandhian Movement in the world history. It means if it is peaceful political movement, it cannot be named as a terrorist movement. Furthermore, not just the violence-oriented deeds are considered terrorism, the threat of violent deeds considered as terrorism as well. It indicates that if the police force is contacted for threatening of bombing a street without any actions will also be an act of terrorism by using threatening (Gupta, 2021: 9).

Terrorism is not a new instrument for the humankind in politics. From the ancient times to the modern times, it was used by historical figures and groups. Although every state in the ancient world faced revolts, uprisings, political assassinations with the tools of violence, it was not considered as terrorism. The reason is that, the basic political, social, and economic structures did not change when a king was killed by a rival or overthrown by a revolt. Terrorism is different from this concept. The main intention is to create fundamental changes in the society and governance by using violence and force. The focus is to alter the ordinary system of the state. This is one of the most important characteristics of modern terrorism (Taylor, 2001: 12).

In the modern times terrorism, there is a method which has been used by the non-state actors and groups. These modern terrorist movements target the nation states which are very different from each other in terms of identity perspectives.

Terrorists' violent deeds serve as a message for the target population. Continuing this communication deeds are critical for terrorism. Terrorists can send messages for the target population and their own supporters by using violent deeds. (Forst, 2009: 4) While these messages create psychological coercion against the system, government and the public, they aim particularly target population's mind and heart. Because terrorists need to win the hearts and minds to advance their agenda.

There is not any consensus about the victim of terrorism. Two approaches have been accepted by the academics. First approach is, the military personnel who are not on duty and civilians (non-combatant) can be accepted as the victims of terrorism. Other approach defends that only the civilians can be accepted as victims of terrorist acts (Richards, 2015: 136).

Most scholars trace the origins of the modern terrorism of the Jewish Sicarii Zealots who were noted for their strict observance of Jewish laws in the Roman Province of Judea in the first century A.D. They assassinated Roman soldiers and Jewish collaborator with primitive dagger which was named as "sica" in crowded surroundings (Brosteaux, 2019: 4-5). They tried to liberate their country from Roman rule by using terrorism. It was the earliest example of terrorism campaign which was directed towards political ends (Lutz and Lutz, 2008: 79-80). Nizari Isma'ili Assassins were another pre-modern terrorist group which was established at the end of the tenth century. Hassan Sabbah was the founder of the Nizari Assassin's institution and their doctrine (Law, 2015: 34-38). They were a weak group who could not confront the might of the Turk Seljuk Empire directly. But they challenged the powerful Seljuk Empire by assassinating important bureaucrats. One of them was Nizam al-Mulk who was a legendary and the most successful vizier of his time (Webel, 2004: 25-27). Consequently, the use of violence for political change has been a metaphor for terrorism since ancient times.

Edmund Burke is an important person for terrorism literature. Edmund Burke who was the founder father of conservatism used terrorism term firstly. He described Maximilien Robespierre and Jacobin party's governance after French revolution as reign of terror. Because The Jacobin party of Robespierre executes thousands of anti-revolutionary and dissident revolutionary French citizens by the guillotine. Cruelty of Jacobins was so impactful that they surpassed the dissident parties and groups by using violence (Croce, 2015: 133). Although this period of time was named as reign of terror, it is not similar to the current use of terror. It can be named as a state terrorism which is different from terrorism.

The other important person for terrorism literature is Karl Heinzen. The German revolutionary Karl Heinzen was the first to articulate the use of violence for politics in his book "Mord und Freiheit." Even more Freedom fighter (Freiheitskämpfer) term was first written in this book (Parker and Sitter, 2016: 203). He argued that the revolutionaries must use violence and threat for their political motives and aim of violence was to terrorize the enemy (Carlos, 2019: 31).

Last of all before explaining the waves of terrorism theory, Felice Orsini who was Italian nationalist revolutionary and follower of the Italian revolutionary leader Giuseppe Mazzini who was one of the main figures of Italian Liberation Movement, must be referred. He tried to assassinate Emperor of France Napoleon III owing to not support to Italian Liberation Movement adequately, at Paris in 1857 by using own bomb which he invented. After this incident Orsini Bomb was used worldwide in terror acts by many anarchist terrorists and his assassination attempt of Napoleon III gave courage for new assassinations and new terror acts (Laqueur, 1999: 37).

