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## "THE OCTOPUS": THE HUMAN TRAFFICKING AND TERROR NEXUS OF THE PKK

## Haydar KARAMAN\*

### ABSTRACT

A combination of events over the last decade triggered the largest wave of migration ever seen in and around Türkiye. Criminal networks have played a major role to smuggle the majority of people because of its profitability. Due to their financial needs, terror organizations such as the PKK (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê / Kurdistan Workers Party) also are took up business in human trafficking and smuggling. The PKK terrorist organization also takes part in human trafficking and migrant smuggling crimes for various purposes, directly committing these crimes or creating relations with other criminal groups for this purpose.

While the PKK terrorist group is involved in human trafficking, it also uses immigrants and its militants to rebuild its political-militarist activities outside of Türkiye. This demonstrates the importance of people smuggling and trafficking in the organization's campaign. As a result, it's critical to shed light on the link between human smuggling and trafficking, criminality, and terrorism, which has received little attention to date. The article's main goal is to make this connection more visible. To make this nexus clear, the article will begin with an examination of the link between organized crime and terrorism. The PKK terrorist organization, as well as the people smuggling and trafficking network, will be investigated using a deductive manner.

**Keywords:** *PKK Terrorist Organization, Organized Crime, Human Trafficking, Human Smuggling, Nexus.* 

# "AHTAPOT": PKK'NIN İNSAN TİCARETİ VE TERÖR BAĞLANTISI

## ÖZET

Son on yılda meydana gelen olaylar, Türkiye ve çevresinde şimdiye kadar görülen en büyük göç dalgasını tetikledi. Suç örgütleri kârlılığı nedeniyle insan kaçakçılığında önemli bir rol oynamıştır. PKK gibi terör örgütleri de maddi ihtiyaçları nedeniyle insan ticareti ve kaçakçılığı işleriyle uğraşmaktadır. PKK terör örgütü de çeşitli amaçlarla insan ticareti ve göçmen kaçakçılığı suçlarında yer almakta, bu suçları doğrudan işlemekte veya bu amaçla diğer suç örgütleri ile ilişki kurmaktadır.

PKK terör örgütü insan ticareti faaliyetlerinde yer alırken bir yandan göçmenleri bir yandan da kendi militanlarını Avrupa'ya göndererek hem kendi siyasi-militarist faaliyetlerini

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yeniden Türkiye dışında inşa etmekte hem de bu işten finansal bir kazanç elde etmektedir. Bu durum da örgütle olan mücadelede insan kaçakçılığı ve ticaretinin ne kadar önemli olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu nedenle de şimdiye kadar görece az değinilen insan kaçakçılığı ve ticareti suçu ile terör ilişkisinin gerektiği biçimde ortaya konulması oldukça önem arz etmektedir. Makalenin temel gayesi de bu ilişkiyi daha görünür kılmaktır. Makalede bu ilişkiyi belirgin kılabilmek amacıyla genelden özele giden bir yöntem takip ederek önce organize suç ve terör ilişkisi bağlamında başlangıç yapacak, sonrasında ise PKK terör örgütü ve insan kaçakçılığı ve ticaretini inceleyecektir.

Anahtar kelimeler: PKK Terör Örgütü, Organize Suç, İnsan Ticareti, İnsan Kaçakçılığı, Bağlantı.

## INTRODUCTION

It is quite common to see or adopt terrorist organizations as purely political-militarist action forms. In a way, it is also comfortable because of the ease it provides at the point of defining the subject and drawing its boundaries. Because the only thing to do is to memorize the principle definition procedures; is to speak in unity. However, it should be known that the stage when terrorist organizations face the financing problem changes the behavioural composition of the said structures. The desire of terrorist organizations to continue their existence leads them to acts of organized crime. Structures can no longer be confined to an absolute terrorist crime category. They cooperate with organized crime organizations in terms of the consent of their political projects or the structures themselves carry out this work within their structure.

