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CULTURAL STUDIES '20
IV. INTERNATIONAL VIRTUAL CONFERENCE ON
CULTURAL STUDIES

THE EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND THE FORMATION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF GEORGIA (1918-1921)

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Abstract

The Paper focuses on the educational reform implemented in the Democratic Republic of Georgia in the years 1918-1921. The reform is analyzed from the viewpoint on the formation of national identity.

The outstanding thinkers on the First Republic of Georgia, who were also members of the legislative body, discussed the ways of arranging the educational system and outlined the necessity of correct planning and implementation of the reform. The analyses of the Georgian press, publicistic articles and archive materials on the Ministry of Public Education has proved that Georgian reformers had worked out a policy aimed at the eradication of Russification in the educational system and nationalization-democratization of education. Their main concern was to bring Georgian schools close to the European educational system and adjust the European model to the Georgian reality. Nationalization of education and implementation of Georgian Language policy also required the solution of the problem of national minorities within the educational and cultural institutions. Numerous legislative acts were worked out, based on democratic attitude to national minorities. Nationalization/Georgianization of the educational and cultural institutions involved a vast State program of development of Georgian language. The Georgian language became a compulsory subject for the Georgian citizens who did not speak the state language.

The State policy of the First republic defined the key structures of the Georgian political and national project. The most important part of this project was the educational policy. Analysis of the educational policy within the given context has proved the following:

1. The Georgian Statehood is the only acceptable form of development of the Georgian Nation.
2. European democratic principles ensure the formation of the Georgian national identity. Georgia, in its essence, is part of Europe.
3. Georgia has always been a tolerant country which recognized culturally different ethnic minorities, albeit required their loyalty to the Georgian national project.
4. Within the historical context, we can observe the peculiarities of the national identity of the independent country.

Analysis of the educational policy of the First Democratic Republic has enabled us to observe the development of the nation's educational, linguistic and cultural standards that regulate the formation/expression of the national identity.

Key Words: Georgia, Nation, Nationalism, National Identity, Education.

The Educational Policy and the Formation of National Identity in the Democratic Republic of Georgia

The Democratic Republic of Georgia, which declared Independence on May 26, 1918, only lasted for 1028 days. Yet, the heritage of the three years of independence is still significant. Moreover, it is a pressing task to implement a thorough research of the heritage and restore the historical memory which fell victim to the Soviet ideological regime since 1921, when Soviet Russia occupied Georgia and the Democratic Government was forced to emigrate to France. According to Stephen Johnes, „*When most of Eastern Europe was struggling with dictatorships of one kind or another, the Democratic Republic of Georgia (1918-1921) established a constitution, a parliamentary system with national elections, an active opposition and free press*” (Johnes St. F. 2014). The memory of the multi-party system, pluralism, freedom of press and expression, the tradition of democratic elections and an extremely democratic constitution still supports State thinking and awareness of European, democratic and civil values (Janelidze 2018: 6).

The paper is an attempt to review the educational reform carried out in the Democratic Republic of Georgia in the years 1918-1921 and analyze how this reform supported the formation of the national identity. It is widely known that representatives of the modern theory of nationalism constantly underline the crucial role of education in the formation of the national identity. According to the modern theory of nationalisms, a broad cultural system – printed media, spreading of literacy, education etc. form basis for political aims and movements. Eric Hobsbawm notes that the development of schools and universities is directly linked to the nation’s self-determination processes. “*The progress of schools and universities measures that on nationalism, just a school and especially universities became its most conscious champions. ... Once the cadre educated becomes large enough, the national language imposes itself*” (Hobsbawm 1996: 135). The theoreticians of nationalism agree that the ruling elites include cultural, educational and language standard issues on their agenda. By means of subsequent policy, they outline the contours of formation of the national identity of their citizens. The educational policy of the first Democratic Republic of Georgia also established the cultural, educational and language standards aimed at the formation of the national identity. The historical context of the issue 1918-1921 years is a sort of the frame, without it would not have been possible to analyze the issue in this regard: In the introduction of the book published by Lowell Barrington “*Nationalism & Independence, After Independence: Making and Protection The Nation in Postcolonial and Postcommunist States*”, the author discusses the peculiarities of nationalism and his central question is: “*What happens to nationalism and nationalists when they have achieved their ultimate goal? What happens to nationalism after independence?*” (Barrington 2006: VI).

Since coming into power on May 26, 1918, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Georgia started implementing diverse reforms: economic, industrial and financial. The educational reform was also worked out and subsequently implemented. The representatives of the legislative body of the First Republic and intellectual circles of that period largely discussed the ways of arranging

the educational system and underlined the necessity of correct planning and implementation of the educational reform. Their aim was to eradicate Russification policy in the educational system and achieve nationalization-democratization of education. Their major concern was to achieve correspondence of the Georgian reality with the European educational system. As a result of subsequent activities, they managed to work out the concept of national educational policy, which embraced national education in schools, including curricula, programs and textbooks. The brief period of the First Republic was also remarkable from the viewpoint of establishing numerous high schools, for instance, Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi Conservatoire, The Academy of Fine Arts, Pedagogical and Polytechnical Institutes. A broad network of primary and secondary professional-technical schools was established. Based on special legislative acts, Georgian students of various fields were sent to European high schools. Nationalization of education and Georgian language policy also embraced the issue of national minorities with regard to educational and cultural institutions. The new legislation worked out numerous regulations with democratic attitude to ethnic minorities.

Georgian reformers were well aware of the fact that the old educational system, which was a result of Russification policy, failed to meet the requirements of the new life. In order to achieve reorganization, schools had to be based on democratic principles: - *“Democratism with social intention – this is the basis for our new schools”*- declared Noe Tsintsadze – deputy Minister of Education - in his topical speech *“On the Reorganization of Schools.”* As Man is a social creature, he is constantly involved in the interaction with the environment. In other words, Man is in constant process of socialization. As a result, he acquires the skills characteristic of a concrete society. Man as a creative being, participates in the transformation and development of social values. The main aim of the social function of education is to transform a human being into an appropriate member of the society. When the Georgian reformers set social goals for schools and education (social intention), they aimed at the development of the competences necessary for the new, Democratic society established in 1918. However, the implementation of the new social function of education could not have been easy in conditions of the newly-formed Democratic republic, taking into account the grave heritage of the Russian Empire.

It is well known that democracy is based on the principle of equality. It is a pattern of social order based on a definite system of values. Based on this feature of democracy, the idea of equality enables people develop in the way they choose, in conditions of cultural equality. As cultural equality was unimaginable under the Russian empire, schools differed as to social classes. The educational policy worked out in 1918 implied equal educational opportunities for all i.e. it was necessary to establish a unified system of schools. According to the new educational policy, apart from offering knowledge, the aim of schools was to focus on the value of Man in general. An individual plays a central role in social relationships. The principle of dichotomy of a separate individual and the society would support the development of civil responsibility. The new educational system was to support this development. The interrelationship between an individual and the society cannot be satisfactory unless an individual is familiar with the nature of the society and the national roots. This is possible only if a person is well aware of the country's history, culture,

traditions and geography. With this aim, school curricula embraced the history and geography of Georgia. Additional subjects included in the curriculum were: political economy, logic, law, physical training and handicraft, as well as philosophy, natural sciences and mathematics. Mention should be made of the principles that formed grounds for the teaching of humanitarian subjects. In the above-mentioned speech, Noe Tsintsadze noted that the new European culture was based on the idea of humanism and democratic principles. Further, Tsintsadze notes that Latin, so widespread in the Russian educational system, should be excluded from the curriculum and replaced with contemporary European languages. This would support Georgia's relationships with the leading European states and enhance the awareness of Georgian youngsters regarding European values.

When discussing the significance of the educational policy of the newly-established Republic of Georgia and the formation of the national identity, we should focus on the issue of education of national minorities and their cultural self-identification. A journalist and historian Eric Lee has dedicated a separate chapter of his book „*The Experiment: Georgia's Forgotten Revolution 1918-1921*“ to national minorities in Georgia. He notes that Georgian social-democrats supported the rights of the national minorities. The issue of national minorities was a significant challenge for the Democratic Republic of Georgia. Apart from the political will of corresponding institutions and decision-makers, it was necessary to implement a thorough analysis of the problem, taking into account the experience of democratic states, as well as the peculiarities of the historical development of Georgia. Definition of the rights of the national minorities was one of the priority tasks for the newly-formed Georgian state. Reasonable and correct solution of this problem would ensure internal stability and unity of the country. Such reasonable solution was to grant national-cultural autonomy to the ethnic minorities living in Georgia. This autonomy implied that every citizen of Georgia could get access to education in his/her native language. This idea was eventually included in the Constitution adopted in 1921, the 14th chapter of which was entitled „*The Rights of National Minorities*“.

On the very first day of restoration of Georgia's independence i.e. on May 26, 1918, at the Session of the National Council, Noe Zhordania¹ declared: „*The national minorities residing on the territory of Georgia enjoy equal rights, same as the majority of Georgian citizens.*“ Articles 5 and 6 of the Act of Independence, issued on May 26, 1918 underline the following:

5) Within its boundaries, the Independent Republic of Georgia ensures equal civil and political rights of each citizen, without regard to their nationality, religious faith, social status or gender.

6) The Democratic Republic of Georgia ensures free development opportunities for all nations residing on its territory.

In addition to the above-mentioned, the declaration of the Georgian National Council, issued on June 15, 1918 says: „*The Government takes the responsibility to implement the regulation included in the Act of Independence of Georgia,*

1 Noe Jodania – Georgian Menshevik Politician. Chaired the government of the Democratic Republic of Georgia from July 24, 1918 until March 18, 1921, when the Bolshevik Russian Red Army invasion of Georgia forced him into exile to France. There Jordania led the government-in-exile until his death in 1953.

according to which, representatives of national minorities residing on the Georgian territory are granted the same political, civil and national-cultural rights as ethnic Georgian citizens". Thus, the above-mentioned declarations prove that, from the very first day of its existence, the policy of the Independent Republic was tolerant towards national minorities. The rights of national minorities and the issues of their education and cultural self-determination were finally defined in the Constitution of Georgia adopted in 1921. According to the Constitution, national minorities had equal access to education and the right for cultural self-determination, without State interference, albeit on condition of protection of State laws and Constitution by national minorities. The promises declared in the legislation were subsequently implemented in practice: each national minority residing in Georgia had its own National Council. The political organizations dealing with ethnic issues performed their activities without any limitation. There were 80 Armenian, 60 Russian and 31 Muslim schools in Georgia. The First Classic School was established in Tbilisi, primary education was available in Abkhazian and Ossetic languages. National minorities had their representatives in the Georgian National Council. The Educational Committee of the Founding Council stated that the State policy regarding the national minorities was to protect their national-cultural rights.

Since the issue under discussion refers to education, I will focus on the regulations worked out by the Constitutional Committee, referring to education, language and cultural self-determination. On May 5, 1920, the Constitutional Committee stated that a Chapter of the draft Constitution on the national minorities should allow free and unlimited political, social-economic and cultural development, education and implementation of national-cultural activities in the native languages. Appurtenance to this or that national minority was based on the personal will of each citizen. Within constitution and legislation, national minorities were authorized to establish democratically elected national unions for performing cultural-educational activities. There were no restrictions of political and civil rights regarding participation in the National Union. Ethnic minorities would have access to schools in their own language. However, according to the legislation, they were obliged to study the State language. If, within a certain self-governance, the majority of the population were ethnic minorities, they were allowed to handle administrative affairs in their own language alongside with Georgian.

Member of the Founding Council and the Chairman of the Constitutional Committee – Pavle Sakvarelidze notes in his letter "On the Constitution of Georgia (National Minorities)": Ever since ancient empires were destroyed by revolutions, irreversible historical processes have led to the formation of national states. In separate nations, the formation of national states is due to democracy and democratic development. This is the case for Georgia. A nation is a social organism, equipped with State bodies. Their existence is a guarantee of the country's fair and peaceful development. One of the key issues is a democratic settlement of the problem of national minorities. The issue of national minorities is, above all, linked with the national issue. Further, it is linked with ideal statehood, because, definition of the rights of national minorities is a political and State obligation. However, in order to settle the issue of national minorities in the ideal way, it is necessary to create a national State for the protection of the nation's collective identity. The supporters of the Democratic Republic believed in the importance of cultural

diversity in the process of the country's democratization. They considered cultural diversity a common public property. The more diverse the culture of the entire State, the deeper and more powerful is the culture of a nation. Therefore, support of cultural diversity, cultural progress of ethnic and national minorities, is, above all, interconnected with the cultural development of the Georgian population. However, this should not affect the interests of the Georgian population, because Georgians form the majority of population of Georgia as a national State. These are the grounds for the development of a national and democratic State.

The given paper has focused on those aspects of the educational policy of the Democratic Republic which supported the formation of the national identity. Analysis of the context has proved that the Georgian State was the only acceptable cultural and political form for the development of the Georgian nation and national minorities residing in the country. Besides, definition of the rights of national minorities, which was so crucial for the formation of the national identity, has proved that the Georgian national project implemented in the years 1918-1921 attached priority to culture, education, mother tongue, development of self-governance, establishment of national unions, cultural autonomy and increase of civil awareness. Special mention should be made of the fact that Georgian Democratic Republic of 1918-1921 was a natural continuation of Georgian cultural nationalism of the 60s of the 19th century. Thus, from cultural nationalism, Georgia turned to the formation of the national state. The concept of Georgia as a nation-state was worked out in the process of elaboration of the Constitution in 1921. The Constitution was worked out envisaging the context in which the Democratic Republic had to struggle for State independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. In this context, the issue of national minorities was considered topical for the State interests.

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DISCUSSING INDUSTRIAL SETTLEMENTS AS A MODERNIZATION UTOPIA: FISKOBIRLIK AND SEKA EXAMPLES

DR. ÖZGÜR DEMIRKAN
DR. SELIN KARAIBRAHIMOĞLU

ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to discuss Fiskobirlik Entegre and Aksu-Seka settlements built in Giresun, a small Anatolian city, as a utopia of modernization. It is a question of the study whether it is possible to read these settlements built in Anatolia as a utopia in the extension of the modernization efforts of the Republic which is itself a utopian thought, or how it can be read as a utopia overlapped with the prevailing ideology. Utopias have been described as non-existing and impossible dreams on one hand, and on the other hand it has been accepted as a revolution against the existing order throughout history and its relation with ideology has been strengthened. When social order is disrupted and existing methods or laws do not work, ideology tends to develop utopian solutions and proposals. From this point of view, the forecast of the study is that Fiskobirlik Entegre and Aksu Seka settlements were designed similar to the ideal and social order that shapes the other industrial settlements built in different cities of Anatolia during the Republican period, where the modern is experienced and thus offers a living order that can be accepted as a prototype of the modernization utopia. These settlements were accepted as witnesses of the modernization and ideology of the republic and utopian traces in the search for modernity were sought.

Keywords: Utopia, Modernism, Industrial Settlements, Fiskobirlik, Seka

INTRODUCTION

It is not even worth taking a look at a world map not containing the utopia, because the soils of the humanity where people wandered around and raised anchor would be excluded (Oscar Wilde, 1891).

Utopia is the search for the place where 'people dream and want to live' (Mumford, 1928, s.25) or 'a new social order and political wish is suggested' (More,

2012, s.61) peculiar to itself and defined by history and its character. Utopia whose intellectual bases have been laid with the ideal society order suggested by Plato in his book "The Republic" has been defined as "the place of happiness" in the books of Thomas More called "New Political Society Form" and "New Utopia Island" (Binboğa, 2012, s:137; Riot – Sarcey, Bouchet, Picon, 2003); therefore, it has found a strong discussion ground for itself with the definitions such as "hard to get", "an imaginary place", "absent-country", "heaven of the earth", "ideal place" and "ideal society" from the classical period to today. The common ground shared by different disciplines from literature to architecture is that it is "the place whose absence cannot be considered" (Wilde, 1996, s.34).

Utopias bear the concern of exceeding the negativities in the situations in which the current order or laws ensuring the social order do not work and get distorted; for this reason, they are deemed as the designs exceeding the "existent one" or "the given one" (Usta, 2014) and they are shaped within the axis of seven main components such as architectural closeness, community, functionality, stability, being all over again, regularity and dictatorship (Sevinç, Yürekli, 2004, s. 143). Utopia accepted as the dreams that are "unreal" and "impossible to come true" has also been discussed very closely with the revolutions and reforms along the history by having a "qualification of revolution against the real world" (Mumford, 1928, s.25). According to Mannheim, these approaches accepting the utopias as a driving force for the progress of humanity accepts the revolutionary view owned by utopia as the mainstay and turned the utopia into an indispensable part of the discourses regarding the future and caused it to be accepted as a strong tool for the change (Mannheim, 1994, 27). While the ideology determining the direction of the change gains legality to a sovereign authority, utopia becomes the basis of the groups under the sovereignty discussing the current order. From this point of view, utopia could be said to be an ideology that is challenging and rousing in terms of history (Tanilli, 2001, s. 261). On the other hand; this organic bond between the utopia and ideology fortifies the idea that there could be a kind of relation between the utopias derived in the living societies and the living societies though it is weak (Kumar, 2005, s.104) and presents an approach that could solve the negativities of the existent one benefitting from the current reality. This approach causing the utopia to be shaped as an antithesis also strengthens the view that the society utopia lives in grounds the raw material of the utopia (Jameson, 2009, ss.169-197).