2. Waves Of Terrorism Theory

David Rapoport is a substantial academic in security and terrorism studies. He explained and theorized modern history of terrorism in four wave

approaches like Samuel Huntington who conceptualized democratization process at the world by using wave metaphor (Parker and Sitter, 2016: 197-199). According to his theory, terrorism waves emerges, peaks, and recedes in a wavelike pattern (Rosenfeld, 3). Rapoport argues that all of waves need some type of grand event for being the global movement. Any waves of terrorism last in forty years (Radil and Pinos, 2022: 311–330).

The first wave began with anarchist terrorism and they have been currently going on with fourth waves of terrorism which is a religion wave. This theory has shown that terrorism is a dynamic phenomenon which has historically evolved. (Rapoport, 2004: pp.46–73) Although there are some critics that different type of terrorist groups could not categorize with common one wave among academics like IRA, (English, 2021: 44) ETA (Parker and Sitter, 2016: 197-198). and the Ku Klux Klan, (Chiangi, 2021: 11–29) waves of terrorism theory has been accepted essential by international community.

2.1. First Wave of Terrorism

According to Rapoport's Theory of Modern Terrorism was started by the Russian anarchic movement which opposed any form of government in Tsarist Russia. First wave of terrorism strengthened after Tsar Alexander II's iron fist governance and slow democratization processes

Mihail Bakunin and Sergei Nechaev were the most important figures for Russian Anarchism. Bakunin was a theorist and the most respectful person in the anti-Tsarist Anarchist Movement. Bakunin has been called “the prophet of terrorist immoralism” and “guerrilla insurrectionism.” He believed that Tsarist regime could be overthrown by individuals' or small groups' terror acts (Kushner, 2003: 8). He wrote a manifesto of modern terrorism “Revolution, Terrorism, Banditry” in 1869 (Clymer, 2003: 160). He made the proposal for propaganda by deed. He argued

that revolutionaries should kill person who represent an existing Tsarist social order. He implied that assassinations of prominent government figure would cause a fear and horror environment in which revolution could be successful (Kushner, 28). Mikhail Bakunin called for bombing and assassination attempts in his books. He frankly encouraged terrorism actions (Jensen, 2015: 111).

Other important figure of Anarchists was Sergey Gennadiyevich Nechayev who wrote a terrorist manifest. Its name was "The Catechism of a Revolutionist." This manifest is very important for terrorism theory. It was a program for destruction of the state. He wrote details of prototype anarchist terrorist and anarchist's revolt. He recommended making propaganda by the deeds. He proclaimed target of assassination which most of them were part of Tsar's Government and supporters (Law, 2015: 98).

After publishing "The Catechism of a Revolutionist" manifest, *Narodnaya Volya* (People's Will) which was the first modern terrorist group was established. They planned to assassinate Russian government representatives. They predicted that ordinary citizens of Russia who didn't like inequality in society could revolt against proper order. They believed that terror strategy leads to quick and solid success (Laqueur, 1999: 17-18). *Narodnaya Volya's* terrorists assassinated Tsar Alexander II and number of government officers and soldiers. The assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881 was the most successful action of anarchic terrorism (Whittaker, 2002: 15). However, it was very awful for *Narodnaya Volya* that a great number of its supporters were killed or sentenced to death (Neumann and Smith, 2007: 32).

As a result, the murder of Tsar Alexander II in 1881 was an example of their "propaganda by deed." After assassination of Tsar Alexander II numerous important person was assassinated in world from 1881 to 1914 by anarchist terrorists. They were responsible for France President Marie

François Sadi Carnot (1894), USA President William McKinley (1901), (Meisels, 2008: 41). Empress Elizabeth of Austria-Hungary, King Umberto of Italy (1900) and King Carlos I of Portugal's assassinations (1908) (Pichtel, 2016: 4). These successes were the first step of modern terrorism. This period of time were named "Golden Age of Terrorism." (Walls, 2017: 22).

Alfred Nobel invented dynamite which was a breakthrough for technology. But dynamite was a powerful, portable, and concealable weapons also it could be made easily by private person. Anarchist used dynamite easier than other explosives in terrorist attack. The other cause of first wave was new development of communication technologies that allowed knowledge of ideas and events to be rapidly distributed across the world (Parker and Sitter, 2016: 202). Telegraph were a major factor in the rise of anarchist terrorism (Chaliand and Blin, 180). Another factor of first wave was the development in railways and transportation technology (Parker and Sitter, 2016: 202).