However, understanding the relationship between terrorism and organized crime makes it necessary to turn to the world we live in today and its historical developments. Surely, the aim of this orientation is not to analyze terrorist organizations as they are. But without analyzing these organizations, it is certain that we will not create the possibility of any coherent opening. Therefore, understanding the relationship between terrorism and organized crime is a necessity to eliminate the imaginary border between terrorism and organized crime in the context of human trafficking. Some may believe that the connection between the first and the second is broken, but this is a matter of perspective. Because when the PKK terrorist, which is recognised as terrorist organisation by European Union and North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (MFA, 2022), organization is examined, it will be seen that the second concept has taken over or is taking over its current appearance.

The PKK's symbiotic transition to organized crime can be explained by "difficulty", not by desire, provided the act of terrorism remains constant. Because terrorism is a subjective expression that is independent of the perpetrator and takes its legitimacy from its discourse. At this point, the internal contradiction of the organization has resulted in the organization's making every item a subject of bargaining and sale, and the trafficking of all kinds of objects, especially human smuggling and trafficking. Due to reasons such as regional conflicts and civil wars, climate crises and droughts, economic difficulties and poverty, many people around the world leave their living spaces and geographies and embark on a compulsory journey towards a better and safer life. Many of these people are not able to legally travel to their destination countries, and they can only travel illegally. These illegal ways mean countries, high-security borders and the demand to overcome many other obstacles. In response to this intense demand, the rising phenomenon of transnational crimes, namely migrant smuggling, comes into play at the supply point.

This article will focus on the second of the two dimensions that interact with each other, namely the PKK's human smuggling and trafficking relationship. After explaining the terror and organised crime nexus, the article will aim to deal with the issue of human trafficking. The last section begins by laying out the PKK and looks at how the organisation involve criminal activities.

# 1. THE NEXUS OF TERROR AND ORGANISED CRIME

Violence asks for a reason because every action tries to justify itself in a justified manner, and finds and presents reasons for the violent action by giving legitimacy to the actions it performs for the sake of the ideology it creates in terrorism. However, to explain the justification of these actions, which are legitimate in his way, requires the education created within the organization and the propaganda tools that are connected with the outside world. Terrorist organizations need economic power for these propaganda and training activities, as well as the equipment used in acts of violence and the food and shelter of the members of the organization, and this shows us that there is another side of terrorism, the financial dimension of terrorism.

We can say that terrorist organizations have two main sources of income, the first of which is legal income sources and the other of illegal income sources. Terrorist organizations legally have income from activities such as dues and donations paid to associations and foundations, organizational publications, commercial activities and social activities. In addition to legal financing, terrorist organizations also fund their structures through many illegal activities such as extortion, robbery, theft, collection of dues and donations, extortion, counterfeiting, human, weapon and drug smuggling (Gürel 2015, pp.18-25).

Financing of terrorism reveals the relationship of terrorist organizations and terrorists with the economy and constitutes one of the two dimensions of this relationship. The first dimension of the relationship between terrorism and the economy is that the measures are taken by the countries against terrorism and the fight against terrorism results in high economic costs and can reach dimensions that cannot be underestimated in terms of the state budget. The second dimension is that the financial support provided to terrorism or terrorist organizations is of great importance for the continuation of the actions and activities of terrorist organizations and it means that terrorist organizations can't continue their existence in the absence of this support. In this case, the financing of terrorism and the economy (Gödekli, 2017, pp.57-59).

However, another important issue that emerges is the relationship between crime and terrorism itself. Because the distinction between criminal and terrorist organizations are becoming difficult to demarcate due to their symbiotic relation which makes their goals and method combined. Particularly drugs and human trafficking/smuggling are examples of the blurred line that makes intricate the nature of crimes due to the identities in the methods used. In other words, depending on the type of crime committed, terrorists now find themselves part of an organized crime and organized criminals find themselves in a terror network. Goals and means sometimes combine to breach the sphere covered by the state's security apparatus. It is stated that operational overlap occurs when one adopts the methods of the other.