Therefore; the resource for the idea that the thoughts of the humans regarding the arrangement of the environments they live actually form a utopia from the antic ages to today is the relation established by the utopia with the ideology and whose basis is laid on the solution of the current social and urban problems. The existence of the utopias that have been applied, realized and have been beyond becoming theoretical as well as the examples that have not been applied under the conditions of their own periods, are hard or impossible to realize and require ideal environment and society conditions is also based on the same relation (Alsaç, 1973, s.31). These utopias aim to idealize the social order by suggesting new options instead of the established order and system and search for the solution ways to the problems possible to occur currently and in the future. Thereof; they could be defined as a revolutionary manifesto of their own periods (Usta, 2005).

This intellectual background turns modernism being the revolutionary manifesto

of 19th century into one of the utopian ideas and from the strongest utopias that have been produced and realized. The unbalanced prosperity distribution experienced in the intensive mechanization and urbanization process caused by the industrial revolution towards the end of the 19th century has become stronger with the capital goods and effort conflict. The social conflict and disagreements experienced in this process have turned the cities into the areas of unhappiness and infelicity and the city centers have become fusty (Eryan, 1993, s.39). In this environment that led up to the development of the modern architecture, the solution of the problems and reaching the spatial and social order of the ideal one have been seen as the main principle and the cities have become the utopia of the modern one on a plane in direct relation with the production ways. For this reason; the essence of these modernist utopias in their state that evolved in the West is dependent on the serious consideration of the urbanization studies (Bozdoğan, 2002, s.241). While the modernization experience in Anatolia was accepted as a social ideology that would save the empire from the collapse together with the Tanzimat, the declaration of the Republic has become a key point in the shaping of the social structure. In this meaning, it is possible to relate the commencement of the utopist idea in Anatolia with Tanzimat modernization (Tanyeli, 1993, s.23) and accept it as an effective raw material in the construction of all Anatolian cities as a social utopia directed completely by the ideology.

With this view, it could be said that the urbanization decisions applied in almost all Anatolian cities, zoning activities conducted together with them and the industrialization enterprises have found existence as a part of this. Besides, these cities being the stages for the experiencing of modernity with these spatial regulations suggesting a new life model have become the places where the modernist utopias realized beyond the theoretical dimension have gained existence.

Industrial Settlements and Utopia

Whatever kinds of renovation it brings, no modernist utopia could be thought that does not bring any solution to the economic problems caused by the industrial capitalism (Jameson, 2009, s.267)

When the Republic revolutions are accepted as a modernization project containing versatile changes containing revolutions, 'urbanization' is the utopia which was given the most importance. While the industrial settlements constructed in the cities in different regions of Anatolia and becoming a small-sized living area have been the catalyzer of the social-dimensioned modernization target, they have also accelerated the developments directly affecting the physical space of the cities and formed a social model as the application spaces of the modernization ideology with other units they contain as well as the factory spaces (Asliiskender, 2009, s.114). The factory buildings, housing units, educational structures, sport areas and social equipment in these settlements have been arranged in right angle and by considering a rational circulation and organization system (Arıtan, 2004, s. 357). Therefore; a contrast ordered and gridal settlement plan has been to the organic settlement texture of the cities in Anatolia and the settlements have been insulated from their surroundings with a green tape and their borders have been completed. These settlements turning into a city prototype in time have become

civilized facilities whose similar structures are not even observed in the democratic countries with their parks, mass housings, educational institutions, communal living areas and sport areas and the comfortable living order they present (Şahin, 2011, s.50; Aydemir, 1996). Pure, cubist, rational, easily understandable and functional modernist lines are dominant in the settlements from the plan plane to the structures one by one. Social equipment has been placed in the points where the citizens and workers could easily reach; the citizens have experienced cinema and theatre for the first time and met many social and cultural equipment such as casino, golf course, pool and football pitch (Durukan Kopuz, 2018, s.30).

Factory buildings have been positioned in the inner parts away from the highway by considering the factors such as noise and pollution etc. into consideration, administrative buildings have been placed close to them, the buildings serving general usage such as hospital, cafeteria and sport areas have been positioned in the fringe of the settlement and the housing areas have been positioned at a walking distance to all these equipment, but in a protected area (Aritan, 2004, s.336). While they bear the progressive, universal and rationalist qualifications with their social and sociological properties except for the spatial opportunities, they have provided the workers with the opportunity of gathering under an identity defined with their families (Asiliskender, 2012, s.36) and turned into schools engraining the ideal of working in them within the direction of the same target (Şahin, 2011, s.50, Linke, 1937).

With these properties, the industrial settlements provide the opportunity of being able to conduct a general assessment regarding the modernization efforts of the period as a prototype of the modern Turkish identity and new urban order beyond being just an industrial operation in the first quarter of 20th century in which the modernization was tried to be reflected in all Anatolia and modernist thought was intensively on the tap. On the other hand; the common inspiration resource of the utopias is the idea that human being is worth living in a fair social order. In this respect, industrial settlements have suggested an ideal spatial order and an ideal spatial construct supporting this order beyond developing the cities they have been established in economic meaning and pave the way for being defined as a utopia peculiar to themselves and their periods.

Fiskobirlik and Seka Settlements

Fiskobirlik Entegre and Aksu Seka settlements as two settlements constructed in the same period in Giresun being a small coastal town whose economy is based on hazelnut on the Black Sea shores of Anatolia are the most determinative factors being efficient for the city to show a linear development alongside the shore within eastern-western axis except for the topographic data. In this meaning, Aksu-Seka in the eastern axis of the city and Fiskobirlik Entegre in the western axis of the city have become the stage for the spatial and social arrangements in accordance with the modern life practices idealized by the Republic, affecting the modernization experience of the city beyond becoming the tools for ensuring only the economic development by showing similar properties with many industrial settlements in Anatolia.

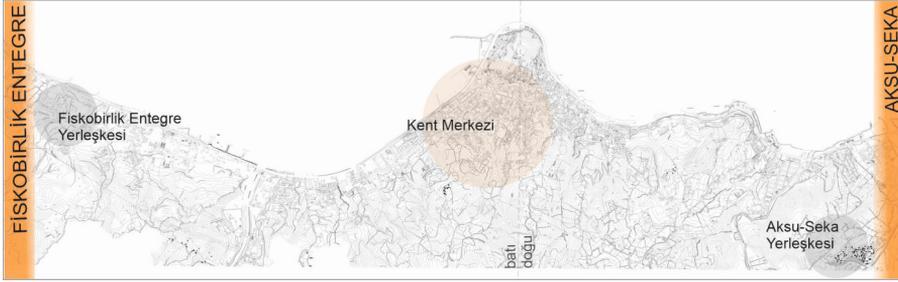


Figure 1. Giresun City Center, Fiskobirlik Entegre and Aksu-Seka settlements

Fiskobirlik is a regional manufacturer association established in 1938 for the purpose of ensuring a unity in the issues of processing, purchasing, selling and pricing of hazelnut. It is an example of the cooperatives established as a part of the industrialization enterprises in a period in which statist policies were efficient in Anatolia. Many structures or structure groups such as the Building of General Directorate and Warehouses, Operation Factory and Housings constructed within the body of Fiskobirlik have been efficient in the shaping of the city space. However; it has caused to the construction of a new settlement in which all the units were joint together after the insufficiency of the administrative units, factory building and warehouses whose areas were increased with extensions and which got stuck in the city center in spatial meaning (E. Göçmen, verbal interview, 28 Kasım 2017). Fiskobirlik Entegre whose official opening was initiated in 1981 is the most important spatial reflection of hazelnut in the city as an agricultural product both with its magnitude and content (Demirkan, Karaibrahimoğlu, 2018, s. 874) and it presented a modern life experience with the spatial order and functional variability it provides. It has a settlement texture in accordance with the modernist tendencies of the period with the administrative building, weighing unit, silos, hazelnut cracking factory, hazelnut kernel silo, hazelnut processing and packaging factory, warehouses, low-storey and gardened houses for the workers, locals and social equipment positioned at a walking distance and the planning decisions and architectural approaches positioning all of them taking place in the settlement (Figure 2).

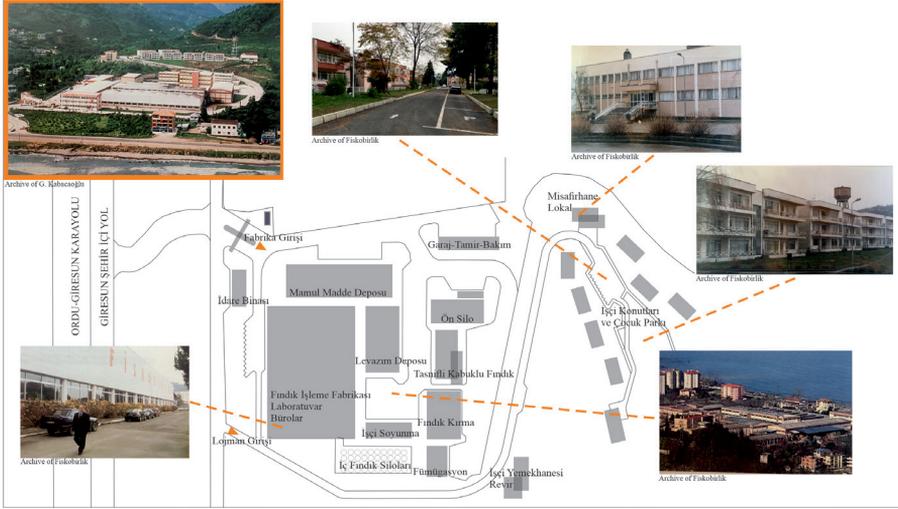


Figure 2. Fiskobirlik settlement plan and images

Aksu-Seka is another industrial settlement constructed in the city as an example of the paper factories established by the state in the first years of Republic for the purpose of being able to have a self-supporting paper industry for the state. It was established in an area of 795.118 m² in total near Aksu River on the 5th kilometer of Giresun-Trabzon highway in the eastern side of the city center as the first large scale industrial settlement established in Giresun and in the region. Aksu-Seka started to be institutionally shaped at the beginning of 1968 turned into an operation in which 1040 people were employed with the number of workers increasing in time (Kocabaşoğlu, et.al., 1996, s.253). In this process, it contributed to both the social, economic and spatial development of the region in takes place with the units such as housings, social facilities, child gardens, cinema, primary school and sport field within its body (H. Karabrahimoğlu, verbal interview, May 24th, 2019), became a prototype of the modern life with these characteristics and affected the life rituals of the citizens during its existence and took a strong place in the collective memory of the city (Figure 3). For these reasons; it is possible to define Aksu-Seka settlement as a tool that objectivizes the modern city image tried to be formed by the Republic in a rural city at the beginning of 1970s. Aksu-Seka that could not adapt to the technological developments due to lacking regular maintenance and repair in time was taken to the scope of privatization together with the other Seka operations in general of the country and all the structures in the settlement were collapsed after a while (Demirkan, Karabrahimoğlu, 2019).

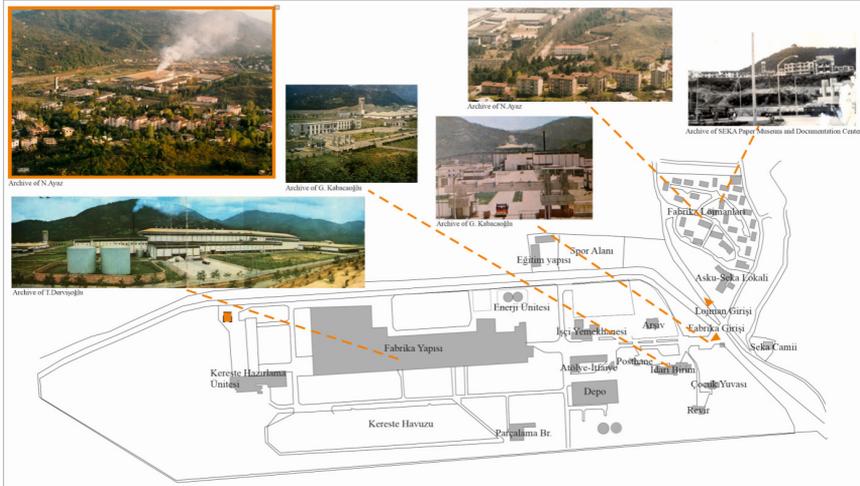


Figure 3. Aksu-Seka settlement plan and images

FISKOBIRLIK AND SEKA AS A MODERNIZATION UTOPIA

Utopia has been accepted within the scope of the study as “an ideological thought system which is realizable and which aims to form a better social order and solve the problems”. As specified by Heynen (2011, s.162); “Limiting the utopia to the Thomas More type or directing utopia towards this direction is like trying to reduce the electricity to the Greek word meaning ‘amber’ after which electricity was named and realized for the first time”. Utopia is a matter of constructions containing all types of appearances, demand realizations and hope images dreamed regarding the future (Heynen, 2011, s.162).

Therefore; the course of the study has been fictionalized in a structure connected to one another in parallel to the multi-layered and multi-modal structure owned by the utopia; Definitions and Concepts, Verbal Narrations and Discussions. A conceptual scheme in which the definitions, concepts and theoretical approaches of utopia have been directed formed firstly within the structure of the study. In this way, a group of concepts has been attained focusing on the definitions used by the writers existing, developing and questioning the idea of utopia in their narrations and literary texts. After that, verbal interviews have been conducted with the people having lived and worked in Fiskobirlik Entegre and Seka settlements in different periods of time and having knowledge regarding their social and spatial order; and the narrations attained from the interviews have been listed. Finally; the conceptual scheme consisting of the definitions and concepts of utopia and the inferences attained from the verbal narrations and the data attained from the field study regarding the social and spatial order of both settlements have been corresponded and discussed. In this way, the responses of the question of whether the social and spatial order presented in Fiskobirlik Entegre and Seka settlements could be accepted as a modernization utopia or not have been sought.

Definition and Concepts

Accepting utopia only as a dreamed place or something that is subject for a literary text means the limitation of its classification as an imaginative concept

separated from its context. However; in this study, what is desired to be done is that the sociological, philosophical, psychological, literary and spatial properties of utopia could be considered together. Upon this, the definitions and concepts developed upon the development or questioning of the idea of utopia have been examined from the period in which the utopia text of More was published until today and the theoretical structure of the industrial structures defining the utopia in physical and social context and a part of the narrations or texts taking place in the intermediate section of the dominant ideology of the modernity have been analyzed. These concepts attained from the definitions of utopia have also worked as a draft for the examination of where of the utopia idea the modern urban life and architecture are positioned.

Table 1. Definitions and Concepts of Utopia

More, 1516	an island where people desired to live, which gives happiness , but which never exists and which was designed for being protected from external threats and to be isolated ...	place of happiness non-existing place Isolated
Campanella, 1623	a spatial order based on symmetry and continuity principles and a non-changing ideal city order ...	ideal spatial order ideal society
Cabet 1840	a stable and homogenous city based on the monotonous system and limiting freedom...	monotonous limited homogenous
Wilde 1891	the place which is reached with progress and where there is a society dedicated to art and beauty ...	progress art and beauty
Wells 1905	a happy imaginary world in unity and integrity establishing relations with the future ...	future place of happiness
Mumford 1928	the place where is accepted as unreal and impossible, but which is like a revolution against the real world...	unreal revolution
Popper 1965	a description of the ideal state made of a historical root ...	historical root
Benjamin 1969	a place between dream and reality , neither just a reality criticism, nor just the description of an ideal with the passion of building the humanist one...	humanist dimension between dream and reality
Owen, Fourier 1969	the place where society is accepted as the big family and beyond individualism by terminating the distinction between the city and town...	social unity
Manuel 1973	the story of seeing and experiencing a good society ...	a good society
Alsaç 1975	the one that requires ideal environment and society conditions and that has been realized by going beyond the theoretical issues...	ideal spatial order ideal society realizable
Tanyeli 1993	a project for the future as a rational cognitive activity that is revealed under the full inspection of the consciousness...	rational cognitive future
Batur 1993	an ideal society model shaped by the urban and architectural suggestions ...	urban, architectural suggestions ideal society model
Silier 1993	a rooted break from the existing social tendencies and usual development line...	Break
Manheim 1994	an indispensable part of ideology ...	space of ideology
Heynen 1999	consists of the criticism of every existent thing...	critical function
Harvey 2002	geographically small-scale settlements for the social order ideals...	small-scale
Calvino 2002	the imaginary construct of the stressed relation continuing for thousands of years between the cities and humankind...	imaginary construct
Kumar 2005	a world which is not possible, but desired to be found by the people...	desired
Sevinç, Yürekli 2005	the ideal society model turning into a tradition of a way of thinking and focusing on the approaches based on common ownership ...	common ownership
Usta 2005	the revolutionary manifestos of their own periods...	revolutionary manifesto
Cioran 2010	the place refined from evil , made independent of religion and also produced with a childish rationality...	refined from evil, good society

Verbal Narrations

Verbal interviews have been conducted with the people who worked in the factory in different periods of time, lived in the settlement or had the opportunity to have experience in there in various ways and belonged to different professional groups. In the determination of the people to be interviewed, the fact that they belong to different socio-cultural groups and show a balanced distribution in terms of gender has been taken into consideration. Verbal interviews have taken almost one hour the interviewed people have been requested to tell these industrial settlements as a space they have experienced within the context of the periodical conditions and the social development of the city and the interview has been written without any intervention to the narrations attained from the recorded interviews in a way that "F" codes will define the codes regarding Fiskobirlik Entegre Settlement and "S" codes will define the codes regarding Seka Settlement (1-F1; 1-F2; 1-F3; 2-S1; 2-S2; 2-S3...). The simultaneous narrations of the people have been recorded for the purpose of not giving any chance of guidance during the interview and question-answer technique has not been used.