After the first wave, modern terrorism methods began to occur. Consequently, it showed a way that weak could challenge strong by using terrorism. Assassination of Austria-Hungary Archduke Franz Ferdinand at Sarajevo in 1914 which was the cause of World War I was the end of first wave of terrorism. After assassination of Franz Ferdinand and wife by Gavrilo Princip who was a nationalist Serb terrorist, first wave of terrorism was ended (Chaliand and Blin, 2016: 177).

2.2. Second Wave of Terrorism

After Versailles Peace Treaty which ended the World War I, the second wave of terrorism started. Most comprehensive specialty of this wave was its anticolonial ideology. Consequently, terrorism used as a tool for national self-determination, and ending colonialism in the Third World and started being international in scope by the late 1950s.

Terrorism tactics changed during the second wave. Although main victims of the first wave were prominent government officials, the second wave assassinated police officers and families which were an important factor for colonial empires. Second wave terrorists used guerrilla tactics against colonial military forces. Hit and run style attacks were mostly chosen by them. Especially “freedom fighter” term was firstly used in this wave. Freedom fighter- terrorist analogy depute occurred (Jach-chrzaszcz, 2018: 385–91).

As a leader of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, Michael Collins led an urban guerrilla campaign that played an important role in securing the independence of Ireland at 1921. It affected other terrorist groups as a successful example (Parker and Sitter, 2016: 205). The diaspora and colony folk began contributing money to anti-colonial terrorist organizations in second wave process. IRA, EOKA, Irgun and ETA terrorist groups were the most important members of the second wave terrorism. By the mid-1960s, the second wave had all but faded away (Kaplan, 2016: 24). According to Rapoport the second wave of terrorism was the most successful wave. (Rapoport, 2004: 46–73).

2.3. Third Wave of Terrorism

The new left wave which was the third wave of terrorism emerged in the mid-1960s in response to the Vietnam War. According to Rapoport, the effectiveness of Viet Cong’s army against United States military power was main motive of third wave (Ibid, 56). Third wave terrorist’s groups were acted on Marxist, Leninist and Maoist ideologies. They had more revolutionary and anarchistic views. Left wave terrorist’s attack types were different from first and second. They prefer to act as hostage-taking in the form of airline hijackings and kidnappings. Some types of bombing in crowded areas were especially prominent in the left wave era’s attacks (Ibid, 20).

Terrorist groups found a suitable environment not just in third world countries; also they found in Western World in this time period. Third wave terrorist groups emerged in different parts of the world like Turkey (PKK) to Italy (Red Army Faction), Germany (Baader-Meinhof Gang) to Palestine (The Palestine Liberation Organization), Colombia (FARC) to France (Corsican National Liberation Front). Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) was considered by Rapoport as the most important terrorist organization (Radil and Castan Pinos, 2022: 311–330).

Terrorist and terrorism perception have changed from 1900's to Third Wave of Terrorism's time in international community. For example, Vera Zasulich who was an important Narodnaya Volya's member, tried to assassinate Dmitri Feodorovich Trepov who was Governor-General of St. Petersburg at 15 September 1906. After assassination attempt she didn't try to escape. She was calm and polite. When she was asked why she tried to kill Governor Trepov. Her reply was very interesting for modern world terrorist perception. She said that "I am a terrorist not a killer." She didn't regret to try to assassinate him (Graaf and Schmid, 2016: 60-62). Because terrorism meant that it was an idealist idea at the first wave of terrorism. They could achieve their goal by using it in political system for political good. Narodnaya Volya and the others also enjoyed considerable sympathies among the middle class in general (Laqueur, 1999: 17-18). After 1970's hijacking plane and bombing in crowded area terror action, terrorism and terrorist began to earn bad reputation which ordinary citizens currently have hated.

New phase of terrorism was begun to emerge after USSR's Afghanistan Occupation. Cold War was ended by collapsing USSR. As a result, the new left wave started to diminish during the 1980s with the end of the Cold War.

2.4. Fourth Wave of Terrorism

We have been in fourth wave of terrorism which is an era of religiously motivated terrorism. Although it is a religious agenda, it is the most important factor distinguishing itself from the other waves. They are motivated by political and territorial goals, not only by religious goals.