Williams (2007, pp. 129-143) draws on the concept of nexus and, as seen in the examples of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) (Windle 2018, pp.197-203) and Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) (Proksik, 2018, pp.408-412), organized crime activities and internal sourcing activities that organizations outsource to be self-sufficient. It will appear to be largely

unified. With the similarity in these activities, it is possible to say that the distinction between terrorism and organized crime is gradually disappearing.

Nevertheless, there is no legal definition that 'everyone' agrees on the definition of organized crime. Despite this ever a "generally" accepted definition framework has been established with the United Nations Palermo Convention (2000) regarding transnational organized crime, on which the article is based. As expressed in clause of Article 2 of the said contract, "organized criminal group" means "one or more serious crimes or illegal acts that have existed for a certain period of time with the aim of obtaining, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material advantage and specified in this Convention. It is defined as a "structured group of three or more people who act together to carry out an action". The Convention refers to three situations while forming a framework for transnational crimes. The first is the above-mentioned structure consisting of three or more), and finally the "structured group".

Terrorism, as expressed in the examples of KSA and IRA above, has been consistently associated with organized crime activities in recent years; in a way, for terrorist organizations, being involved in criminal activities appears as diversification of criminal abilities. Now, involvement in organized crime has become one of the many tools it can use to maintain its existence, rather than a wholesale change in operational priorities (Cockayne, 2016, pp.15-44). That association requires the types of transactions that illegal operations can afford. In this respect, affiliation with organized crime has not only ensured the survival and expansion of many terrorist groups such as the PKK but also provided them with additional flexibility and mobility.

Therefore, the most important issue in the fight against terrorism is the elimination of the financial support of terrorists or terrorist organizations that ensure their existence. Accordingly, the financing of terrorism has been regulated as a crime both in the national and international community (Hakeri, 2013, p.74). The first document regulating the crime of financing terrorism in international law is the "International Convention on the Prevention of the Financing of Terrorism", which was adopted by the United Nations in 1999 and entered into force on April 10, 2002. With the convention, financing terrorism is regulated as a separate crime. The crime of financing terrorism is regulated in Article 2 of the Convention. According

to this; It has been tried to prevent the acts of providing and collecting funds by saying that "whoever provides or collects funds, knowingly and willingly, directly or indirectly, illegally and willfully, that it will be used in the realization of the actions expressed in the contract, in any way, wholly or partially, violates the contract" (Akın, 2009, p.396). However, since the article's purpose is not to reveal this overlap between terror and criminal organisations, it would be appropriate to reserve the said hybridisation as the subject of another article. The article solely aims to make visible link between the terror organisation and human trafficking.

# 2. TERROR, HUMAN SMUGGLING AND TRAFFICKING

Because of the centrality of country boundaries to the international system, they have a fundamental position in international politics. The power to regulate a country's borders, the ability to define the rules of admission and exit, and the right to give citizenship are all fundamental parts of sovereignty. Although it is difficult to define what makes a sovereign state because there is no consensus on the subject, governments have sole authority over who enters their boundaries, as Weiner points out. Borders are crucial from a political, economic, and security standpoint. Therefore, the border controls are crucial, because it risks encountering security threats such as "refugee flows" "refugee fighters" who can cause instability, and political opponents (Öner and Öner, 2018).

With the consequence of the expanding and diversified mixed migration movement around the world, human trafficking has become one of the most critical worldwide concerns of the twenty-first century. Human trafficking includes contemporary slavery, forced labour, exploitation for prostitution or other sexual purposes, exposure to captivity and similar practices that restrict freedom, use of organs and tissues, forced and early marriages, forced begging, illegal adoption, and use of children in criminal activities that cause victimization. (Öztürk and Ardor, 2007, p.79).