1- F1

...it was so different from public housing and so useful in terms of planning, opposite Giresun and in the middle of pine trees. I was so sad that we would leave here and start to live in an apartment building in the city... It was calm, cool and safe, neighborhoods were good... We would tour around the settlement with car when we got out on Sundays after leaving there... Every family was given a certain amount of field for planting vegetables. The local was open for public, people would come and go, we would gather in there, there was a peaceful environment, anyone in need would be helped there. A deputy manager who was very well-equipped in social terms had come and the workers were also very happy to work with him... He conducted to the foundation of the first female basketball team and they went too far, it was established as a female club and it was so nice for the women to be there. American players came and the players playing in Galatasaray, Besiktas and Fenerbahce were transferred; all Fiskobirlik family would go to the matches with children... (N.G., Interview date and hour: October 4th, 2019/11:00)

1-F2

....the life in there and most importantly, the neighborhood relations were very good, there was no superior-subordinate relation. There was a beautiful pool in front of the public housing and banks around it, we would sit on those banks and drink tea and coffee and everyone would prepare and bring something... Our children had very nice friendships... We had gardens close to our houses, we would plant our own vegetables there, we had a gardener and the trees and flowers were well-groomed. Although I worked, I wanted to turn back home immediately when I went to work, we were so happy and peaceful. Fiskobirlik was working with three shifts in those times, that was so fruitful, then the production started to decrease suddenly... Our houses were very beautiful and well-cared, I don't know if it is because good people came together, but we were so peaceful. (F.G., Interview date and hour: October 10th, 2019/12:15)

1-F3

... Everything gets indisputable when it is Fiskobirlik... I got married in the period I was working in the factory, I was deputy manager when I got married, a lodgement was assigned to me, too; and we started to live in the lodgement when I got married, we are the first couple entering the Entegre as bride and groom... Lodgements were constructed for the people working in critical points in the factory; afterwards, the upper level and medium level workers were also allowed to reside there, factory manager or deputy manager could reside there for an indefinite period of time, but the workers would reside there temporarily, there were 32 two-storey lodgements, the number of the people working in critical points was too high, those with the work conducting qualification could stay at the houses among them... There was friendship among people, I would be very happy when I left work and went to the local, it was nice to sit in the local even when we didn't do anything... Heating order was perfect, rents were too low when compared to the conditions of the period, we could pay for the electricity and water costs, but it was too lower than the normal ones, also, the houses were much bigger when compared to the worker lodgements in terms of usability and material preferences, even the smallest problems would be fixed at the houses, the area in which the lodgements remained was very wide, areas that could be used by everyone in their daily lives and in which people could plant their own fruits and vegetables had been adjusted (F.G., Interview date and hour: October 9th, 2019/15:45)

1-F4

.... I always say, our most beautiful and happiest years passed in there in the family. My children always say that, too. We come together with my neighbors, and the subject of our chats is our longing for there. There was both apartment life there, and we were not jailed, we were free, we could go out whenever we wanted, we could come together every hour we got bored; place was not important; in the garden, in the part or in front of the door, as in our children. We would come together in the local with ladies and gentlemen, we could eat and drink by sitting on the banks in the green areas around the pool and arrange trips. There was cooperation, game area and we had a doctor. They would help all our needs, living there would facilitate life. I was so angry with myself by asking why I did not move to the lodgement before. Entegre provided conditions far beyond my expectations. We had our fields behind the playground; we would plant. They helped us in the repair, painting and in such things of the houses. We would solve the problems easily. Security service was provided, the lodgements were surrounded. It had two entrances and there were security services at both of them... We had a gardener, everywhere was well-cared and clean. We had bright and large houses whose usage was well-considered, they were comfortable. (H.Y., Interview date and hour: October 11th, 2019/16:00)

1-F5

... I stayed at the lodgement for 16 years, my husband died, the institution supported me and didn't let me go, it was safe, my children were little, they grew up. I wasn't working, my husband was the Director of Agriculture, there was something like this in Fiskobirlik, cooperation, they hired me after the death of my husband. I was happy with the institution and living there, we had good time with friends, they helped me a lot, I lost my husband there; therefore, it was so touchy for me to leave there. (L.A, Interview date and hour: November 13th, 2019/11:00)

1-F6

... we wanted to live there, it was a place where the people we know and recognize lived, its safety was the most important property of it, children could stay outside all the time, it looked like Uludag when it snowed. Neighborhood relations were nice. I started to work towards the end of the years I resided in the lodgement, I was generally at home, that was so nice (F.Y., Interview date and hour: November 13th, 2019/11:00)

1-F7

....
Fiskobirlik was important among all the cooperatives in that period of time. Most of the workers were from Giresun. I had great contributions to the development of Giresun, we would also help in the issues of employment and the issues about the city; for example, Fiskobirlik fixed the roof of the vocational school and we constructed a lab in the faculty. I lived in the lodgements for almost seven years, its opportunities were very good, especially for the children. We were together with our friends except for the working hours, too, we would exchange our ideas in every issue, go to the social facilities and watch matches together, welcome our guests and we had walkings at weekends. I planted the fruit trees such as mandarin and grape in some areas there, we had fields belonging to us and we would plant. My son grew up there, learnt to play, fight and then reconcile there, learnt to eat in the neighbor there. We conducted various activities in the local... We welcomed some people from the state there... The merchant would trust us in that period (N.K, Interview date and hour: November 13th, / 13:30)

1-F8

... we lived in the lodgements for 10 years, we resided in a flat in the first floor, then we moved to the second floor. My wife was so happy, there was a site environment, we were happy. There was a life above the standards of Giresun. Neighborhood relations were very good. Every demanded condition was there. There was old equipment in the houses, there was a need for repair. Services started to halt recently, we especially had a problem of hot water, but this was not so important. The local meals in the social facilities had become a brand, cooks would represent Giresun in international contests, we would prefer the local when we needed meal from the outside. Fiskobirlik superior group would use the meeting hall in here and we could welcome our guests there, too. That period passed, I think it is not a very

big loss for Giresun. (N.Ş., Interview date and hour: November 13th, /12:30)

2-S1

... The social facility in Seka was the only hall in which people could come as a family and have dinner except for the guesthouse of Fiskobirlik. The people of Giresun in those days from all strata would come with their spouse, have their dinner and go... One of the issues I mainly focus is that Seka made the greatest contribution to Giresun in terms of culture and art in those years... The first open air cinema was established in the city after 1950s, everything changes after the opening of Seka. Seka is a school, Seka is a university of the region, this is definitely like this, namely I do not say them because I worked there. Why? We people are all village children, but our place in the society was always deficient, we weren't a full fledged man of society, there was a lack of general culture. And, Seka tried to compensate for this deficiency, we learnt rhetoric, friendship, help, cooperation, not betraying the facility you work for and helping the poor. Today, the people who worked in Seka in that period are at a level of being able to write for a newspaper and talk to a society... There was a cinema in Seka, various activities would be performed, movies would play, people from upper classes came and watched movies, and also those who had never seen any cinema... Fiskobirlik also had a contribution, this is certain... The worksite structure in 70s becomes school with the enterprise of Seka, they are assigned from National education; there were five teachers whose wives were working in Seka... Seka has been a pioneer with the activities provided in social facilities in the cultural life of Giresun. Besides, there was not any extensive hotel in that period, there was the guesthouse of Seka, those coming would reside there, even when 6th President Fahri Koruturk came to Giresun, his team resided in Seka. (H. K., Interview date and hour: May 24th, 2019/11:00)

2-S2

... the architecture of the local building was very beautiful, everyone would love it, it was constructed by the Japanese, in that architecture, it was one-storey from the front and two-storey from behind... our children are still so bound with one another, they were very happy, everyone would know each other, we were not afraid, we were so comfortable, the local was a golden opportunity for the city, everybody would be affected from one another in the issue of education... we would go to cinema, it was open for public, people would come from the surroundings, too, there was not any better restaurant in the city in that period, there would be people coming to our new year balls from the city. (L. M., Interview date and hour: May 27th, 2019/14:00)

2-S3

... our core was Seka, it kept us altogether, we are like brothers, we are still bound to each other... Other Sekas were the same, too, they developed their regions in every meaning, it both contributed to the city and its surroundings. Lodgements would change depending on the square meters, people would

settle in the houses depending on their career, they were the assigned houses, there was an elite life, lodgement was small, but its cost was too low. The educational level of the children was too high... it wouldn't matter if it is worker or officer... there would be people coming from Giresun to the entertainments, the social facilities didn't have any closed order, it was open for the public. (A.A. Interview date and hour: May 27th, 2019/15:00)

2-S4

... our children grew up so freely, they had self-confidence and had a very happy childhood. Factories bring civilization at one point and had people see each other, sharing was a lot, there would be wish merry holidays in the bajrams, everyone working in the institute would be invited, we the guest workers would be needy, but we would support each other altogether... We conducted activities for education in the local, we would make bazaars and sell the products, we would reach help to the children, we would go to the orphanage... Its air and water were clean, it was in green, had a very nice guest house, we didn't have to go to Giresun for a long time... There was one Seka and one Fiskobirlik in Giresun. Our keys would remain on the door at night and we were giving out happiness to the outside. We would go shopping, the merchants would say "take it, lady, you are from Seka, we know you will pay." There would be Republic balls, fashion shows and symposiums, trainings would be given, the workers had a football team and basketball team... (O. Ö., Interview date and hour: May 27th, 2019/16:00)

2-S5

... our lodgement life was so beautiful, we had a nice local, there were all the activities except for the playground, volleyball, tennis and swimming. My children would play in the outside and ride bicycles until a certain hour at night, there were watchmen. Our children had a perfect childhood, it was even better than the luxurious sites of today... We had one-storey and two-storey houses among the pines, they were small, but very beautiful, I never had any heating problem, because we would get warm with the steam coming from the factory... There were not any places we could eat like cafes in those years, there was only Fiskobirlik local, it was not like ours, everyone would come to us from the city, we lived like a family... City schools generally couldn't be more successful than us, I attribute this success to the culture and family; because the workers were conscious there, too; they would see each other, free lessons would be given, 90% of the children had a very high educational level and became very successful... The culture level, educated people and the spaces made us experience this. We had cinemas, we would go to the cinemas with children... (T. K., Interview date and hour: May 25th, 2019/13:30)

2-S6

... Our house was perfect; there were houses from 60s, 70s and 80s, 120 pieces. We lived in the one from 70s. It was small, but enough for us. Relatives were with us every week. Children could go out comfortably, there was security,

they would stay outside until Sahur in Ramadan, there was a comprehensive kindergarten in the settlement, the majority of the students were the children of families from Seka. We had infirmary, everyone would know one another. We from Seka sometimes meet and believe me that our number has increased day by day after the first meeting. There is no institution like Seka, there was sincerity and friendship, precision for production, people would care about their work, we would work for long hours, but we would be paid (S.T., Interview date and hour: May 28th, 2019/14:00)

2-S7

... parties would be thrown in new years, I don't say that as a wannabe, but my only longing is that there is no unity and togetherness there anymore. We would make production for twenty-four hours, we had the sufficient structures to be able to solve all our problems inside ourselves without any help from the city when there was a failure and the lodgements would support that. We would give lodgements to the technicians and foremen without separating them from the managers, there was a one-storey school which was small and with garden in the field of Seka, that school was demolished and instead, the school building we used was constructed, but my daughter started the primary school here; for example, my daughter became the manager of Seka in that year on 23rd April (N.A., Interview date and hour: May 23rd, 2019 / 14:00)

2-S8

... We got married and went to the lodgement, it was sold and left there, it was so beautiful, we spent twenty-five years in the lodgement. We were away from the city, but we had services, they would drive from Seka and from Giresun at certain hours, they had stops. There were watchmen who were waiting at the door, wandering around inside and asking the identities at the door day and night. All the personnel were in the production process because Seka was related to production; dynamic and mechanic people were related to it whatever there was inside the production... I used to say "read books, read newspapers", I allowed them to read, reading is very important, I would bring books to them... There was a system of rules in those times, also discipline, those acting against that would be punished. Those coming from the city would also obey to these rules, they wouldn't be taken to the local if a wrong work is conducted; nobody could act arbitrarily. (M.K., Interview date and hour: May 24th, 2019 / 12:30)

Discussions

The concepts related to the social order taking place in the conceptual draft attained from the definitions and concepts derived from the definitions of utopia have been grouped as "isolated, ideal society model, homogenous, progress, future, place of happiness, unreal, historical root, between dream and reality, social unity, a good society, cognitive, space of ideology, desired, revolutionary manifesto, break" and the concepts related to the spatial order have been grouped as "non-

existing place, urban, architectural suggestions, ideal spatial order, in humanist dimension, small-scale, limited, art and beauty, monotonous, realizable, ideal city, rational, imaginary fiction, common ownership, critical function.” In this context; the discussions related to the social and spatial order of Fiskobirlik Entegre and Seka settlements have been formed with the correspondence of the utopia definitions and concepts of the data attained from the studies regarding both the settlements and the narrations attained from verbal interviews. In the discussions, the utopia concepts corresponding to the field study and verbal narrations and the relation of the settlements written in bold characters with the utopia definitions have been emphasized. In this way, two industrial settlements constructed in the periphery of Anatolia at the beginning of 1970s have been discussed as a modernization utopia and the traces of utopian thinking have been searched (Table 2, 3).

Table 2. Discussion of Fiskobirlik Entegre settlement

DISCUSSIONS	
<p>with a family model which just started to be experienced, illustrates modern Turkish family life and also clamps with one another with strong personal bonds [1-F1; 1-F2; 1-F4; 1-F6; 1-F8]</p> <p>where an ideal social order is tried to be formed with the houses in walking distance, social equipment, sport areas and playgrounds [1-F1; 1-F3; 1-F4; 1-F7]</p> <p>protected and with high comfort opportunities though it is not completely separated from the city, [1-F1; 1-F4; 1-F6]</p> <p>a place where a homogenous segment lives who are educated, conscious and equipped in cultural meaning, [1-F7]</p> <p>a place where a modern and desired life is spent when compared to its period with the playgrounds, sport areas, local and guest house it has and in this meaning, where could be qualified as the place of happiness, [1-F1; 1-F2; 1-F3; 1-F4; 1-F5; 1-F6]</p> <p>a place where the children are raised together and where there is voluntary cooperation in the issues such as education and health, [1-F2; 1-F4; 1-F6; 1-F7]</p> <p>efficient in the social life of the city thanks to also being open for the usage of the citizens while presenting modern communication opportunities such as eating together and spending time together in the local it has when compared to its period, [1-F1; 1-F3; 1-F4; 1-F7; 1-F8]</p> <p>a social spatial order reflecting the dominant ideological structure of the period it was constructed and also constructed as a result of a cognitive process, [1-F1; 1-F2; 1-F3; 1-F4]</p> <p>bearing the legal, administrative, social, economic and environmental traces of the period, [1-F7]</p> <p>a place with a modern viewpoint considering that women could take place in every walks of the society, [1-F1; 1-F4]</p>	<p>CONCEPTS REGARDING THE SOCIAL ORDER</p> <p>isolated</p> <p>ideal society model</p> <p>homogenous</p> <p>progress</p> <p>future</p> <p>place of happiness</p> <p>unreal</p> <p>historical root</p> <p>between dream and reality</p> <p>social unity</p> <p>a good society</p> <p>cognitive</p> <p>space of ideology</p> <p>desired</p> <p>revolutionary manifesto</p> <p>break</p>

<p>a place where there is the dominance of a spatial order being the product of a holistic planning understanding though it is small-scale and where the requirements of an industrial structure and the modern life practices are tallied,</p> <p>a place where presents a more comfortable environment in which people could live in,</p> <p>with architectural images tallying with the industrial structures of the period,</p> <p>with a clean, cared and regular silhouette with the advantage of novel construction in contrast to the general torn, irregular and care-needed silhouette dominant in general of the city in that period,</p> <p>a planning and structuring understanding in accordance with the requirements of the age in humanistic scale and developing in parallel to the urban and architectural suggestions,</p> <p>a place where the structuring decisions supporting the neighborhood relations being a part of the traditional life culture were reached in especially the organization of the housing areas,</p> <p>with the recreation and parking lot areas which are in walking distance to the factory structures, in top elevation in accordance with the topographic data, prevalent on the landscape, constructed in ideal settlement order, with garden, two storeys and in separated order and arranged in sufficient magnitude,</p> <p>with wide common ownership areas,</p> <p>fictionalized in the typology and scales similar to the worker houses of the period in the interior space organization,</p> <p>a place which is pure, reflecting the viewpoint of the modern architecture regarding aesthetics and beauty, in which cubic façade order is repeated, monotonous, but having the same architectural language, scale, magnitude and planning understanding,</p> <p>presenting the opportunity of collective sharing by providing the opportunity of being able to conduct their own production by providing areas to the residents of the lodgements where they could plant,</p>	<p>CONCEPTS REGARDING THE SPATIAL ORDER</p> <p>non-existing place urban, architectural suggestions ideal spatial order in humanist dimension small-scale limited art and beauty monotonous realizable ideal city rational imaginary construct common ownership critical function</p>
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Table 3. Discussions of Seka settlement