Though western states identify fourth wave with religious terrorism, according to Rapoport it is a global phenomenon. It includes Extremist Christian, Jewish, Sikh, and Buddhist terrorist groups (Radil and Castan Pinos, p.5.) Three major events was the starter of fourth wave. One of them was establishing religious state in Iran after abdicating Shah. Others were the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the seizure of the Grand Mosque in Mecca by radical Islamists.

Fourth wave terrorist group's ideology is different from other waves. They pursue an ideological victory over non-believers. In this period of time number of terrorist groups has declined while power of them has increased. Suicide bombings and bombing are the most important attack type of fourth wave terror groups. Owing to the attacks in the urban areas, the casualties of terror victim have escalated. Hierarchical structure of fourth wave terror groups have become less centralized. Al-Qaeda, The Taliban, DAESH and Boko Haram are the most recognized terrorist groups of the fourth wave. Rapoport predicted in their article that the Fourth Wave would disappear at 2025 (Chiangi, 2021: 11–29). It seems to be unrealistic for now.

Table-1 Rapoport's Four Waves of Terrorism

Target identity Primary strategy	Focus	Developed basic terrorism strategies and rationales	Precipitant	Special Characteristics
Anarchists 1870–1910s	Elite assassinations, bank robberies	Primarily European states	Failure/slowness of political reform	Developed basic terrorism strategies and rationales
Nationalist 1920s–1960s	Guerrilla attacks on police and military	European empires	Post-1919 delegitimization of empire	Increased international support (UN and diasporas)
New Left/ Marxist 1960s–1990s	Hijackings, kidnappings, assassination	Governments in general; increasing focus on U.S.	Viet Cong successes	Increased international training/ cooperation/ sponsorship
Religious 1970s–2020s	Suicide bombings	U.S., Israel, and secular regimes with Muslim populations	Iranian Revolution, Soviet invasion of Afghanistan	Casualty escalation, Decline in the number of terrorist groups

Source: Rosenfeld, Jean E., 2010, p.16

3. The Fifth Wave of Terrorism

There have been a lot of articles and books about which fifth wave of terrorism may be in future. It is a very complex question. Jeffrey Kaplan's "New Tribalism" (Kaplan, 2020). Anthony Celso's "Jihadist Terror Groups", (Celso, 2015: 249-268) Jeffrey D. Simon's "Technological Wave of Terrorism" (Simon, 2010, 44-65) and Vincent A. Auger's "Right-Wing Terror" (Auger, 2020, 86–97) approaches are the most respectful study about future of the fifth wave of terrorism in security studies literature. Jeffrey Kaplan argued that the fifth wave emerged in Africa with the Lord's Resistance Army in Uganda as its exemplar. He suggested that the fifth wave would be composed of ethnic utopians which try to remake their

societies like Khmer Rouge that tried to establish rural classless society in Cambodia. Moreover, it may arrive earlier than expected (Kaplan, 2020: 12-24). Anthony Celso argued that fifth wave of terrorism is indeed happening now as Jihadist Terrorism. He argued that Terrorist group like Boko Haram and ISIS will be example of fifth wave (Celso, 2015: 249-268). Jeffrey Simon emphasized that fifth wave will not resemble its four predecessors. There will not be any hegemony of ideology among terrorists. Technology and lone operators will be the defining characteristic of the fifth wave. The internet gives easy access to information about targets and types of weapons Vincent A. Auger's far right group-identity politics approach have had a powerful stance since Norway and New Zealand terrorist attacks occurred by far-right lone wolves terrorists (Auger, 2020: 86-97). However, religion wave has continued.

Although there has not been a solid theory for the fifth wave of terrorism, the consensus trends of fifth wave were published in academic articles. Most of the similarities in these studies are about the methods of terrorism and environment of terrorism.

There is a correlation between globalization and the increase in terrorist attacks. Most scholars are agreed that globalization will affect the fifth wave terrorism like the fourth wave. Globalization will be a significant factor for the fifth wave terrorism (Martinez, 2016: 2). Moreover, the internet-based technology developments will affect new wave of terrorism. New artificial intelligence-based technologies like facial recognition, social media and computers have currently made it harder for the terrorists to operate in urban areas, whereas some opportunity has occurred for terrorist groups. Social media has been used as a terrorist weapon aimed at recruiting persuasions. Terrorists maintain communication with followers in distant areas by using social media. Moreover, finding new militants on the internet will be easier than past for terror organizations in future. Cyber terrorism is efficiently used by terror groups. As a result, cyber security will be more important for nation states in the future. Cyber-terrorism will be dangerous for nation security.