Human trafficking is a criminal activity that, like other for-profit industries, is strongly reliant on "supply and demand". Furthermore, the International Labour Organization and the United Nations state: "*each year*, *between 700,000 and 900,000 persons are sold, transferred, and kept against their will across international borders*" with women and children accounting for over 80% of this group (Elizabeth Pathy Salett, 2006). According to data from the UN Office of Drugs and Crime's 2014 report covering the years 2010-2012, women account for 50% of the victims, while children account for 3%. As a result, these figures clearly show that human trafficking is one of the most serious organized criminal operations in the world today. Due to the clandestine nature of human trafficking and the numerous difficulties encountered in identifying victims, official estimates are regarded to only partially reflect human trafficking on a global scale. Human trafficking, on the other hand, is the world's third-fastest expanding cross-border crime field (Mahmoud and Trebesch, 2010, p.175). Behind drug trafficking, with criminal organizations are estimated to earn between \$7 billion and \$30 billion annually (Agbu, 2003). In the case of financial desire, this is a situation that is frequently emphasized in the national and international arena, Türkiye is one of the target countries in terms of income sources for terrorist organizations, as it is both a transit and source country at this point. This situation threatens the security of the country (Dora, 2020 p.506).

However, it's important to highlight that migrant smuggling and human trafficking are two distinct terms. Migrant smuggling is defined as the illegal entry of a person into a country where he is not a citizen. Human trafficking, on the other hand, is the exploitation of a person by the use of force or the threat of force to make another person work as a slave or pushed into prostitution by taking advantage of his vulnerability or abusing his power (Adepoju, 2005, p.77 and p.89). Although these concepts are different from each other, they can generate income by smuggling immigrants and people, or by obtaining a share from criminal organizations by allowing them to pass, regardless of the difference in terms of terrorist organizations. While terrorist organizations send both their members and people to other countries for the continuation of their activities, they also generate income by smuggling people.

This situation has also found its place in international law texts. For instance, in the fourth paragraph of UN Security Council resolution 1373 dated 28 September 2001, it is clearly stated that there is a close relationship between international terrorism and organised crimes: money laundering; arms, illicit drugs and human trafficking (*which could be identified as nexus rather than relationship*) (Shelley and Picarelli, 2002, p.313).

Human trafficking, which is evaluated within the concept of transnational organized crime, was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly resolution 55/25 on November 15, 2000, and entered into force

with the signature of 147 member states on September 19, 2003, supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime. It has gained international recognition with the Protocol on the Prevention, Suppression and Punishment of Child Trafficking (UNODC, 2000). In other words, human trafficking was a crime that did not have a consensus on what it was until the Trafficking Protocol in 2000 (Farrell and Pfeffer, 2014, p.50). Protocol article 3(a) defines this crime as follows;

"Trafficking in persons shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs" (UN General Assembly, 2000).

As for human smuggling, according to the Protocol Against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organised Crime (Art.3/a);

"Smuggling of migrants shall mean the procurement, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit, of the illegal entry of a person into a State Party of which the person is not a national or a permanent resident" (UN General Assembly, 2000).

Thereby, the smuggling of migrants is defined as a crime "of specific or special intent" regardless of the purpose of generating financial or other benefit or profit (UNODC, 2000).

Despite the United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime's Classifications of Human Trafficking and Immigrant Smuggling, measurement issues and confusion persist. So much so that, despite the disparities in definitions, there are times when the lines between them blur. The following can be said about the distinctions between the two notions or events:

"Migrant smuggling occurs when migrants illegally cross or attempt to cross an international boundary with the help of smugglers. Individuals can be physically and/or psychologically mistreated, tricked, and exploited by being exposed to pressure and violence within a country's borders; human trafficking does not involve transit across borders.

Because the major goal of migrant smuggling is to assure the illegal crossing of the border with the migrant's permission, it is expected that the migrant's relationship with the smuggler will stop when the target is reached. However, in circumstances of human trafficking, the victim's initial assent to the activity loses its meaning in the legal realm stated at the outset due to the instruments used by the human trafficker, and thus becomes a criminal conduct that results in the abuse of the person."