DISCUSSIONS	CONCEPTS REGARDING THE SOCIAL ORDER
<p>a place which is self-sufficient with the functional variety inside itself, does not need the city center in social meaning, isolated and where there is a closed order, [2-S1; 2-S2; 2-S5; 2-S7; 2-S8]</p>	
<p>a place which clearly becomes different from many settlement units in general of the city with the closed settlement order it has , which is the product of a cognitive process and with high wealth level in both social and economic meaning, [2-S1; 2-S2; 2-S3; 2-S4; 2-S5; 2-S6]</p>	<p>isolated ideal society model homogenous</p>
<p>a place where a social life order and unity have been ensured, [2-S4; 2-S5; 2-S6; 2-S7]</p>	<p>progress future</p>
<p>a place where training activities are conducted with both technical and cultural content for the workers in the hours except for the working hours and where working, progress and development turn into ideology, [2-S4]</p>	<p>place of happiness unreal historical root between dream and reality</p>
<p>a place which presents an “ideal” to the citizens in social meaning with the artistic activities such as cinema and theatre to which the participation of the citizens has also been ensured, [2-S1; 2-S2; 2-S3; 2-S4]</p>	<p>social unity a good society cognitive space of ideology desired</p>
<p>a place where the citizens also had fun to be in and which could be defined as the place of happiness, [2-S1; 2-S2; 2-S3; 2-S4; 2-S5]</p>	<p>revolutionary manifesto break</p>
<p>a place where those living in the settlement feel themselves special and happy; in short, from Seka and express this, [2-S3; 2-S4; 2-S6]</p>	
<p>a place which has the only social facility except for Fiskobirlik local where the citizens and those from Seka could have meal with their families, [2-S1; 2-S2; 2--S3; 2-S5]</p>	
<p>a place which has the green areas, sport facilities, playgrounds and educational opportunities necessary for the children to be raised in a safe, healthy and equipped environment, [2-S1; 2-S4; 2-S5; 2-S6]</p>	
<p>a place where everyone fulfills the responsibilities given to themselves, where people are united for a common purpose, where equality is dominant in social order, which processes, is ideal and owns the revolutionary ideological structure of the republic, [2-S1; 2-S3; 2-S4; 2-S5; 2-S7; 2-S8]</p>	
<p>a place which undertakes pioneer role in social aid projects, which gives priority to sharing, justice and social wealth and where particular importance is given to understanding, [2-S1; 2-S4]</p>	

<p>a place which supports this beyond an ideal social order and which has an ideal spatial order when compared to its period,</p> <p>a place which has similar architectural images with the Sekas constructed in different regions of Anatolia while bearing the legal, social, economic and environmental traces of the period,</p> <p>a place which is limited, controllable and realizable with its small-scale ,</p> <p>a place where all the structures in the settlement have been placed by relating them to one another with a holistic and rational planning understanding,</p> <p>a place which has been differentiated from the region it is in by being surrounded with the limiting elements, which is safe and protected</p> <p>a place which is in convenience to the human scale and with a structure order having respect to the nature and each other,</p> <p>a place which consists of monotonous and pure masses as a repetition of each other in general meaning despite its dimensions getting different depending on the seniority degrees of the workers in the lodgements and where modern architectural tendencies could be traced in this meaning,</p> <p>a place where advanced construction techniques and structure elements were used when compared to its period and where especially the houses have a façade order being the product of a design understanding giving importance to the aesthetic data,</p> <p>a place where the structure intensity, green area distribution, structure heights and structure distances and ratios are balanced in the settlement and which has wide common ownership areas,</p> <p>a place which contributes to the development of the architectural perception in the city with the modernist spatial order it has and which has the power of influence on the house architecture in the city with the modernist understanding in house solutions,</p> <p>a place where the people could live in a way that they could decrease their organic bond with the city to minimum level with the units it contains such as social facilities, playgrounds, cinema, primary school and sport field, which has a self-sufficient and comfortable living area and which could be defined as a prototype of the ideal city order in this meaning,</p>	<p>CONCEPTS REGARDING THE SPATIAL ORDER</p> <p>non-existing place urban, architectural suggestions ideal spatial order in humanist dimension small-scale limited art and beauty monotonous realizable ideal city rational imaginary construct common ownership critical function</p>
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RESULT

Utopia mediates a world ideal which is concrete and in convenience to humanist to come into prominence
 (Bloch, 2013, s.20)

The new and relatively modern social and spatial order experienced following the establishments of Fiskobirlik Entegre and Aksu-Seka settlements supports the foresights grounding this study. Verbal interviews and discussions show that the new life practices brought by this order have developed in time and owned by the majority of the workers. In this meaning, the majority of the definitions

and concepts regarding the spatial and social order of utopia are reciprocated for both settlements. On the other hand, the fact that the utopian concepts such as “*unreal, historical root, between dream and reality and non-existing place*” have not been observed in the narrations defining both settlements could be related to the structure of the study focusing on “*a concrete world ideal in convenience to the humanist one*” of the perception of utopia. It is possible to define the spatial and social fiction presented by the modernity in Fiskobirlik and Seka settlements as a humble utopia within itself which is modern, but dependent on the local properties such as neighborhood, has strong social content such as belonging, togetherness and working for the same ideal, is closed to outside in spatial meaning, but open for the usage of the citizens. While the social cohesion and the arrangement of the social and spatial conditions of those living there terminate the barriers faced in the urban life and mostly preventing the happy life rituals, the feeling of belonging has formed self-control terminating the ethical and political dilemmas. Both settlements have an ideal spatial and social order that could be defined as the prototypes of modern urban life within the context of the periodical dynamics of Anatolia and the city. Although they have not been constructed as a design of utopia, both of them have formed a modernization utopia in the cities they take place with the life conditions they present.

Note: This study has been prepared within the scope of the Scientific Research Project with the headline “Development Movement in the Periphery upon the Industrial Constructions between the Years 1930-80” no. SOS-BAP-A-230218-69 conducted within the body of Giresun University.

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EDUCATION '20

**IV. INTERNATIONAL IN-PERSON AND VIRTUAL
CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION AND LEARNING**

EDUCATION FOR THE ENRICHMENT OF THE MIND AND SOUL THROUGH LIFELONG LEARNING

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Abstract

Human being is a natural learner. Willingness to learn is a choice, a choice which we can take upon ourselves to enrich and educate our mind and soul. This enhancement of our mind and soul has many potential benefits in life, arguably the most in our cases as teachers. We are expected to enliven the life of our students by transferring our choice to them, which is “The willingness to learn through Lifelong learning”.

In detailed descriptions, our forefathers have mentioned in the ancient scripts (Vedas and Upanishads) about the process of lifelong learning through knowledge, conduct and the right attitude towards life. On a contemporary note and looking into the more varied aspects of life, we come across terms like creativity, competitiveness, responsiveness, adaptability, independence, communication, social engagement, emotional balance and health awareness. All these terms culminate towards our wholesome personality development. In this present paper, we will be discussing life-long learning through these above mentioned aspects, which are instrumental to one's personal and professional growth.

Lifelong learning requires a curious mind, an imaginative and creative observation skill, a thirst for knowledge, an ability to inspire others and ultimately the skill to put that learning into practice. Modern age has various options offering us a wide scope of opportunities, mostly at the click of a mouse, to gain access for knowledge and learn.

We as educators should be able to initiate and enrich the minds of our students. How best we do that is a challenge. In the process of our self learning, we should be able to upgrade ourselves and consequently set an example and inspire our students.

Any mind has a natural instinct to learn. It is high time we put that instinct (which may be dormant in some) into practice and make the world a better place

to dwell in.

Key words: Lifelong learning, personality development, enrichment

1. Introduction

1.1 What is LifeLong Learning?

Lifelong learning, very simply put, is to continue the process of learning throughout life, no matter what our age is. It is an ongoing process. It is not static. The life we lead never stops teaching us at every stage and so we can never give up learning after a certain stage.

Our whole knowledge of the world is through learning. It is a translation of external events into the states of our nervous system and especially into our brains. To create a basic unity between self and the universe, we have to broaden our minds and perceptions.

Learning, that too continuously, will make us believe that we, individually or collectively, should aspire to be in control of self and the world around us. This will make it easy for us to find wider acceptance of culture and heritage, religion, languages, common laws and regulations, science and technology, society and politics and above all, our fundamental relationship with fellow human beings.

The concept of Lifelong learning is not a new one. Along with the world's greatest thinkers and philosophers like Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, the concept of Lifelong learning was also propagated by Indian educationists, thinkers and followers of our sacred Vedas and Upanishads, who used to be involved in the acquisition of knowledge throughout their lives, practicing yoga and meditation. The Vedas are generally regarded as the earliest literary record of the Indian race. It is indeed impossible to say about the time of composition of the Vedas, because the Vedas have been considered to be non-human compositions or *Apauruseya*. These rishis or saints have handed the verses of the Vedas and Upanishads, from mouth to mouth from period of unknown antiquity, after having been enlightened in their own informal way of learning throughout life.

The entire Vedic literature of ancient India, inclusive of the Upanishads not only covers culture, but also every other aspect of human life. Spiritual heritage is what has been dealt upon in these ancient texts, and this has remained fresh even today. A upanisadic declaration, "*Satyam vada, Dharmam cara*" draws the attention of the universe to the fundamental requirement of human life. A meaningful life requires treading on a path of truthfulness and righteousness. This aspect of truthfulness and righteousness is the fundamental idea emphasized in the Vedas, Upanishads and in other classical literature. History tells us that all great leaders of the past, in India and the world, have made their life meaningful by means of performing the vows of *Satya* and *Dharma* (truthfulness and righteousness) and it is what the *Taittiriya Upanishad* asks everybody to do. Great leaders never stopped learning. We need to draw inspiration from them.

Success in life will depend on being self-confident and knowledgeable. There is appreciation in creativeness and innovativeness. Power can be arrested by being techno-savvy and intelligent. Success comes with perfection and skillful implementation. All the above comes with lifelong learning, in the sense of increasing the delights and happiness of life.

The World Bank Group puts forward the concept of lifelong learning, very clearly. As the World Bank states:

“A lifelong learning framework encompasses learning throughout the life cycle, from birth to grave and in different learning environments, formal, non-formal or informal”.



Figure 1. Keep on learning and acquiring knowledge

2. Importance of lifelong learning

Many of us give up learning after a certain stage. We leave school, college or University and enter into jobs, thinking we have learned all that we need to learn for our professional roles. This brings our learning to an end abruptly. As per statistics, many people never pick up a book again after the formal education. It is to be understood that our capacity and ability to learn and progress will define us as being intelligent, capable people and differentiate us from others. Learning is not just for knowledge only. It is also to evolve us as better individuals. Continuous learning and working to become the very best that we can be. A strong, creative and imaginative mind will help us to think big and bigger thinking will always allow us to face life's greatest challenges with better solutions.

2.1 Reasons to keep learning :

2.1.1. An affirmative route to success is **self-confidence**. Success with new achievements is assured with life-long learning. Never cease to learn because a continuous enjoyment in living, working and dreaming is possible by life-long learning. Learning will bring a change in our attitude to life and work and this can be a turning point in our life. It is the education through lifelong learning and experiences gained from the successful implementation of our learning that can make us self-confident, with the right attitude.

2.1.2. **Empowerment** comes with knowledge. Expansion of knowledge is based on what we learn. This learning can be improved continuously by being passionate about learning and reading. We can be empowered greatly by committing ourselves to lifelong learning. If we never give up learning then we are better empowered to take good decisions at our levels, which may be wonderful for one and all. Those

decisions, if found successful and beneficial, can **self-motivate** us to do better and be better in life. Lifelong learning can make us recognise and deal with our personal and professional interests, skills and goals.

2.1.3. Age should not be a factor in lifelong learning. As we keep learning throughout our lives, life gets renewed by **exciting new ideas and challenges**. An example here would be of a 80 year-old lady, who is excitedly learning new methods of sewing and handicrafts in a craft school, along with paying a music-teacher weekly, to sit and practice singing with her for more perfection. This is keeping her happy, eager and creative in life.

2.1.4. Successful personality is a contributing factor for our satisfactory acceptance in today's society. Being successful and financially stable, physically fit, mentally peaceful and happy should be a target for every individual in this competitive world. These factors are the key to a successful personality. One should believe that there is always a solution to every problem faced in life. We should keep an open mind to find a better alternative solution to every problem. Reading a lot and learning shapes our mind and makes us aware of knowing who we are, and how best we can be at every junction in our lives. A vastness of knowledge acquired, opens way to an intelligent secured mind and this leads to an overall **personality development and better self-esteem**.

2.1.5. Continuous learning and educating ourselves can make people more noble. This humbleness is very much required in today's world. We all have heard that "*A little knowledge is a dangerous thing*". People with little or no knowledge make the loudest noise and endanger the environment around them. We do not need harmful pollution of the world with false beliefs and superstitions. Complete knowledge and command over the subject will help us to overcome all false beliefs and this is achieved by continuously learning. A better understanding and perception of the world in general will make us more noble and humble. **Noble, humble and polite personalities** will attract people and these qualities will spread to make the world a better place to live in.

2.1.6. **Role model as educators and teachers** is essentially beneficial for our children and students. Lifelong learning can help us achieve that. As teachers and parents, we can help our children/students to not be educated in a parrot's way, but by actual understanding of the real meaning of the subjects. We need to keep ourselves updated with lifelong learning, learn the new technologies as required, learn innovative theory and practical teaching skills, do a lot more research on topics of various subjects, keep ourselves abreast with various education policies and developments. This will make us confident in our chosen subjects, and in turn develop the minds of our children and students through innovative teaching, creative discussions and positive thoughts. Curriculum designing and developments can be done through lifelong learning and research, in a way which may bring out the real hidden talents of every child. This will make the students grasp the subjects with better understanding, more creative imagination and better thinking. As they understand and think more, they will want to know more, out of curiosity. This will

then introduce them too, to lifelong learning.

3. Analysis of efforts towards lifelong learning

3.1. Following are **important personality development guidelines** to evolve as individuals and which can be achieved by lifelong learning:

3.1.1. Willingness to learn – Committing ourselves to lifelong learning should be a choice. Choice that we need to be passionate about. A passion that we would like to bestow upon others too . A choice that should come with the condition too, that is to make others understand its importance.

3.1.2. Communication Skills – Anyone who speaks well is appreciated. A person, who speaks in a most convincing way by expressing thoughts, ideas and solutions clearly, can easily impress others. The basic façade of being well-learned is transparently admitted in how effectively we communicate with others. Lifelong learning will help to enhance our communication skills.

3.1.3. Priority – Making life-long learning, one of the topmost priorities in life, is very important. We need to be clear of our goals and aspirations in life. Lifelong learning can help us achieve that. If we understand this, then stabilising life-long learning as a priority, will not be difficult.

3.1.4. Competitiveness – Personality development through competitiveness is essential. We need to stay in the race to develop better self-respect for ourselves. It may not be always to beat our competitors, but to believe in ourselves that we can. It will be our self-belief and self-respect, which can be a great motivation for a well-developed personality. Healthy competition can bring good results and inspire us to do better next time. This can be achieved by continuous learning, reading and research.

3.1.5. Creativity – Creativity, which in some cases maybe an inborn talent, can be further enhanced by lifelong learning. We can actually be leaders, inspiring others to be more active and imaginative. Being creative will help us to recognize our goals faster and better. The overall personality of a creative person is always looked upon with great awe. So we can try to improve our personality through continuous evolution and learning.

3.1.6. Reflect – We should be observant and think deeply about things learnt. We should analyse and assess each thing learnt in life. It is good to be listener too at times. Analysis, synthesis and evaluation of things learnt, will always keep us in the path of more enlightenment by life-long learning. Everyone should apply his/her mind, to understand the effectiveness of each thing learnt.

3.1.7. Self esteem and emotional balance – To keep calm, in times of challenges and problems, is not an easy thing. We tend to lose our emotional balance in face of adversities. We get unnecessarily worried and mentally stressed. We need to improve our self-esteem and strike an effective positive balance between our

emotional and physical well-being. Learning and reading lifelong, will help us to deal better with situations that may threaten to lessen our self-esteem and emotional balance. We can be better equipped to deal with any kind of situation, with increased self confidence and stable emotions.

3.1.8. Practice – We should be asking us the question –‘Is there a better way to learn the same thing?’ Yes, we can learn and perfect ourselves by practice. We can learn and keep learning to get the perfect understanding of the matter. Practice by teaching is also an important way to be perfect in any subject. ‘Pygmalion effect’ can be applied here which is an urge for perfection by a burning desire to learn harder and practice more.

3.1.9. Responsiveness – A responsive person is always a good companion. Interaction with others leads to a lively atmosphere and help to avoid stagnant conversations. As one reads more, he learns more. He is aware of different topics to keep things lively. An interactive person can always break the monotony of boring conversations and meetings.

3.1.10. Inquisitiveness – A curious bent of mind can do wonders. We need to think and ask questions. We need to find out more about things. Curiosity is the only way to improve ourselves. Just like kids always ask questions without any hesitations, similarly we should be forthcoming in having the same attitude to upgrade ourselves constantly.

3.1.11. Humbleness – Being humble is a key factor for a good personality. Humbleness is achieved by being learned and knowledgeable. Humbleness in today’s world is required to make the world a better place and be a role model for our children.. We can be permanently remembered as noble people , even after we are gone from this world. A humbled person is always spoken of, with great fondness.

3.1.12. Coaching – Teaching others makes us yearn for something more stronger and perfect in every matter. So teaching makes us learn too to educate ourselves continuously, in a better way .

3.1.13. Insight – It should be within us to look at the same things differently from others. An aggregate of visual consciousness to develop an idea or thought differently from others will motivate us more toward learning constantly in life.