The nation states more are focused on the terrorist groups when compared with the past. For this reason, the fourth wave's terror groups have had network structures and smooth hierarchy. However, the fifth wave will be different from the religious wave, because of lone operator dominance.¹ Lone operators can learn about weapons, targets, and techniques by using the internet. Lone operators have an advantage of flexible working without hierarchical leadership. They can attack at their will without any order or any evidence. It is very hard to catch them before attacking. As a result, lone operator terrorism may be the most important feature of fifth wave terrorism. It is necessary to add that the suicidal attacks, vehicular bombs, and improvised explosive will continue to be a popular tactic among terrorist groups (Walls, 2017: 59-60, 81-83).

Modern terrorism has governed new characteristics which make it more violent and tactical than before. Many terrorist organizations have become deadlier than their predecessors. Because of the recent technological developments, terrorists could attack more effective than the past. Having access to more sophisticated weaponry and the advances in communication technology are the most significant realities of the modern terrorism. Hence, in the future, obtaining nuclear and biological weapons by terrorist groups' may be increased. It will be a big concern for international community (Martinez, 2016: 1).

Poverty in the third world countries make societies much more vulnerable to conflict. The poor war-torn environment pushes failed states citizens to immigrate to the developed nation states. This process may be the key case of the fifth terror wave. Although failed states are hotbeds of terrorists groups in some studies, all of the failed states are not directly associated with being breeding grounds and bases for terrorist groups except Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan and Somalia (Underhill, 2015: 31-33). But it must be emphasized that the increasing numbers of failed states give

1 Lone operator terrorists were responsible for 22% of terrorist related deaths in OECD in 2015.

suitable spaces for them. It will continue in the future (Parker and Sitter, 2016: 212).

Conclusion

Currently, the information has been more important than before and the importance of information will increase in the future. Most of the information is easily accessible by using internet in the globalized world.

While nearly 5.1 billion people (63% of the world's population) are using the internet, according to the United Nations, social media use has increased dramatically over the past decade and is now a major source of information. The number of social network worldwide users is expected to reach 3.02 billion monthly active social media users by 2022 .

We are today amidst an information, data, and communication revolution that are influencing all parts of life, including the dynamics of global terrorism. Terrorist group leaders have chosen to send their message by using Twitter which is a social media channel. Terrorist groups have sent any attacking videos to target community by using Facebook which is another social media channel. They have found their militias from Instagram which is another social media channel. They have learned how to make a bomb from YouTube which is another social media channel. Development of social media facilitated terrorist group activities which were too hard to accomplish before. The development and accessibility of social media platforms like Twitter (X), Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, LinkedIn, Reddit, etc., has helped terrorists expand their reach to a wide range of audiences around the world. According to one study, about 90% of terrorist activities online are conducted via social media platforms while 76% of U.K. terrorists engage in the social media. As a result, after the internet and social media era have dominated the information world, it has become a crucial tool for the terrorist groups.

Everything can change faster than past and can lose their attractiveness rapidly in globalized world and international community. Some of the hot topics just live one hour or one day nowadays. It means that communication and relationship between actors accelerated, widened and deepened, owing to the development of the internet and social media. As a result, I argue that single type of terrorist ideology or any terror groups will not dominate the world, because of internet and social media development. Because they will not find enough space and enough time in social media and international community's agenda like previous waves' forty years. If they can find space and time, it will not be enough for domination or hegemony in fifth wave. Consequently, if fifth wave arrives, it will not be named as a wave like previous ones.

However, terrorism is a global threat that knows no border, identity, nationality or religion. First of all, failure of defining and describing terrorism in global perspective and not providing unity against terrorism in the international arena has been a cause of acceleration terrorism waves. If international community intends to solve the terrorism problems, there must be a common understanding on what is meant by terrorism. There has not been any authority which commands and controls nation states against terror and terrorism. Being no interconnectedness in the world has given a hope for terrorist organizations. This problem has encouraged future terrorists and terrorism. But it can be solved by an authority which has the power over the nation states. This authority's name should be United Nations.