The act, the means by which the act is carried out, and the aim of exploitation are thus the three fundamental parts of human trafficking. While smuggling is primarily a service supplied to a willing participant in exchange for material or financial gain, trafficking uses a variety of methods, including coercion and force, to achieve a variety of goals that are not always financial or material. The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 2388 of 2017 highlighted links between human trafficking and possible war crimes in instances of armed conflict (United Nations Security Council , 2017).

Human smuggling covers the illegal transfer of individuals from the country of origin to the target country in return for a certain fee. Although developed countries prevent legal immigration to their own countries for economic, political and security reasons, the ongoing intense demand for immigration from underdeveloped or developing countries makes human smuggling increasingly profitable. From this point of view, the frequency of use of human smuggling and human trafficking in terms of financing terrorism is very similar to narco-terrorism. In general, it can be said that terrorist organizations also carry out human smuggling in line with the routes through which they smuggle drugs and weapons.

In particular, international terrorist organizations play an active role in using logistics routes. There are two sources of income obtained here. First, people who are taken from their region to another region against their will and used in sexual exploitation, forced labour, fake adoption and organ trade. Second, people who want to go to the territory of another country and live by giving money of their own accord. Besides the financial income of human trafficking and smuggling, another advantage is the transportation of new members of the organization, which is necessary for terrorist organizations. Terrorist organizations intertwined with illegal criminal organizations; They charge so-called taxes or commissions in exchange for condoning and providing security for crossing the border. They also ensure that asylum applications are made by exploiting the asylum policies of European countries and by various fraudulent methods (Gürel, 2015).

This definition of the crime of human trafficking has been the main road map of international organizations such as the European Union and the Council of Europe, as well as many international non-governmental organizations and international associations in their fight against human trafficking. Moreover, as a requirement of the Protocol, it has become the domestic legal instrument that the state parties will use to punish this crime. As seen in the Turkish Penal Code, Article 79 is defined as "Any person who, by illegal means and with the purpose of obtaining, directly or indirectly, a material gain: a) enables a non citizen to enter, or remain in, the country, or b) enables a Turkish citizen or a non citizen to go abroad" (TCK, 2016). Even though the crime of human trafficking is seen as a human rights violation, another dimension of the issue is that this crime is seen as a commercial business. According to the assessment made by INTERPOL (International Criminal Police Organization) on the subject, human trafficking is an international organized crime with a volume of billions of dollars that establishes a modern mechanism of slavery (INTERPOL, 2019).

As briefly, human trafficking crime is a type of crime that has an organized dimension compared to other crimes. For example, while crimes such as theft, deliberate killing and damage to property are crimes that can be committed by a single person, human smuggling is a difficult crime to commit alone. Due to the reasons explained, this crime is a type of crime that can be committed by organized crime organizations. Today, human smuggling is also the most profitable and low risk of being caught compared to other types of crime. Technological opportunities are used extensively in human smuggling. It is understood that when human smuggling is committed in an organized way, thousands of telephone traffic are made even in just one incident, so it is a type of crime that is difficult to follow technically (EGM, 2001, p.29). Although substituting these two different

crimes for each other is an attempt to define it incorrectly, the fact that organizations are involved in both transnational crimes at the same time is the main factor causing this. The inclusion of common routes, means and agents in the work creates the similarity of crimes if the element of desire is excluded.

## **3. THE PKK AND HUMAN TRAFFICKING**

Türkiye's geographic location has made it a crucial actor in the Mediterranean and the Middle East basin's migration systems for decades, and the evolution of migrant smuggling has been inextricably linked to Türkiye's and the region's political economies. Türkiye is strategically located on the "Balkan Route" often known as the "Istanbul Express" (Howard and Traughber, 2008, pp.371-387), a well-travelled migration route. Türkiye is therefore one of the target countries in terms of income sources of terrorist organizations and human traffickers as it is both a transit and source country at this point; this situation threatens security of the country (Sarı and Tınas, 2018, pp.5-9). Because the country has served as a corridor through which the displaced people in many conflicted parts of the world Central Asia and the Middle East must pass before they can get to Europe. It causes that human trafficking has been gaining popularity with terrorist organizations and other criminal organizations that seek out such opportunities. Migration flow precipitates into an impasse crisis and In the summer of 2015, Türkiye became the focal point of Europe's migration problem when large numbers of migrants crossed the Aegean from Türkiye to Greece. The number of persons migrating by sea increased from less than 12.000 in 2013 (The Frontex, 2014) to more than 885.000 in 2015. In comparison, the Central Mediterranean route has never seen more than 170,000 passengers in a single year (The Frontex, 2016).