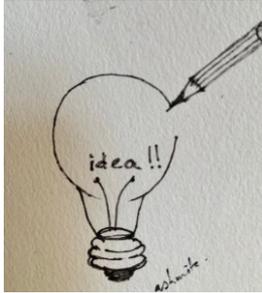


Figure 2. Lifelong learning for enlightened ideas

3.1.14. Focus – Self belief, strong will-power and hard concentration will help us to stay focussed. Life-long learning helps us to stay focussed on the subjects of our aspirations.

3.1.15. Reading –Reading should be developed into a habit to give us a better scope of research and self development. Books and newspapers are flexible and accessible to maintain..

3.1.16. Health awareness, exercise and nutrition – *“Mind is only a faculty or organ like the eye or the ear. It can be controlled and developed like any other faculty”* [Walpola Rahula] . Believe in the fact that brain and body needs to be kept in peak condition for mental, physical and social well being. With great physical fitness and body immunity, we should be able to recover from any kind of illness. Mind full of positive thoughts will help us to leap back into life, after any illness. We need to be aware of the environment and basic principles of good health. This is possible by education and continuous reading to feed our growing understanding. Regular exercise and proper nutrition will help to keep the body and brain fit for learning and development.

4. Different learning styles

Most common method of learning is by seeing, hearing and doing . That is simply to be observant, to listen and then implement.

Another method of learning is doing something, thinking about it, understanding it and then actually doing it differently.

According to Jacques Delors , four pillars of education for lifelong learning and its future have been conducted. Four pillars of education are:-

- a. Learning to know
- b. Learning to do
- c. Learning to live together
- d. Learning to be

The UNESCO medium term strategy (2008-2013) has one of its goals for the education sector which is *“Attaining quality education for all and lifelong learning”*.

UNESCO has stressed on the importance of Lifelong learning as a key to the 21st century. ‘UNESCO Institute for lifelong learning’ has organised a wide range of activities along areas of action on advocacy, research ,capacity-building and

partnership.

4.1. Few ways to learn something new every day

4.1.1. Read :- Reading offers a brilliant form of easy and cheap entertainment. Read to grow. Read to learn. Read to keep your imagination running . Read one book per week. A book can be your best companion.



Figure 3. Read to learn

4.1.2. Travel :- Travelling within the country or outside will us take to unknown destinations and help us to learn about new culture, customs, food, society, religions, traditions and practices. It will broaden our horizon and we can think of alternative ways of survival, if anytime we are taken out of our comfort zones.

4.1.3. Cultivate hobbies :- learning a new hobby can help to cultivate new opportunities and make us learn something new.

4.1.4. Stay Updated :- Social media these days offer a whole range of communication platforms to stay updated. Blogs, group-meetings, newspapers, TV and radio are excellent means for updating ourselves with topics that we are passionate about.

4.1.5. Explore:- Creating own interest and passion to learn something new by self-exploration is the best way to learn, which can be arguably more than the formal disciplined learning.

4.2. Examples of lifelong learning

Few types of lifelong learning initiatives:

- a. Gaining knowledge through online education or classroom based course of any subject that are of particular interest to somebody
- b. Learning a new skill - A skill that can become a hobby or maybe applicable as a parttime job or be developed as a profitable venture like sewing and tailoring, cooking, baking , art, painting and sketching, gardening, landscaping
- c. Learning or updating on a new technology- everyday new technologies are being developed and invented . Anybody interested in modern technological skills can learn to use a new technology.

- d. Learning a new exercise or activity or sport, to sing or play an instrument
- e. Learning a new language or practising on languages known.



Figure 4. Learning helps to grow

5. Conclusion

Research has suggested that learning continuously can keep our mind and body in shape. Continued cognitive activities keep the brain cells active and improves mental sharpness. This is specially required as we keep growing older. In this way , many older people will be mentally and physically active for a longer period.

Today's principle around the world is, integrated success and survival of the fittest.

As Darwin stated: *"Today's living creatures are neither powerful nor clever of their kinds"*. So, we need to have that global knowledge and values for survival. Lifelong learning is integrated with being confident, reliable, methodical, innovative, independent and motivated. In today's world, survival of the fittest is what counts. Hence we need to keep learning to have that self confidence and self-motivation to fit in as best as we can. Key to happy successful survival is learning, observing, analysing, implementing, developing, perfecting and back to learning more and experiencing new things in our lives to keep us refreshed and rejuvenated.

Polymath is a person who never stops learning and whose expertise lies in different subjects. Philomath is someone who greatly enjoys learning and studying. Let us try to be a bit of both. Let lifelong learning be a voluntary and self-motivated pursuit of ours.

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LILA '20

**VII. INTERNATIONAL VIRTUAL LINGUISTICS AND
LANGUAGE CONFERENCE**

THE IMAGE OF THE THOUSAND AND ONE NIGHTS IN EDGAR ALLAN POE'S THE THOUSAND AND SECOND TALE OF SCHEHERAZADE

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the examination of the image and the representation of *The Thousand and One Nights* in Edgar Allan Poe's rewritings, *The Thousand and Second Tale of Scheherazade* (1845). As it is commonly acknowledged the transmission of *The Thousand and One Nights* across cultures has led to its alteration, that is because understanding any literary text depends heavily on the nature of the text, difficulty, and strangeness of its content. The new image of *The Thousand and One Nights* resulted by the impact of some factors: first is the self-awareness of the author as (a reader) of the original text which usually restricted by the dominant ideology in a particular time. Second is the basic strategies imposed by some institutions. Although the original collection starts with violence, and ends with the triumph of Scheherazade over the Sultan, Edgar Poe starts his story by Scheherazade's remorse, which indicates to her weakness, and he ends the story with her surrender to death, which refers to the continuation of violence.

Although the content of Edgar Allan Poe's story was produced in modern America, and its tales are related to technological development, the story's fame was derived from the eastern text. *This made The Thousand and Second Tale of Scheherazade* occupy a position between the two cultures; the culture the of *The Thousand and One Nights*, and the culture of the target text.

Since the eighteenth century the interest in *The Thousand and One Nights* privileged by the translation of the French orientalist Antoine Galland (1704), which was followed by immense of English translations like Torrens, and Edward W.

Lane's translations 1830s, John Payne, and Richard Burton's versions 1880 (Borges, 1999: 95- 96). Then a limitless number of conversions, adaptations, imitations transformations produced around the world taking the tales of *The Thousand and One Nights* the core of their ideas and writings. Philip F. Kennedy and Marina Warner present that each translation could tell us about its epoch, the *reception The Thousand and One Nights'* tales, they can also be considered as adaption and the interpretation of the corpus (Kennedy and Warner, 2013:16).

The fascination of *The Thousand and One Nights* pursues and augments every day. In addition to translations, rewritings have emerged, preserved the original to the coming generations, most rewritings enriched the tales and produced new incidents and adventures. Edgar Allan Poe and a group of American romantic authors have been appealed and inspired by this oriental text; such as Washington Irving, Nathaniel Hawthorn, and Herman Melville. Poe's familiarity with oriental Islamic life influenced on many of his poetic and fictional writings including *Al Aaraaf* even the title is Arabic and means the fortune-teller or Seer, as well as *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque* is a clear illusion and image of the eastern tales (Paul Mc Michael Nurse, 2010) . In his short story *The Thousand and Second Tale of Scheherazade*, Poe spun more than ten adventures of Sinbad, composing another night to become *1002 Nights*, and he tells them in Scheherazade's tongue. John Barth's *Chimera* (1974), is also an apparent reminiscent of *The Thousand and One Nights*, Barth presents the name Dunyazaid as a title of one of his stories, and as a heroine, taking the role of her sister Scheherazade. By borrowing the two characters, Barth applied his own ideas and generates new episode. Many English authors attempted to continue telling Scheherazade's tales after *1001Nights*, so they produced a completion to the original collection by their own ways. For instance, *Arabian Tales Continuation of The Nights* 1792 by Robert Heron (Peter L. Caracciolo, 1988:7- 8).

Many Rewritings were produced to arouse the audience's appetite and marketing the literary products. These points will be focused on in this research, and the farther arguable comment is that to what extent such factors influence the image, which the writer creates when Poe rewrote the original text. According to Andre Lefevere, the rewriter, as a translator, creates images of the writer, a work, a period, a genre, sometimes even a whole literature (Lefevere, 1992 :5). Based on this premise, the scope of this paper will be centered around the image of *The Thousand and One Nights* in Poe's short story *The Thousand and Second Tale of Scheherazade*. Since the author of *The Thousand and One Nights* is unknown, the concentration will be on the image of the Sinbad's tales that Edgar Poe created, Scheherazade as the narrator and the time in which the story was written. This short story was reproduced by Poe according to a number of composed ideological and philosophical aspects of the content, and governed by mechanisms used by the author with specific perception.

In the end of the frame story of *The Thousand and One Nights*, Scheherazade won, and the tax imposed on the girls was canceled because of her descending speech, which was inherited from Eve, who used speech to persuade Adam to eat from the tree of eternity. However, that happy ending might be unpalatable, or rather was not acceptable in the American reality in the nineteenth century. It seems that they would not assent that end, as it ended a thousand and one nights

of terror with thinking of the imminence death. Here is Allan Edgar Poe wrote his tale *The Thousand and Second tale of Scheherazade*, in which he placed the frame narrative of the original in new context. The story shows new images of

the main characters Scheherazade, the sultan Sharyar, and Sinbad's adventures. In this regard, we are going to question; the murder of Scheherazade, the continuation of the sultan's tyranny, and the selection of Sinbad's stories to parody the technological progress and offering an image of Sinbad and his companions.

Poe is characterized by the fertility of his imagination, and his magnificent ability to describe and maintain the relationship between the text's components, and designing an accurate schema among them. In his fiction, it is appeared that he has deliberately shown the strength of his mind and imagination. In his story *The Thousand and Second Tale of Scheherazade*, Poe has occupied the space between the probability and strangeness, that is to say, Poe could reach to the reader's imagination and expectation about the fate of Scheherazade who continued spinning fascinating tales to save herself and all the damsels in the kingdom. So he could use generous way to associates between the fabulous influence on the reader and the accurate details in the incidents of Sinbad's adventures.

According to Lawrence Venuti, recast the foreign text usually is based on values, beliefs, and representations found in the target language (Venuti,1992:209). Here, we can say that Poe rewrote the original text of *The Thousand and One Nights*, according to the existing values, beliefs, and representations that are already present in the English language and culture.

Surprise and horror are the most important exalting techniques that appeal to readers. Poe attempted to reach that feeling through storytelling by the narrators, whom were used in each story. All his narrators are anonymous males, and they have not reached to the death, however, in *The Thousand and Second Tale of Scheherazade*, Poe used Scheherazade, the narrator in the original tales, and dies like all women in his other stories. During the 1830s, Poe wrote many stories depicting terror, bringing fear and magic together, and reducing the distance between them in the context of the story. Women are often victimized by illness and death in his stories. For instance, *Eleonora* (1842) after fifteenth years of love between Eleonora and the narrator, she shows illness and dies. Then the narrator leaves the beautiful valley where his memories with his wife exist. *Ligeia* (1838), in this story again Poe kills the woman, who married the narrator; she dies because of disease. The narrator marries once again; however, his second wife also dies. Adding to the list *The Oval Portrait* (1842), *Berenice* (1835), *Morella* (1835), *The Mystery of Marie Roget* (1844), and *The Premature Burial* (1844), all these women disappeared by death.

Karen Weekes states that many critics have used Poe's autobiography and psychological life to explain the death of women in all of his stories (Kent J. Hayes, 2004: 149). Terence Whalen, in his book *Edgar Allan Poe and Mass*, also adds that: "Poe's tales were in many ways the rational products of social labor, imagined and executed in the workshop of American capitalism" (Whalen, 1999: 9). So the association of grief with his tales relies on his personal life, Since his early age he experience the disappearance of Eliza Poe, his mother and the first woman in his life. Then he witnessed the death of Fanny Allan, his foster mother, as well as his friend's mother Jane Stanard, death

continued following the women in his life until it kidnapped his wife Virginia Clemm. As a result, Poe was traumatized by the death of incredible number of women in his life, and he might seen that Scheherazade should not an exception.

Indeed, Poe had attempted to bring the image of Scheherazade and the plot of the original corpus closer to the gothic fiction, which usually starts with a family story in which love between spouses is assumed. As this relationship develops, love turns into various forms of wickedness, rapists, avengers, ghosts and murderous tyrants. *The Thousand and Second Tale of Scheherazade* encompassed all these roles, it begins with Scheherazade's remorse after she has been exempted from execution that was waiting for her every dawn. In the palace of the Sultan Shahriayr, whose rage did not heal revenge on his wife and servant, but continued for several years, slaughtering innocent girls night after night. Poe tried to portray new frightened life for Scheherazade, but it wasn't long. He began with her regret because she had not finished the Sinbad story. However that was just a way to depict another moments full of terror from her destiny with this Sultan.

Poe has not conveyed the real picture of Scheherazade, which is presented in the original collection, to the reader. Scheherazade who did not follow the advice of her father, but she insisted on marrying the king, whom everyone knows his intention from marrying any girl. Notwithstanding Poe describes Scheherazade as a political figure who reads "Machiavelli, beyond doubt" (Poe, 2013: 7), he stripped her from the most important personal features in order to enable the Sultan to kill her. Scheherazade was not only a heroine in the original episode, but rather "a political hero", according to Fatema Mernissi Scheherazade has three extraordinary skills; first is possessing a wide and diversified knowledge balance, second her ability to recognize the Sultan's mind, the third is controlling her feeling and not showing fear from the Sultan (Mernissi,2001: 30). Poe included the last feature in Scheherazade's character, which can be obviously noted when the Sultan acted very negatively to her tales and produced many voices showing his rage and his discontent, such as "Pooh", "Nonsense" (Poe, 2013: 19- 22). Poe portrayed a passive Scheherazade, who succumbs, and leaves the life without any reaction. He pictures Scheherazade like all the females in his fictions "The dying woman passes silently from this life, rarely expressing her feelings on the matter" (Weekes, 2004: 150). In his story, Poe seemed to be admired by the Sultan's personality, that is why from the beginning of the story he offers a laudation to his character by saying "a good monarch," then on contradictory, mention that: "her husband "who bore her none the worse because he intended to wring her neck on the morrow" (Poe, 2013:7).

In the first story told by Scheherazade in the words of Sinbad himself, Poe reflects the human desire to travel and adventure, and the monster that appeared to Sinbad and his companions represents the difficulties that people might encounter when they leave their country. Eric Savoy assures that Poe was unlike his contemporaries of American writers, most of his tales were set out side of The United States, (Savoy, 2002: 181). Sinbad's tales, are here, and somewhere, he is wandering with aliens and on the back of monster, going to remote islands. Of course, Poe had actual experience with adventures in the sea, for example, in the mid 1827, he enrolled the U.S. army, and once he was with his unit in the sea, J. Gerald Kennedy mentions, they could hardly be saved from a storm and the shipwreck (Kennedy,2001: 25). Of course his experience with adventures in the sea had a significant influence on his career life.

When Sinbad talked with the parasitic animals and decided to travel with them on the back of the monster, Poe provided the readers with a fantastic and scary description of the animals. These animals were speaking in a language that even Sinbad and his companions could not understand, when those animals talked to Sinbad by using the trumpet, their speech was loud and with bizarre accents that caused terror. They also do not live above the monster with its desire. These animals cause the monster to be agitated. They torment him with their nibbling and stinging. So it roars and harms humans, thereby achieving the malicious and evil purposes of the wicked genie. (Poe, 2013: 14).

Poe used a fictional description of the Wilde beast that has no parallel in Sinbad's stories in *The Thousand and One Nights*, except the story of the *Giant Fish* and the story of the *Rukh Bird*. The monster and the beasts over it could be an image of the giant fish, Sinbad and his colleagues. Looking at the first adventure of Sinbad when he and his companions found an island in the middle of the sea, then they entered that island, set a fire and began preparing their food. Suddenly they realized that place was not an island, but rather a giant whale anchored in amidst of the sea for years, on which sand was built with sediment, trees grew on it, and it became like an island (*Arabian Nights*). Drawing on Poe's description and the image of the original tale, we can induce that the beast represents the whale, and human animals represent Sinbad and his companions. Poe depicted that group of animals as human beings in the size and structure, and their dress was a piece of cloth that stuck to the skin thoroughly, which made their appearance laughably awkward (Poe, 2013: 12). Not only that, but he also described what they put on their heads in the form of a rectangular box, he initially thought its purpose is to cover their heads. Then he knew that the purpose of the heavy box is "to keep the heads of the animals steady and safe upon their shoulders", and their necks were encircled like dogs (Poe, 2013:13).

In eastern society, during the nineteenth century and before, sailors' clothes were usually a piece of cloth wrapped around the lower part of their body, their heads are covered with a turban that wrapped several times around the head. The purpose of such clothes is to cover the lower part, the human's loins, and the head covering was necessary to protect them against the burning sun, either the rest of the body usually is bare because of the heat. Poe here depicts Sinbad and his companions in a miserable way, he says " Around the necks of the creatures were fastened black collars, such as we keep on our dogs" (Poe, 2013: 13), this is undoubtedly a sign of slavery.

Though Savory claims that most Poe's fiction can be considered as a discouragement of slavery that deepened in the American white culture, the image of Sinbad and his companions, which Poe offered is explicit indication to the slavery rooted in American culture at that time, and the preference of western culture over the east. We can assume that the image of Sinbad and the sailors shows the interaction between the gothic and romantic ideas in the American literature.