United Nations made an important resolution of prisoner of war, human rights and etc. But it could not do in terrorism subject. It means that focusing on common understanding of terrorism to foster international cooperation has been a main problem. It should be solved by cooperation for global security. After solving cooperation problems among the nation states, there may not be a fifth wave of terrorism in the future.

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Geniřletilmiř zet

Dünya sistemi, Vestfalya Barıřı'nın 1648'de imzalanmasından bu yana egemen ulus devletleri ierir. Modern ulus devletler farklı türde askeri güce, ekonomik güce ve yumuřak güce sahip olsalar da, dünya sisteminin eřit üyeleridir. Weberyen ulus devletlerinin diğeri ulus devletlerin topraklarında hibir hakkı yoktur, ancak kendi topraklarında vatandaşlarına yargı yetkisiyle baskı yapma, güç kullanma ve ceza verme hakkına sahiptirler. Bu, egemen topraklarında güç ve řiddet kullanma tekeline sahip oldukları anlamına gelir. Terörizm modern ulus devletler sistemine aykırıdır ve varlığı sistemi tehdit eder.

Terörizm ve terör terimleri Latince "terrere" fiilinden türemiřtir. Latince de titremeye, korkutmaya neden olmak anlamına gelir. Terörizm, Britannica ansiklopedisinde "bir toplumda genel bir korku iklimi yaratmak ve böylece belirli bir siyasi hedefi gerçekleřtirmek için řiddetin hesaplı kullanımı" olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Oxford Sözlüğü terörizmi řu cümlelerle tanımlar. "Korku ařılamak için řiddetin veya řiddet tehdidinin hesaplı kullanımı." Terörizm, genellikle siyasi, dini veya ideolojik olan hedeflerin peřinde hükümetleri veya toplumları zorlamak veya sindirmek için tasarlanmıřtır.

11 Eylül Saldırıları sonrasında terörizmin dramatik yükseliři hızlanmış, kamuoyu ve akademik dünya nezdinde dünyayı kapsamlı bir řekilde etkilemiřtir. Her insan terör terimini kullanmasına ve teröristlerin yöntemlerinin ne olduğunu bilmesine rağmen çoğru terörün anlamını veya terörün teorisini tam olarak açıklayamamaktadır. Bu kapsamda terörizmin modern tarihini değeriendirmek de kategorize etmek de oldukça zordur. Ayrıca akademik dünyada terörizmin pek çok tanımı ve açıklaması bulunmaktadır. Ancak uluslararası toplumda tanımı ve tanımı konusunda belirgin bir fikir birliğı yoktur.

Ancak David Rapoport'un "Terörizmin Dört Dalgası" adlı akademik makalesi, güvenlik ve terörizm alıřmaları literatüründe modern uluslara-

rası terörizmin tarihine ilişkin en saygın analiz edilen teori olarak kabul edilmiştir. Onun teorisine göre terör dalgaları deniz dalgası benzeri bir düzende ortaya çıkar, zirveye çıkar ve geri çekilir.

David Rapoport'un "Terörizmin Dört Dalgası" makalesine göre birinci dalga terörizm anarşist terörle başlamıştır. Bu kapsamda Modern Terörizm, Çarlık Rusyası'nda her türlü hükümet biçimine karşı çıkan Rus anarşist hareketi tarafından başlatılmıştır. İlk terörizm dalgası, Çar II. Aleksandr'ın demir yumruk yönetimi ve yavaş demokratikleşme süreçlerinden sonra güçlenmiştir. Mihail Bakunin ve Sergei Nechaev, Rus Anarşizmi ve terörizmi için en önemli figürler olmuştur.

David Rapoport'un "Terörizmin Dört Dalgası" makalesine göre ikinci dalga terörizm anti-sömürgeciydi. İkinci dalga terörizm, ulusal öz yönetim ve Üçüncü Dünya'da sömürgeciliğin sona erdirilmesi için bir araç olarak kullanıldı. Terörizm taktikleri ikinci dalga sırasında değişti. İlk dalganın başlıca kurbanları önde gelen hükümet yetkilileri olsa da ikinci dalga sömürge imparatorlukları için önemli bir faktör olan polis memurlarını ve ailelerini öldürdü. İkinci dalga teröristleri sömürge askeri güçlerine karşı gerilla taktikleri kullandı. Vur-kaç tarzı saldırılar çoğunlukla onlar tarafından seçildi. Özellikle "özgürlük savaşçısı" terimi ilk olarak bu dalgada kullanıldı. Özgürlük savaşçısı-terörist benzetmesi hayat buldu.