As pointed out in the previous section, it is seen that terrorist organizations also take an active role in human smuggling organizations. Terrorist organizations create their own financial resources and play an active role in human smuggling as understood from the operations carried out by the security forces. With this respect, In the report titled "*Terrorism and Human Smuggling and Human Trafficking*" prepared by INTERPOL, the relationship between terrorist organizations and human smuggling/human trafficking is examined on three main bases (Okan, Erdal and Bonavac, 2013, pp.44-45):

"1. Terrorist organizations, especially the provision of fake travel documents, guidance, etc. in order to carry out their actions. For services with smugglers; Migrant smugglers cooperate with terrorist organizations in order to ensure safe passage in areas dominated by terrorist organizations.

2. Terrorist organizations and migrant smugglers come into contact with shadow facilitators in areas that require more expertise. The main purpose here is to obtain a travel document in the desired profile.

3. Activities of hybrid organizations within terrorist organizations that also engage in migrant smuggling and human trafficking directly in line with the interests of the organization".

In this report, the PKK terrorist organization's links with human trafficking and human smuggling were also revealed. For instance, in an operation carried out in Türkiye in 2008, 187 illegal immigrants were caught and 12 organisers were caught in the organization of human smuggling, and it is stated that 2 of the organisers are members of the PKK (Hürriyet, 2008). The PKK in many cases is associated with human smuggling/trafficking (Roth and Sever, 2007, pp.909-910).

The PKK has acting revenue streams ranging from extortion to trafficking along the eastern and southeastern borders of Türkiye, leading to the organization's involvement in global-level transnational smuggling and trafficking. The PKK has undergone a transformation concerning the financing of its activities (Karaman, 2021, pp.2521-2522). The main financial sources of the PKK in its early years were donations and extortion. In the 1990s, the PKK collected \$3.6 million each year, mostly from Kurdish origin people in the United Kingdom. However, in time, drug and human trafficking was becoming the main revenue of organisations. As Frank Urbancic, the deputy counterterrorism coordinator at the US State Department told that "*the PKK has an 'octopus-like structure carrying out criminal activity, including drug and people smuggling' to raise fund.*" (Hürriyet Daily News, 2008).

The PKK's involvement in global human smuggling and trafficking, therefore, generates a significant amount of revenue, as migrants in areas controlled by the PKK must pay to cross the territory. Using transnational crime networks, the PKK engages in the smuggling of immigrants to Western European countries through Romania. In addition, the PKK takes an

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active role in the smuggling of people from Middle Eastern countries. In past years, the PKK prepared false documents for refugees and provided logistical support to Kurdish refugees who attempted to migrate to European countries. Because of the lesser danger and higher profit, the PKK specializes in identity and passport fabrication, as well as documents required for human smuggling. For example, in a case in 2016, Turkish police apprehended 38 PKK-affiliated human smugglers and seized fake materials used to make counterfeit passports and travel documents. The report shows that the smugglers earned \$10,000 from each immigrant. In some cases, a contract is signed between the victim and the human smugglers, including the fee to be paid at the time of arrival in the destination country, and the person is debited between 5,000 and 50,000 dollars, and when they arrive in the target country, they are subject to human trafficking in return for this debt (Klueber, 2003, p.7). The organisation smuggled around 100,000 Syrians and earned \$300 million from human smuggling between 2011 and 2015 (Sabah, 2015). Similarly, In a report published by EUROPOL (European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Cooperation) in 2011, it is clearly stated that the PKK generates revenue from human trafficking. In a statement made by the Republic of Türkiye's Ministry of Interior in January 2019, it was also stated that the PKK is an organization that participates in both human and drug trafficking.