Ted Billy suggested that Poe's gothic fiction "also displays nature as a source of estrangement" (Billy, 2014: 7). Poe's description of nature in *The Thousand and Second Tale of Scheherazade* contradictory to the original Sinbad's tales. Although the nature, in the original tales, gives Sinbad sustenance, nourishment, restoration

of soul, peace after horrible adventures, and real opportunity to live once again, Poe uses nature to describe strangeness, bewilderment, darkness and terror. In one event, in the story of the original, Sinbad was buried with his wife, he was scared, but optimistic at the same time in the grave, and attempted to stay alive by taking the food and Jewelry of the buried people until he finds a ruse to go out. Finally the nature helps him when he found a hole overlooking the sea where he waited the ships save him.

In the case of Poe's Sinbad, he is wandering from an Island to other in which Poe portrays the stone forest that represents the barren landscape, in addition to that, his description of the mountain which is flowing burning metals and smoke, obscures the sun's rays. This picture of heating nature entails the terror and mystery, so by this vision Poe relates nature with sever risk. Poe attempted to transform *The Thousand and One Nights* into an American gothic, and portrays every journey in a different environment that contains different terror. The voyages of Sinbad , in the original tales, have been between India and Africa, where he encounters immense adventures. He meets people, who enjoy eating the flesh, and he lives with whom who bury the couple with each other if one of them dies. Those are parts of Sinbad's adventures, but in *The Thousand and Second Tale of Scheherazade*, Sinbad is travelling with alien creatures on the monster, and he has not encountered any human beings. In some instances in his stories about Sinbad, Poe tries to offer a description of the natural beauty that portrays sights in America. For example in one of the journeys, Poe describes the beauty of the lake, in which all trees and nature appear to be mirrored, in fact, this view is a depiction of the lake that emerged from the earthquake in Caracas 1790 in Venezuela. Where a portion of the soil fell, and a lake was left behind, part of a forest drowned, and the trees remained green for several months under the water (Alhalwani, 2015 :223).¹

In Poe's description of the natural scenes, there is a deliberate concentration on the features that show the difference between what Sinbad described in the original tales and in the rewritten story. For instance, Poe displayed explicit comparison between Baghdad and Damascus' castles and the castles that Sinbad found in a long cave. Poe presents that cave "contained a greater number of far more spacious and more magnificent palaces than are to be found in all Damascus and Bagdad" (Poe,2013: 17). Moreover, he presents adorable images in detail about a countless number of gems, towers, pyramids and temples as well as rivers that contain "fish that had no eyes"(Poe,2013: 17). This is a real picture of the Mammoth cave in Kentucky, USA, which is the longest cave in the world, and contains lakes and waterfalls that consist of fish without eyes (Alhalwani, 2015 :222).

As for the tales related to scientific discoveries, they reflect Poe's interest in the technological progress, since Poe studied "mechanical engineering at West Point" in his country (Tresch, 2004: 118). Poe witnessed the most dry period in America, such as the vast immigration in the twentieth century, the American- Mexican War (1846-1848), the geographical expansion and conjunction of Texas (1845). Poe also observed the communication revolution and economical growth, as well as the establishment of railways and new cities(Kennedy,2001: 56).

Poe's parody of the printing press is only a result of his contact to the technological

1 - *The Complete Tales and Poems of Edgar Alan Poe*, trans by Gada Alhalwani. (Cairo 2015) 223.

inventions. He had a direct connection to the process of converting written words into print. His professional life included his work as a writer and editor in many magazines and publishing media (Tresch, 2004: 123). So that, his actual experience in several major magazines

and newspapers, like *Southern literary Messenger Richmond*, *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine* (Gray, 2011: 55), afforded him with huge knowledge about all aspects of the publishing industry. So this was a beginning flame that made his stories an example of science fiction. Poe was fully aware of all developments in the publishing industry, economic and technological growth in America, all of this seems to have a noticeable impact on his literary and cultural professions.

Poe was concerned with satisfying popular taste, and sometimes he resorts to topics that fit the tastes of capitalism, that is because Poe believes a literary market has great impact on the economic shifts in America (Whalen, 2001: 67). Terence Whalen points out that Poe attempted to encompass the artistic and economic value in his tales (Whalen, 2001: 79) Whalen adds that based on Poe's critical theory "The Philosophical of Composition" , the literary work is divided into two parts; apart could attract to the mass taste "to achieve economic value" , whereas the other part could appeal the critical taste "to achieve artistic value" (Whalen, 2001: 79). Poe himself applied this key on his story *The Thousand and Second Tale of Scheherazade*. He deliberately focused on the satire of technological progress, and he included many discoveries in Sinbad's tales. Moreover, Poe insisted on using the most appealing oriental text to create a tale, as the nineteenth century was a period of its popularity in Europe and all western world. Adopting the protagonist of the original tale, and using it in the title of the target culture tale is a way to catch the public interest.

According to Whalen in his essay *Poe and American Publishing Industry*, Poe was believing that he was constrained by the magazine owners, and mentions that " So far I have not only labored solely for the benefit of others (receiving for myself a miserable pittance) but have been forced to model my thoughts at will of men whose imbecility was evident to all but themselves". For that reason he believed that the establishment of private magazine will afford him with extraordinary freedom to work as a writer, poet, and literary critic (Whalen, 2001: 76-77).

Poe, besides, was often an editor of many articles, band to neutralize the controversial speech about colonialism and slavery, and he got paid for such job. According to Terence Whalen, Poe "understood the economic constraints on free speech," Whalen presents that Poe in many situations, rewrote political articles and contradicted himself, and such actions servers his purposes (Whalen, 2001: 72- 81). Whalen has claimed that Poe "seeks to combine multiple discourses into a single (literary) text. That is to say; he repeatedly distilled nonliterary discourses into the raw material for literary performances." (Whalen, 2001: 89). Commenting on Poe's *The Thousand and Second Tale of Scheherazade*, he combined various discourses in a single literary text. For instance, this story encompasses speech about the technology progress related to the print and publishing centers and discourse about astronomy, natural disasters, and geology. Poe, again, is using many discourses for the sake of appealing the mass and the critic tastes. Thus, Poe was confined between the authority of economic purposes and his tendencies.

Besides his adoration by the Nights, there are some factors influence Edgar

Allan Poe's selection of this oriental tale to express his imagination and to portrays the heroine and the one of the most adorable adventures in the original stories of *The Thousand and One Nights*. Poe has interwoven into *The Thousand and One Nights* some western elements of the nineteenth century to produced his tale *The Thousand and Second Tale of Scheherazade*. We have seen how Poe's imaginative ability could change the image of Scheherazade and portrays her as a silly, talkative, and weak woman who surrendered to death easily. He provided the gothic horror to the plot of the story and the fate of Scheherazade, and in the tales of Sinbad, he included terrifying adventures on the back of the monster with aliens. Poe also turned to the mode of satire, particularly his description of the technological machines related to the publishing industry.

It is surprising how Poe concluded his short story. By comparing the female figure in his most short stories like *Berenice* and *Morella*, Scheherazade had the same end. Even though She, in the original frame tale, won by reaching the royal mind with her tongue and persuaded the Sultan to abandon the decision, which he made and vowed to implement it throughout his life, Poe offers an opposite image of her. According to most critics, Scheherazade is an example of courage and patience in defying the tyranny of the Sultan. However, Poe's Scheherazade is foolish and lies as the Sultan reacts to her tales "I can't stand that, and I won't. You have already given me a dreadful headache with your lies"(Poe, 2013: 26). The end of the story demonstrated the efficacy of this symbol, Scheherazade's execution can be related to the continuation of the violence in America at that time.

Since Poe was a writer, editor for many newspapers and magazines, he was inclusively aware of a vast publishing culture and perfectly aware of the exciting and influential speeches that attract the most significant number of readers. Poe, moreover, was able to absorb that culture and used his tales to simulate that reality. Based on this premise, I suggest that *The Thousand and Second Tale of Scheherazade* re-depicts political and social situations. It acknowledges its reliance on recounting scientific discoveries and their impact on the cultural component of people in American society during the nineteenth century. Poe's social, psychic life and his familiarity with the public taste can be highly connected to his literary productivity.

Ultimately, *The Thousand and Second Tale of Scheherazade*, combines eastern plot, gothic and romantic elements of American literature. The writer's experience of the publishing industry, his philosophical knowledge, and his actual contact with technology fused in this literary work eventually to have a position between oriental and western cultures.

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ON THE CONCEPT OF RHYTHM IN PHONOLOGY

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Abstract

The present text exposes the historical existence of two definitions of rhythm: one based on isochronies and duration, “stress-timed” vs. “syllable-timed” (Monboddo, 1787; 1789; Pike, 1945; Han, 1962; Abercrombie, 1967; Dauer, 1983; Rasmus, Nespor and Mehler, 1999), and other based on word and phrase accentuations (Álvarez, 1785; Thomson, 1904; Donegan and Stampe, 1983; 2004; Donegan, 1993), “falling pattern” vs. “rising pattern”. While the first case is focused on physical measures (vowel duration, Voice Onset Time-VOT), combined with some phonological processes (nasalizations, palatalizations, velarizations, lenitions, elisions), the second adds some morphological (number of morphemes per word) and syntactic properties (object-verb order, determinant-noun order, adjective-noun order) to this concept. Definitions of rhythm creates differences on conception of language structures, as illustrated with data of Spanish spoken in Boyaca (Díaz, 2017) and Embera (Páez and Ibarra Zetter, 2018; Sáenz, 2018). Although the two cases are considered “syllable-timed” systems in general terms, embera is less “falling pattern” than the Spanish spoken in Boyaca.

Keywords: Isochrony, accentuations, phonological processes, Spanish spoken in Boyaca, Embera

1. The concept of rhythm based on duration

The concept of rhythm has been defined in various ways throughout history. For instance, according to Monboddo (1787), it was considered as “number of syllables per verse” (p. iv.), even if he thought that this property is not essential for human languages:

“As to melody and rhythm, they are not essential to language; neither do I think the invention of them near to difficult as of articulation; for I am persuaded, that language began in the fourthern countries, where all the inhabitants were naturally musical, as much as certain birds among us. It was therefore natural, and indeed in some fort necessary, that the men,

who first articulated, should join with it both musical tones and rhythms” (Monboddo, 1787, p.181).

After that, Monboddo (1789) replaced the concept of rhythm as a parameter to measure the number of syllables per verse and, instead of this, he redefined rhythm as the duration of syllable components, distinguishing between short and long syllables:

“Some long syllables, longer than others, and some short syllables, shorter than others. -The Halicarnassian’s account of long and short syllables, that is, of the rhythm of language, more distinct than Cicero’s account.- Of syllables words are made, and of words sentences, with all the variety of periods and members of periods” (Monboddo, 1789, p.xxix).

However, Steele (1775) considered that speech rhythm not only is related to duration, but also with presence/absence of syllable codas (cadence), establishing the distinction between heavy, light and lightest rhythms, as well as longest, long, short and shortest patterns:

“Speech is to consist of melody by slides (acute and grave) with force (loud or soft), and measure or rhythmus of motion and rest distinguished by quantity (longest, long, short, shortest) and emphasis or cadence (heavy, light, lightest)” (Steele, 1775, p.24).

More than a century after, Morris (1925) considered that rhythm have to accomplish with two features: regularity and perception. It is not necessarily related to physical production of sound patterns, but to those patterns are heard and valued as entities measurable in regular intervals:

“Rhythm may be conceived as patterns of sound recurring at exactly equal intervals of time, as symmetry may imply identical space intervals. Or the units may be only perceptibly equal or only perceptibly similar, or they may have values perceptibly equal, though given by different factors operative in the medium of time” (Morris, 1925, p.15).

Pike (1945) sustained that rhythms are syllable sequences whose limits are the pauses, like verses in poetry. However, as Morris expressed in the previous paragraph, perception of duration and stress are the main criteria. Such dispositions vary language-to-language. There are two types of systems: stress-timed, which temporal organization is determined by regular intervals of metrical feet, and syllable-timed, based on the perception of syllables as entities of regular durations, regardless of lexical stress:

“A sentence or part of a sentence spoken with a single rush of syllables uninterrupted by a pause is a RHYTHM UNIT [...] A single rhythm unit from such a sequence of units may be considered the regular or normal type. Because its length is largely dependent upon the presence of one strong stress, rather than upon the specific number of its syllables, it may conveniently be labelled a STRESS-TIMED rhythm unit (a phonemic type in contrast to syllable-timed units to be mentioned below, with both of them on a different level of contrast from the simple versus complex rhythm

types) [...] English also has a rhythmic type which depends to a considerable extent upon the number of its syllables, rather than the presence of a strong stress, for some of its characteristics of timing; in English, however, the type is used only rarely. In these particular rhythm units each unstressed syllable is likely to be sharp cut, with a measured beat on each one; this recurrent syllable prominence, even though the stressed syllables may be extra strong and extra long, gives a “pattering” effect. The type may be called a SYLLABLE-TIMED rhythm unit” (Pike, 1945, pp.34-35).

Two decades after, Han (1962) and Abercrombie (1967) adds a third class of rhythm systems: mora-timed. Syllables which had long vowels (CVV) or vocal-coda sequence (CVC) are perceived as the same duration as two syllables with short vowels (CV), and stress are defined in regular intervals of moraic feet instead of syllabic feet.

Donegan (1978) considered isochrony as rhythmical unit, but made clear that it depends on intrinsic duration of particular segments and their arrangement on syllables through beats, similar to musical figures such as eighth or sixteenth notes:

“It is commonly recognized that speech, like other natural human activities (walking, chewing, etc.), is basically rhythmic. The number and the intrinsic durations of the individual segmental articulations which make up speech may to some degree disturb this rhythm, and grammatical factors may also intertere, but it appears that the intended timing of speech, at least, is extremely regular. When the basic rhythmic unit is an accent group, or ‘measure’, so that there is equal timing between accents, the language is said to be iso-accentual, or stress-timed. When the basic rhythmic unit is the syllable, so that each syllable constitutes an equal prosodic interval, the language is said to be iso-syllabic, or syllable-timed. And when there is a distinction made between short (one-beat) and long (two-or-more beat) syllables, so that each short vowel (or syllable-offset consonant) is mapped onto one ‘beat’ or time-interval, and each long vowel is mapped onto two, the language is said to be iso-moric, or mora-timed” (Donegan, 1978, p.53).

Dauer (1983) and Auer (1990) considered that the irruption of terms of Cognitive Grammar such as prototypes and graduality is necessary for describing rhythm systems. Most of world’s languages could classify as exclusively syllable-timed or stress-timed, some of them exhibit all prototypical properties, but others are fluctuating among two types:

“As with English, it must be clear that Italian is a language which comes close to the iso-accentual prototype phonology, but doesn’t actually represent it in ‘pure form’. (For instance, Italian is close to the iso-syllabic type, but contrary to what we would expect, accent placement plays some role in its grammar, and accent placement is much more flexible than in other iso-syllabic languages such as French or Turkish). In the life of a language, both principles, the one for iso-accentual isochrony and the one for isosyllabic isochrony, are present; but usually, one is given preference at the expense of the other. That there may be a mixture of elements from the two

prototypes in many of the actual occurring languages is, not in the least, due to diachronic changes of rhythm type, such as in English from iso-syllabic to iso-accentual. The great advantage of working with rhythmic teleologies is that this makes it possible to develop a holistic picture of a phonology” (Auer, 1990, p.19).

With the origin of corpora studies in the decade of 1980, the rhythm is rediscovered as a physical parameter, measurable in statistical terms. An example of these are nPVI (normalized Pairwise Variability Index) and rPVI (raw Pairwise Variability Index), components which analyze the difference of duration among the media of sound intervals combined with speech tempo (rPVI) or not (nPVI). According to Ramus *et al.* (1999), Gibbon and Gut (2001), Low and Grabe (2002), and Nespoulet, Shukla and Mehler (2011), if there are low levels of rPVI and nPVI, it infers that this language is considered as syllable-timed, but if there are high levels of rPVI and nPVI, the isochrony recognized is stress-timed.

2. Rhythm based on word and phrase accentuations

Thomson (1904) and Omond (1905) asserted that rhythm is based on lexical stress, which associates syllables on contiguity relations of intensity contrasts among them, recovering the idea of metrical feet from Greco-Roman tradition mentioned in **Álvarez (1785)**. According to him, rhythm refers to the patterns of 2-3 syllable clusters around to differences of word accentuations. Nevertheless, in contrast to other 18th century theorists mentioned before, **Álvarez, and Thomson after, considered that** rhythm is identified in ordinary speech, within words and utterances:

“Take the sentence, “A long meandering road led to the river”, and read it in a natural flowing way, tapping with the finger on reaching the accented syllables *long, and, road, led, riv*. It will be found that the taps and, therefore, the accented syllables occur at equal intervals of time. Here we have what is called the principle of equal periodicity. The recurrence of strong accents at equal distances of time runs, with trifling exceptions, through all verse, and is perpetually asserting itself, in a more or less modified form, in the language of prose and ordinary speech. In other words, practically all verse and the bulk of prose is rhythmical [...] But rhythm, or the regular recurrence of accent, may take on different characters according to the varying distribution of speech sounds between the accents. And it is here that we come into contact with the distinctive basis of Teutonic rhythm. The distribution of time over the syllables between the accents might be quite irregular, and referable to no simple principle. But attentive observation shows that this is not the case. On the contrary, the syllabic distribution of time within the intervals admits of rational and simple measurement” (Thomson, 1904, pp. 11-12).