David Rapoport'un "Terörizmin Dört Dalgası" makalesine göre üçüncü dalga terörizm, Marksist, Leninist ve Maoist ideolojilere göre hareket etti. Daha devrimci ve anarşist görüşlere sahiptiler. Üçüncü dalga terörist gruplar, Türkiye (PKK) ile İtalya (Kızıl Ordu Fraksiyonu), Almanya (Baader-Meinhof Çetesi) ile Filistin (Filistin Kurtuluş Örgütü), Kolombiya (FARC) ile Fransa (Korsika Ulusal Kurtuluş Cephesi) gibi dünyanın farklı yerlerinde ortaya çıktı. Filistin Kurtuluş Örgütü (FKÖ), David Rapoport tarafından ikinci dalga terörizmin en önemli terörist örgütü olarak kabul edildi.

Şu anda din dalgası olan dördüncü terör dalgası yaşanıyor. Günümüzde terörist grupların dini bir hedef belirlemesi kendisini diğer dalgalardan ayıran en önemli faktördür. Fakat bu gruplar sadece dini hedeflerle değil, politik ve bölgesel hedeflerle de motive olurlar.

Gelecekte hangi şekilde beşinci terör dalgasının olabileceği hakkında birçok makale ve kitap yayınlanmıştır. Bu çok karmaşık ve kompleks bir sorudur. Beşinci terör dalgası için sağlam bir teori olmasa da, beşinci dalganın fikir birliği eğilimleri akademik makalelerde yayınlanmıştır. Bu çalışmalardaki benzerliklerin çoğu terörizm yöntemleri ve terörizm ortamı ile ilgilidir.

Günümüzde küreselleşen dünyada ve uluslararası toplumda her şey geçmişten daha hızlı değişebiliyor ve çekiciliğini hızla yitirebiliyor. Yaşadığımız zaman sürecinde bazı sıcak konular sadece bir saat veya bir gün yaşıyor. Bu, internet ve sosyal medyanın gelişmesiyle birlikte aktörler arasındaki iletişimin ve ilişkinin hızlandığı, genişlediği ve derinleştiği anlamına geliyor. Sonuç olarak, internet ve sosyal medyanın gelişmesi nedeniyle tek tip terörist ideolojinin veya herhangi bir terör grubunun dünyaya hakim olamayacağını savunuyorum. Çünkü önceki dalgaların döneminde olduğu gibi sosyal medyada ve uluslararası toplumun gündeminde yeterli alan ve zaman bulamayacaklardır. Alan ve zaman bulabilseler bile beşinci dalgada hakimiyet veya hegemonya için yeterli olmayacaktır. Dolayısıyla beşinci dalga gelirse, öncekiler gibi bir dalga olarak adlandırılmayacaktır.

Üçüncü dünya ülkelerindeki yoksulluk, toplumları çatışmaya karşı çok daha savunmasız hale getirmektedir. Savaşın zarar görmüş yoksul ortam, başarısız devlet vatandaşlarını gelişmiş ulus devletlere göç etmeye itmektedir. Bu süreç, beşinci terör dalgasının temel dayanağı olabilir. Bazı çalışmalarda başarısız devletler terörist grupların yuvası olsa da, Irak, Suriye, Afganistan ve Somali hariç tüm başarısız devletler terörist grupların üreme alanları ve üsleri olma ile doğrudan ilişkili değildir. Ancak, artan sayıda

başarısız devletin teröristler için uygun alanlar sağladığının vurgulanması gerekmektedir.

Sonuç olarak David Rapoport'un "Terörizmin Dört Dalgası" teorisinin ardından çok sayıda çalışma yapıldı. Birçoğu gelecekte görülebilecek beşinci dalgayı araştırdı. Ancak David Rapoport'un dört dalga terörizm teorisi kadar etkili olduğu kabul edilmedi. Bu perspektiften bakıldığında bu çalışma, terörizmin beşinci dalgasına yeni ve erişilebilir bir yaklaşım eklemeyi amaçlamaktadır.