In an international investigation, an organic link was found between the Turkish organized crime network and the PKK. For example, on 24 June 2000, 58 illegal Chinese immigrants were found dead in a truck in the port of Dover, England. In this regard, Dutch NRC Newspaper and Belgian Le Soir Newspaper claimed that there is a close bond between Turkish and Chinese organized crime organizations regarding human trafficking. This view declared many times by different International Organisations. In, 2011, 2012 (EUROPOL, 2012) and 2018 (EUROPOL, 2018) EU Terrorism Situation and Trend Reports (or TE-SAT), the main crimes perpetrated by PKK members in Europe continue to be enabling illegal immigration and human trafficking, According to the investigation report, the PKK is a multinational crime and terror organization that uses drug and human trafficking to raise revenue. (EUROPOL, 2011, p.22). The PKK is identified as a transnational crime alongside a terror organization (EUROPOL, 2011). Therefore, European intelligence analysts add that the human trafficking of PKK is one of the major concerns for Europe.

Not only human smuggling is perpetrated by terror organisations, but human trafficking crime is also committed. United States Reports (2015, 2017 and 2019) indicate youth participate in PKK forces, reports also point out youngsters of Kurdish ancestry are occasionally kidnapped and forced to join the PKK. Also, after the investigations, Şırnak Provincial Gendarmerie Command revealed that two girls were recruited by the PKK/YPG (Yekîneyên Parastina Gel / People's Protection Units) terrorist organization at the age of 14 by being deceived and forced to serve for the organization. When it was determined that the organization carried out 'human trafficking' within the scope of the operation carried out by the Gendarmerie teams, an investigation was launched against the PKK terrorist organization for the first time in Türkiye, on the charge of 'human trafficking. The investigation initiated by the prosecutor's office continues.

Dalman and Tabak (1995, p.35) state that "PKK aided and abetted people in their illegal transit in transit countries in a process that resulted in human trafficking in the countries to which they were transferred through terrorist organization members and subcontractors". Regarding their assessment, another issue is proxy modes of organisation. Since the organisation also give support to the asylum applications to be made to destination countries is a part of the human trafficking process. Also, the organisation forcefully employed immigrants at PKK controlled stores and restaurants, and do not receive full wages or have proper working hours (Bruggeman, 2002).

The organization's involvement in the human trafficking business, due to its volatile nature, defies the definition that has been associated with terrorism in recent years. This is exactly why it is an important basis to reconsider the organization in the context of increasingly burning problems today, taking into account the emerging criminal relations. Defining the organization precisely through these crimes has important critical potential. In Urbancic's words, the PKK is now an octopus with different crimes in each of its tentacles.

## CONCLUSION

Article first task is to express the necessity of establishing a link between terrorism and organized crime, in which it is involved as a result of financial desire. Terror's financial need makes it dependent on the *procrustes*  *bed* as in mythology; reshapes organizations according to their needs, aligns the shorter arm and leg as it pulls, until it fits.

It is a *bellum omnium* state defined by Schopenhauer. Terrorist organizations, albeit in different forms, have declared war on the bodies of others as a whole. For this reason, terrorist organizations threaten the whole of society, whether through militaristic attacks or by transforming people's bodies into a commercial commodities through human trafficking. However, there is a risk here too: it is the danger of defining all crime categories with which some symptoms match, only in the terror category. This study has been examined by focusing on the human trafficking activities of the organization to avoid this risk.

The article, therefore, has made an effort to progress through concrete in order not to confuse what is "as if" and "existing in reality" and not to condemn us to blindness in conceptual agglomeration. Of course, this methodology is debatable in the end. However, the article also wants to make a reality visible indirectly. This reality is that the organization's tendency towards violence against civilians and human trafficking has caused the gap between its theoretical discourse and its practice to open. The best way to shatter this reality is to make all forms of violence against civilians visible. The most obvious form of this photo is the people who have been victimized by human trafficking.

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