Sapir (1921) asserts that rhythm depends on the operation of diverse prosodic features among languages (stress contrasts, syllable weight differences, melodic variations, etc.), being the verse the main unit:

“Latin and Greek verse depends on the principle of contrasting weights;

English verse, on the principle of contrasting stresses; French verse, on the principles of number and echo; Chinese verse, on the principles of number, echo, and contrasting pitches. Each of these rhythmic systems proceeds from the unconscious dynamic habit of the language, falling from the lips of the folk. Study carefully the phonetic system of a language, above all its dynamic features, and you can tell what kind of a verse it has developed—or, if history has played pranks with its psychology, what kind of verse it should have developed and some day will” (Sapir, 1921, pp. 246).

According to Chomsky and Halle (1968), rhythm is again established on stress and metrical feet, operating on lexical items, as Thomson (1904) asserted previously: “Rule (39) [V → [1 stress] / ____ C₀VC₀VC₁o] produces alternations of stressed and unstressed vowels. It is thus one of the factors contributing to the frequently observed predominance of iambic rhythms in English” (Chomsky and Halle, 1968, p.78).

The relationship of accentuations as the main rhythmic component with phonological processes is supported by Stampe (1969), founder of Natural Phonology. He rescued the position of Jakobson (1968 [1941]), who sustained that children, during first language acquisition stages, tend to produce sound constituents of stressed syllables from lexical items listened of adults who live with them. Moreover, the first syllables produced by children created their own “internal accentuation”, with high contrasts between vowels and consonants:

“The most extreme processes are usually observable only in infancy: unstressed syllables are deleted, clusters and coarticulated ones are simplified, obstruents become lax stops linguals become coronal vowels merge to [a]. The fullest effect of the innate system is seen in the utterances of what might be called the “post-babbling” period, which, although they are still nonsemantic, characteristically consist of well-articulated sequences of identical and stressed syllables composed of lax stop (or nasal) plus low vowel [dadada], [ɲaɲaɲa], [mamama], or the like” (Stampe, 1969, pp. 445-446).

The influence of accentuations as generators of phonological contexts where operate the activation, restriction or removal of processes continue in Donegan (Miller, 1972a; 1972b). For instance, the process of vowel neutralization or centralization, which begins affecting all syllables in children, is suppressed by adults in different world languages, specially on stressed syllables:

“In languages with certain rare vowel systems, a limited form of neutralization may continue to affect stressed vowels even in the adult language. The systems which result seem to lack distinctions of timbre, though some admit distinctions of height; and they will be mentioned again in the section dealing with timbre. Neutralization, it seems, is (almost) always the first process to be limited or suppressed by children, and it is almost universally limited to unstressed or non-tense vowels in adult language” (Miller, 1972a, p.142).

Bjarkman (1976) affirmed that accentuation is a rhythmic factor which has

influence in segmental processes, such as aspiration in voiceless plosives produced by English speakers in casual speech:

“Processes, on the other hand, are often only optionally retained, relative to the governing style and the speed of articulation. There is nothing as all automatic about certain “sloppy speech” rules of English: viz. aspiration of voiceless stops initially in the stressed syllable (e.g. [prəpɛr] becomes [prəp^hɛr] «prepare»)” (Bjorkman, 1976, p.82).

Even though Donegan and Stampe (1978, pp.32-33) reassumed the isochrony, they clarify that this unit should review within the domain of intention and auditory perception, together with phoneme and musical junctures (Nathan, 1985; Smith, 1980). However, this aspect of rhythm seems to be depended on *tempo* and accentuations, being, in this way, the first time where they established the thesis of stress assignment as the process whose development could affect other prosodic processes:

“The vowel shortenings, deletions of final consonants, monophthongizations and reversals of diphthongs, metatheses, and change of vowel-nasal sequences into nasalized vowels which occurred in the histories of Romance, Slavic, and other languages might find a unified explanation beginning with a simple change in prosodic mapping. In these instances, the shift would have involved a change from a mapping in which syllables with long vowels or with consonantal closures, formerly mapped onto a double beat, were now mapped, like other syllables, onto single beats in the rhythm of speech. The segmental phonological processes would then eliminate long vowels, postvocalic consonants, and falling diphthongs – all of which would be difficult to pronounce in the time allotted a short syllable” (Donegan and Stampe, 1978, p.34).

According to Donegan and Stampe (1979), rhythm is a pattern which structures segmental material on prosodic constituents, where operate fortitive and lenitive processes. However, even if rhythm is related to accentuation and duration, it is connected with intonation, but not tones:

“*Prosodic processes* map words, phrases, and sentences onto prosodic structures, rudimentary patterns of rhythm and intonation. Insofar as syllabicity, stress, length, tone, and phrasing are not given in the linguistic matter, they are determined by the prosodic mapping, which may most easily be described as an operation in real-time speech processing of which setting sentences to verse or music are special cases” (Donegan and Stampe, 1979, p.142).

It is in Donegan and Stampe (1983) when rhythm, defined on terms of word and phrase accentuations, also seems to influence on the development of lexical tones, morphological types (analytic, synthetic, agglutination, fusión, etc.), word order, isochronies, number and classes of vowel phonemes, metrical feet, among other properties. This is the origin of the two types of patterns: falling systems, present in Munda languages, and rising systems, exhibited in Mon-Khmer languages:

“Accentuation is the reason for clisis and affixation in the first place, in that it

subordinates the unaccented element to the accented, and thus typically the merely grammatical element to the lexical. Thus falling accent encourages enclisis and suffixation; rising accent, proclisis and prefixation” (Donegan and Stampe, 1983, p.343).

Hurch (1988) added a property to the influence of rhythm on the phonological structures, asserting that accentuations not only organise syllabic sequences, but also help to determine how many syllables could belong to words or phrases. For this, he made a comparison between German, stress-timed language which, even with the elisión of segments, preserve the quantity of syllables for obtaining binary metrical feet in words as *haben* ‘to have’, meanwhile basque, as syllable-timed system, allows elisions and resyllabifications without maintaining a specific quantity of syllables or metrical feet:

“One of the typological differences between syllable- and accent-timed languages lies in the clarity of the number of syllables in a given word/utterance. Whereas there can be doubts in accent timed languages, there are never doubts is the syllable-timed type. A situation like the reduction and deletion of the suffix vowel in German *haben* «to have», the subsequent assimilation of the nasal results in a possible phonetic representation of something like [habm] with a syllabic nasal. Phonetically this can, for the lack of the oral release of the stop, equally or even better be analyzed as a preglottalized nasal. But the question of the syllabicity of the final consonant and therefore of the number of syllables remains open. In faster speech-styles this problem is solved by the complete deletion of the oral or glotal element respectively. But in normal colloquial pronunciation there exists uncertainty about the number of syllables. Analogous examples can be cited from virtually all accent-timed languages. This problem is inexistent in Basque. Note that this does not mean that the number of syllables remains constant during the whole course of the phonological derivation. There are processes of vowel deletion (like in *ezazu* but *har (e)zazu*), of diphthongization (like in *ama+iru*→[aj]) and others, with subsequent resyllabification processes, but, first, these processes typically take place in V-syllables and therefore do never increase the complexity of confining syllable-onsets or codas by assigning to them a remaining consonant of a deleted syllable, and second there syllabification process operates unequivocally with assigning the quality of syllabicity” (Hurch, 1988, p.818).

Dressler and Siptár (1989) continued in the theoretical proposals of Donegan and Stampe (1983), and Hurch (1988). For this, they exposed data from phonology of Hungarian, with very similar consequences to basque, trochaic feet, syllable-timed isochrony, without significative differences on vowel duration between stressed vs. unstressed contexts, vowel harmony and morphological agglutination:

“1. Fixed place of accent—on the word-initial syllable—and preference for a trochaic rhythm, realised in Hungarian by alternation between unstressed and secondarily stressed syllables. 2. The phonological and phonetic shapes of accented and unaccented syllables are similar, due to similar application of both prelexical and postlexical processes. 3. Accented vowels

are not significantly more lengthened (or otherwise foregrounded) nor are unaccented syllable peaks significantly more shortened (or otherwise backgrounded) than their contrasting classes. 4. And even backgrounding vowel bleaching to schwa is extremely restricted. This is typical for vowel-harmony languages, because vowel bleaching obscures vowel harmony. Thus it tends to occur only in those vowel harmony languages where there are anyway many other exceptions to vowel harmony. In this way, the typological criteria of syllable timing and agglutination favour each other" (Dressler and Siptar, 1989, p.48).

Donegan (1993) decided that, for a characterization of rhythm, it is appropriate to use terms from musicology such as beats and measures. A word could be shaped of a beat of 2 morae (e.g. in Spanish, the term *mamá* 'mother' could be said with a monosyllabic item with long vowel, [ma:]) or two beats, each one of them with 1 mora (e.g. in Spanish, *mamá* 'mother' could be pronounced as [mama]). Like in music patterns in music, clusters of beats creates measures, where allow the creation of metrical feet, prosodic domains which are the operation bases of segmental processes, with certain degree of flexibility in use, but, like improvisations executed by jazz or heavy metal musicians, it consists on preserving a mental constant background which enables the utterance comprehension:

"The precise coordination of gestures required in speaking and other intentional pattern depends on a neural metronome that emits a flexible but regular pattern in real time, onto which we map intended words and phrases for articulation. The shortest unit in this inner rhythmic pattern that is relevant in speech, verse and song is the time needed to pronounce a short syllable, which I will refer to by the Greek prosodic term **mora**. But the shortest unit of time required to pronounce an independent word is two moras long, and I will refer to it by the musical term **beat**. As I shall use the term, a beat consists of two moras, the first strong and the second weak [...]. A pair of beats, again ordered strong and weak, combine into a **measure** as in English *báby-sitter*, *báby-sit*, *hóuse-sitter*, *hóuse-sit*. Note that there is a subtle lengthening of *sit* here when it is the only material in a beat" (Donegan, 1993, p.7).

The conception of pulses as constituents of rhythmic organization has been its deepest development in the Poznan School of Phonology, with the leadership of Katarzyna Dziubalska-Kořaczyk. According to her, the syllable is not able to explain the preference of vowels as structural nucleus (1996, p.59). Instead of this, the term pulse could solve this problem, related to consonants by means of *binding laws*, which establish sonority nexus on particular sequences:

"I suggest that the notions of "beat", "word", and "foot", as well as "morpheme", are sufficient to account for the functions of the "syllable" without requiring the unit of a "syllable". A basic rhythmic speech skeleton consists of regularly recurring beats. Beats are primary rhythmic entities realized preferably by vocalic figures against a consonantal ground. They do not possess any inherent articulatory characteristics since they are functions rather than units, i.e., they are intentional (in the sense of Baudouin de

Courtenay, 1972 [1895]) and perceptual rather than actually articulatorily in nature [...] Inter-relationships between beats and pre-beat and post-beat consonants and consonant sequences are specified by a set of binding laws which look both at a “micro- level”—constituted by a single beat and consonants surrounding it, and at a “macro-level”—constituted by a sequence of beats with consonants interspersed between them, i.e., a level governed by rhythm. Binding laws operate on a phonological level according to the criterion of sonority. The latter is understood as a default intrinsic property of a phonological segment, i.e., belonging to the level of intention” (Dziubalska-Kořaczyk, 1996, p.59).

Hurch (1996) warned some important about accentuations: the assignation of segmental material of different words on accentual structures is not just prosodic or lexical, it is also sensitive to be used for grammatical functions. For instance, Tongan language uses stress for contrasts between definite and indefinite entities. Also, in basque spoken in Zegama (p. 79), stress represent differences between singular and plural nouns. Nevertheless, it exists accentuation preferences registered in typology and ontogenetic studies, with more cases of trochaic and dactylic feet, which belong to falling rhythm patterns, than iambic and anapaest feet (from rising patterns):

“A falling pattern cannot be divided into smaller units on the very same prosodic level, but a rising one can, i.e., a sequence of an accented syllable plus an unaccented syllable constitutes a single foot, but a sequence containing the reverse accentual pattern can consist of an anacrusis plus foot, and the remaining monosyllabic foot even allows a binary interpretation as one possible foot structure [...] In languages with a rising main accent foot the secondary accent foot is frequently falling; the reverse is rare [...] in a four syllable sequence like *New York City*, the sequence of a iambic plus a trochaic foot is remodelled as a sequence of two trochees, namely as *Néw York City* [...] In language acquisition falling foot structures seem to be preferred over rising feet [...] In English “thus we get /'nænə/ or /'bænə/, for *banana*, but never /bə'næn/, /'teto/ or /'peto/ for *potato*, but never /pə'tet/, /læktək/ or /'wæktuək /, but never /ə'læk/” (Hurch, 1996, pp.89-90).

Auer (1990, p.17) made an objection about the role of rhythm patterns in establishing different syntactic constituents: it seemed not to be appropriate the equivalence of phrase accentuation with the location of operators, modifiers or syntactic comments, which could include verbs. Moreover, he rejected the idea of a language with falling rhythm could change to rising, but the opposite was possible. However, Donegan and Stampe (2004) overcame this situation incorporated the relationship between heads and dependents elements, being the last one more similar to discursive focus. They presented Niger-Congo languages as proof of a language could change from falling pattern to rising and from nucleus-initial to nucleus-final, demonstrating the existence of cycling rhythm changes.

Furthermore, compared to Dziubalska-Kořaczyk (1996), in spite of Donegan and Stampe uses beats as equivalents to morae, they didn't dismiss syllables as prosodic domains, because these structures are affected by accentuation and isochronies in

Munda languages (e.g. Sora), with short vowels belong to stressed and unstressed constituents, as well as cases of vowel and consonant assimilations, and Mon-Khmer languages, with coda insertions, vowel lengthenings and dissimilations which facilitate creations of diphthongs:

“Proto-Austroasiatic had isochronous words of one or two syllables. The disyllable had a rising rhythm, like **bə'lu* ‘thigh’ [...] In Mon-Khmer, a distinctively short vowel in the final syllable was kept short by inserting a glottal stop *bə'luʔ*, but otherwise could be merged with the corresponding long vowels *bə'lu:*. The short initial syllable invites vowel reduction or deletion, and the long final syllable invites diphthongization, as in Khmer *'pliw* ↓ ‘thigh’ [...] In Munda, the disyllable was given a falling rhythm, **bəlu* ↘, fitting the final syllable into the beat by shortening its vowel (proto-Munda seems not to have vowel length distinctions), and giving the initial syllable a full though short vowel -often, by harmony, ‘*bulu*” (Donegan and Stampe, 2004, pp.20-21).

Jauregi (2008) endorsed the thesis of syllable as the main rhythmic unit in the interplay of structuration principles such as accentuations, sonority and sound qualities (pp. 346-347). The syllable gains relevance when it helps to understand the modulation of sound sequences and how those are perceived by their users.

Finally, Donegan and Nathan (2015) accounted for the rhythmic changes observed between Mon-Khmer y Munda languages are also found in Romance languages, specially from Latin to French, though with different complexity degrees: meanwhile the change of rhythm patterns among Austroasian languages had affected phonology levels, morphological types and syntactic orders, in the case of change from Latin to French, rhythm just had affected the stress patterns, isochronies and syllable types, resulting in classifications of languages with near-falling or near-rising patterns than languages with categorically falling or rising patterns:

“Changes in rhythm may include changes between falling and rising accent and changes in patterns of isochrony—shifts among so-called mora, syllable, and stress timing. For example, the Chamic languages changed in type (Thurgood, 1999); this branch of Austronesian has become atypically final-accented, and its phonology, morphology, and syntax have changed accordingly. In Old French, vowels diphthongized in stressed open syllables and reduced in unstressed syllables, suggesting a shift from the mora-timing of Latin toward stress-timed rhythm. A subsequent series of changes monophthongized the diphthongs and weakened or deleted syllable-final consonants (e.g. Pope, 1934, pp. 103, 190), leading to an open-syllable pattern that became the syllable-timing of modern French. Changes in rhythm can result in wholesale changes in the application of phonological processes because processes are sensitive to prosodic factors such as duration, accent, and syllabication” (Donegan and Nathan, 2005, p.448).

In summary, following theorists of Natural Phonology, rhythm is a set of perception and production patterns of different accentuations which operate on words and phrases. These could proceeded from prosodic processes or morphonological rules, generating domains such as phonological words and

phrases, metrical feet, syllables and beats, starting points for the development of segmental (lenitive and fortitive) processes. There are two rhythmic patterns, which are the poles of a continuum: rising systems, whose prototype is identified in Mon-Khmer languages, with lexical morphemes and syntactic objects in final stressed positions, lexical tones, syllables with long vowels and stressed-timed isochronies; and falling systems, whose prototypes are Munda languages, with trochaic feet, preverbal syntactic objects and lexical morphemes in initial stressed positions, restrictions on tonogenesis, tendencies on syllables with short vowels and syllable-timed isochronies.

3. The coexistence of two concepts of rhythm: the cases of Embera and Spanish

There are two languages equivalents in terms of isochrony: Spanish and Embera. The first language is one of the most spoken in the world, being official in countries such as Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Mexico, Argentina, etc. (Instituto Cervantes, 2019). Embera is language spoken only in Colombia and Panama by 70000 people (Barreña and Pérez-Cauarel, 2017). It belongs to Choco family with Wounaan language.

Respect to Spanish, based on acoustic measures of nPVI (normalized Pairwise Variability Index) and rPVI (raw Pairwise Variability Index), Grabe and Low (2002, p.528) asserts that this language exhibits low levels of these parameters, so that indicates the presence of syllable-timed isochrony. These results are found in the dialect spoken in Mexico (Carter, 2005), as well as in Spain (Prieto *et al.*, 2012), that which be inferred that differences among dialects are not meaningful.

Regarding Embera, Páez and Ibarra-Zetter (2018, p.200) carried out measurements of rPVI and nPVI with sound files of *Global Recordings* (GRN, 2017). Here they obtained that this language exhibits low values of both indices, signs of syllable-timed isochrony, the same as Spanish language.

Spanish and Embera have trochaic feet in words and tendencies to melodic cadence in statements. However, on syllabification, Embera doesn't have syllables with coda, only with CV or CVV sequences (Hoyos, 2000, p.77; Sáenz, 2018), meanwhile, for instance, in Spanish spoken in Boyaca, Colombia (Díaz, 2017), although there are cases of diphthongizations (*e.g.* boca → bueca 'mouth'), there are also syllables with coda (*e.g.* trans.por.ta.dor 'transporter').

Donegan (1993) sustained that the emergence of vowel phonemes, as consequence of suppressing some fortitive processes, is a feature of languages with rising pattern. There are nasalized vowels as phonemes (Hoyos, 2000, p.76), the main result of inhibiting the process of vowel denasalization (Donegan and Stampe, 2009). However, it doesn't occur in Spanish, where the inventory of five oral vowels is constant, regardless of dialect (Hualde, 2014). Lenitive process of vowel nasalization, case of assimilation, regular process in prototypical falling patterns, is active in Spanish and Embera. The same situation with consonant weakening of plossives, which is active in both languages.

In morphology, although there is low presence of synthesis (*i.e.* morphemes representing 1-2 properties) in Spanish and Embera nouns, the situation is different among verbs: meanwhile Spanish has suffixes with more than 2 properties, like -as, with the meaning of 2nd Person Singular, Present tense, indicative mood (*piensas* 'you think', *cantas* 'you sing', etc.), as reported by RAE and ASALE (2010), Embera

doesn't have this class of morphemes (Hoyos, 2000, pp.77-78).

Lastly, regarding syntactic constituents order, Embera presents object-verb (OV) order (Loewen, 1958, pp. 107-108), while Spanish exhibits verb-object (VO) as the most frequent type, even if the OV order appears in some cases of discourse focalization (Ocampo, 1995).

Both languages are falling rhythm pattern, but Spanish is nearer to the prototype than Embera. Meanwhile Spanish differs to Munda prototype in 2 properties, Embera has 4 differences with this austroasiatic language. Table 1 summarizes this.

Language	Spanish	Embera
Property		
Word Accentuation	Trochaic foot (mostly)	Trochaic foot (mostly)
Phrase Accentuation	Melodic cadence on statements	Melodic cadence on statements
Syllables with coda	Yes	No
Context-free fortitive vowel denasalization	Yes	No
Context-dependent lenitive vowel denasalization	Yes	Yes
Context-dependent lenitive consonant weakening	Active with all voiced plosives	Active with all plosives
Lexical tones	No	No
Level of morphological synthesis in nouns	Low	Low
Level of morphological synthesis in verbs	High	Low
Syntactic constituent order between object and verb	VO (mostly)/OV (some focalizations)	OV

Table 1. Comparison between Spanish and Embera in terms of Natural Phonology definition of rhythm. The differences respect to falling pattern prototype (e.g. Munda) are in **bold**.

4. Research perspectives

On the one hand, there are a long tradition of rhythm studies in terms of isochrony, in spite of it exists new tendencies to the study in auditory perception (Goswami and Leong, 2013), whence it's necessary to develop more analyses. On the other hand, there are different studies on Natural Phonology since the last 50 years. For instance, some M.A. and Ph.D theses on descriptive Spanish Phonology (Díaz, 2017; Silvestre, 2020), studies of Spanish dialects in intercatations (Troncoso, 2015) or languages in contact (Larrazza, 2014), explanation of some sound changes

(Salaberri and Salaberri, 2016), replacement of holistic structure of a language (Lakarra, 2006), even the standardization process of pronunciation (Oñederra, 2016) are developments using this theory.

Nevertheless, there are lots of theoretical and methodological issues for solving towards rhythm in Natural Phonology. Owing to processes are synchronic (Donegan and Nathan, 2015: 431), it could carry out a typological or dialectal studies for accomplishing classifications in terms of rhythmic-holistic systems based on the operation of prosodic, lenitive and fortitive processes, morphological and syntactic features. It could be studies that, using systematic parameters, allow the endorsement, clarification or refutation of some hypotheses of areal divisions, such as Amazonian vs. Andean languages in South America (Dixon and Aikhenvald, 1999, pp. 8-9).

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THE SUPERSTITIONS REFLECTED IN SPEECH ETIQUETTE (ON THE MATERIAL OF ENGLISH AND GEORGIAN LANGUAGES)

Irine Demetradze

Every language abounds in certain formulae related to speech etiquette. These formulae have long turned into clichés, they are devoid of informative meaning and serve the purpose of politeness. In every culture, there are words and phraseological units expressing greetings, farewells, congratulations, blessings, condolences etc. “Phraseological units reflect the wealth of a language displaying cultural paradigms of the speakers of a particular language. They reflect cultural archetypes of an ethno-linguistic community and help to explicit the peculiarities of its world perception” (Ochilova, 2014:16). The phraseological units that form part of speech etiquette are based on certain common concepts of positive connotation, and the purpose of using such formulae is to establish a favourable atmosphere between the interlocutors. Therefore, these units form part of phatic communication. The term has been coined by B. Malinowski, who defined phatic communication as “free, aimless social intercourse, inquiries about health, comments on weather and greeting formulae” (Malinowski, 1923: 313).

It is well known that politeness formulae form part of national culture. The link between language and culture has long been discussed by numerous scholars. Dr. Mahadi notes that “Particular languages are associated historically with particular cultures; the languages provide the key to the associated cultures” (Mahadi, 2012:234). Naturally, the same is true for speech etiquette, which, as a valuable part of every language, also reflects the mentality and culture of a given nation. Thus, there are differences between languages and cultures with regard to speech etiquette and the basic concepts used in politeness formulae. Speech etiquette is a social product which is based on certain conventions. It reflects the traditions, opinions, beliefs, values and norms of behavior widespread in a certain speech community. Thus, the speech etiquette forms an inalienable part of culture.

According to E. Sapir, “speech is a human activity that varies without

assignable limit as we pass from social group to social group, because it is a purely historical heritage of the group, the product of long-continued social usage. It varies as all creative effort varies—not as consciously, perhaps, but none the less as truly as do the religions, the beliefs, the customs, and the arts of different peoples” (Sapir, 1921:4).

Taking into account the above-mentioned, in the given paper I have attempted to dwell on those phraseological units which have originated from superstitions. These units are abundantly used in everyday speech and they are mostly related to luck, happiness, health and human physiology, sweetness and other basic concepts.

R. Harish defines superstition as “A belief or way of behaving that is based on fear of the unknown and faith in magic or luck: a belief that certain events or things will bring good or bad luck; a belief or practice, resulting from ignorance, fear of the unknown, trust in magic or chance or a false conception of caution; an irrational attitude of mind toward the supernatural” (Harish, 2016: 77).

Naturally, the majority of superstitious phatic phrases are related to luck. Therefore, they are used as blessing formulae, for instance “*Good Luck!*”. Interestingly enough, the word “*Happy*” which serves as a basis for numerous congratulation formulae (e.g. “*Happy New Year!*”, “*Happy Birthday!*” etc.), is also related to luck, as it originated from the word “*Hap*” which meant luck, fate. The Georgian word for happiness ბედნიერება /*bedniereba*/ is also derived from the root ბედი /*bedi*/ meaning luck, fortune. The notion of luck is also present in a popular superstitious phrase “*Unlucky at cards, lucky in love*”, which is used in its direct meaning to comfort someone who has lost a game, or, figuratively, to condole someone who has suffered a failure in some activity.

Other superstitious phrases used in everyday conversations and referring to luck are as follows:

“*I’ll keep my fingers crossed for you*” – a popular phrase used to wish someone good luck before starting an important activity. The act of crossing one’s fingers dates back to ancient times. The earliest use of the gesture is related to two people crossing their index fingers in order to form a cross. The pagans believed that a cross was a symbol of good luck. They believed in «sacred geometry» and believed that benevolent spirits resided in the intersections of crosses. Therefore, once two people made a cross, they could make a wish and the spirits would favour them.

Another interesting phraseological unit related to luck is “*Touch wood*” (British)/ “*Knock on wood*” (American). It derives from the pagan belief that malevolent spirits inhabited wood, and that if you expressed a hope for the future you should touch (or knock on) wood to prevent the spirits from hearing and presumably preventing your hopes from coming true.¹ The act of knocking on wood has also become widespread in Georgia due to the Western influence. Besides, there is a peculiar Georgian saying related to luck. When someone makes plans for the future, he/she usually says: ღმერთო, კაი ყურით მისმინე /*g’merto kai q’urit mismine*/ (literally – “God, listen to me with a good ear). This phrase is said in fear of possible disappointment or failure. In this regard, mention should be made of the English proverb “Man proposes but God disposes”.

Other interesting lexical units based on superstitions are related to guests. In

1 Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/notesandqueries/query/0,5753,-22199,00.html> (visited on 16.03.2020)

this regard, mention should be made of the English word “Welcome”, a greeting of a guest whose visit is pleasant and brings luck to the family. In Georgia, there are traditional phrases said to a guest as well as by the guest himself/herself. When someone comes to visit a certain family for the first time, he/she says *კეთილი იყოს ჩემი ფეხი* /ketili iq'os chemi pexi/ (literally - “May my foot be kind”), meaning that he/she wants her visit to bring luck to the family. In some cases, the family members themselves greet the guest with a phrase *კეთილი იყოს შენი ფეხი* /ketili iq'os sheni pexi/ (literally – “May your foot be kind”), meaning that the guest is welcome and his/her visit is a blessing to the house. In connection with this superstition, special mention should be made of the Georgian New Year custom of inviting a special guest called *მეკვლე* /mekvle/ (literally – “a person who leaves a trace”). Such person is usually a good friend or close relative of the family, and his/her coming is considered to bring good fortune. Such guest is the first one to enter the house at the beginning of the New Year. Traditionally, the guest brings sweets and, upon entering, says: *შემოდგი ფეხი, გწყალობდეთ ღმერთი, ფეხი ჩემი - კვალი ანგელოზისა* /shemovdgi pexi gtsq'alobdet g'merti pexi chemi kvali angelozisa/ (literally – “I have set my foot in your house, God bless you, may my foot be like the trace of an angel).

Some interesting superstitious lexical units are related to congratulations.

In the Georgian culture it is customary to congratulate our friends and relatives on newly-acquired clothes saying *ღმერთმა ჯანმრთელობაში მოგახმაროს* /ghmertma janmrtelobashi mogakhmaros/ (wear it in good health). However, according to a widespread superstition, it is considered that such blessing should not be pronounced at night, probably for fear of some dark forces. Thus, if someone produces a newly-acquired clothing item after sunset, Georgians say: *მზით გაცვითე* /mzit gatsvite/ (literally – “May it wear out in the sunlight”). When someone buys new clothes, the English congratulation is “Wear it in good health”, although, according to internet sources, it is not very frequent and is supposed to have come to the English language from the Jewish culture². An alternative version is “Use it in good health” which refers to any newly-acquired item and not just clothes.

Some interesting superstitions are related to water, which is considered as the most powerful, curative and cleansing element. In Georgia, it is considered that the youngest person should be allowed to drink water first. Hence, when a group of Georgian people are thirsty, they politely offer the youngest person to drink first, saying *წყალი უმცროსისაა* /tsq'ali umtsrosisaa/ (the water belongs to the youngest). Another speech etiquette formula is related to the expression of gratitude when someone brings a glass of water. In this case, the person who receives water says *წყლის ძალა მოგცეს ღმერთმა* /tsq'lis z'ala mogtses g'mertma/ (May God make you as powerful as water). When someone complains to us about having had a nightmare, the norm of Georgian speech etiquette is to comfort this person saying *წყალს მოუყვი* /tsq'als mouq'evi/, meaning “tell it to water”, because, according to a widespread superstition, the bad dream will not come true if water takes it away. Another interesting superstitious phraseological unit related to water is usually uttered in the following situation: when something

2 Retrieved from <https://www.racked.com/2017/4/16/15029624/wear-it-in-good-health-guilt-clothing> (visited on 15.02.2020)

good has happened and we are sharing the good news with someone, we often say: *ჩემი წყალი გადმოგესხას* /chemi tsq'ali gadmogesxas/ (lit. may my water pour onto you). In this way we wish the same luck and success to our interlocutor.

In both languages under analysis, there are interesting phraseological units based on superstitions and related to human physiology. In both cultures, superstitious phrases are related to hiccupping. In Georgia, people tell the hiccupping person that someone is speaking about him/her. In English, they say *“Your true love is thinking of you”*. When someone's ears are burning or itching, both Georgian and English people say that someone is gossiping about this person. Interesting differences between superstitions are found with regard to itching palms. When someone's right palm itches, the English say that this person will get money, and when the left palm itches, this means that the person will have to pay money. The Georgian superstitious phrases related to itching palms are quite different: the itching left palm is a sign of receiving money soon, whereas the itching right palm is a sign of meeting someone important and shaking hands with him/her. In both cultures, the itching of the tip of the nose is a sign of a visitor coming soon. There are numerous superstitions related to the itching of other parts of the body, but I will not focus on them here and move on to the analysis of phrases related to sneezing and coughing.

In ancient times people considered that in the process of sneezing a person's soul would leave the body and it would be seized by devil. This gave origin to the use of the phrase *„God Bless You“*, which was considered a protection from devil's power. When someone sneezes, Georgians also say *ღვთის წყალობა* /g'vtis tsq'aloba/ (God's mercy).

Besides, when something important is being said, and at that moment the listener sneezes, it is supposed to confirm the truth of the utterance. This superstition has its roots in the ancient past. Even in Homer's *„Odyssey“*, when Penelope says Odysseus will come back and kill her admirers, Telemachus sneezes, and everyone takes this as a confirmation of Penelope's words (Homer, *Odyssey*, 17.528-550).

An interesting Georgian custom related to sneezing is as follows: if someone sneezes when a deceased person is being mentioned, Georgians say *ჯვარი გწერიო* /jvari gtseria/ (May Cross protect you) or *იმის მოსვლამდე არაფერი გეტკინოს* /imis mosvlamde araperi getkinos/ (may you have no pain until he/she comes back).

The English superstitions related to sneezing are well reflected in a poem which refers to the number of sneezes:

Once - a wish,
Twice - a kiss,
Three times - a letter,
Four times - something better.

As for coughing, according to internet resources, the English blessings related to cough are rare. However, in some cases people say: *«Oh it (the ailment) must be so hard for you. Please recover from Satan's curse upon you and embrace a healthy and fresh attitude”* or *“Thou shall wake Jesus with thy absence of health! May you mingle in society and play the humble and healthy post!”*³. Another superstitious expression related to cough is *“Frog in your throat“*, although this expression is also

3 Retrieved from <https://in.answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20090216060752AAAaL1R&page=1&sort=0> (visited on 16.03.2020)

rare. Its origin is explained in two ways: 1. When coughing, a person makes sounds resembling those made by a frog 2. In ancient times it was believed that a frog put to someone's throat had a curative effect. Interestingly enough, in Georgia the same phrase is used with regard to belching, especially when referring to a baby.

Other English cough-related phrases are: „Choke up chicken, it might be a diamond ring“; „Cough it up it might be a gold watch“.

As for the Georgian culture, in case someone coughs while eating, people say ალალი /alali/ (literally – you have earned it), meaning that the person has deserved his food. Another interesting superstition is to tell a coughing person that he/she should look up in order to see a godmother/godfather on the ceiling. Another word said to a coughing person is შაქარი /shaqari/ (sugar), meaning that the cough has been caused by swallowing something bitter, hence, it should be sweetened.

It should be noted that the concept of sweetness has given rise to numerous superstitious phraseological units and speech etiquette formulae.

For instance, in Georgia, there is a New Year ritual of treating people to sweet food, at the same time saying ასე ტკბილად დამიბერდი /ase tkbilad damiberdi/ (May your old age be as sweet as this food).

Another expression related to sweetness is შენს პირს შაქარი /shens pirs shaqari/ (literally- sugar to your mouth), uttered when someone predicts or wishes us something good.

Georgia, as a country famous for its table rituals and toasts, has produced superstitious expressions uttered when drinking bitter alcoholic drinks. According to superstitious beliefs, the power of bitter beverages may lead to bad luck, whereas toasts are meant to bless the addressee. Therefore, Georgians say: ეს მწარეა და ტკბილად შეგვერგოს /es mtsarea da tkbilad shegvergos/ (this drink is bitter, but may it bring sweetness to our life/ or სიმწარე გვაშოროს, სიტკბო მოგვცეს /simtsare gvashoros, sitkbo mogvtses/ (May God free us from bitterness and fill us with sweetness).

Thus, as the above examples have proved, in both English and Georgian speech etiquettes there are numerous formulae based on superstitious beliefs. These phraseological units form part of greetings, blessings, congratulations, toasts, consolations and other speech acts. Nowadays even non-superstitious people utter these phraseological units automatically, without thinking about their meaning and origin. However, diachronic analysis of such phraseological units has once again proved the magic meaning once attached to words/phrases and their importance in speech communities of diverse cultures and mentality.

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TERRORISM '20

**IV. INTERNATIONAL IN-PERSON AND VIRTUAL
CONFERENCE ON TERRORISM AND POLITICAL
VIOLENCE**

THE CHALLENGE TERRORISM AND STATE TERRORISM: THE ABSENCE OF PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

With the beginning of the twenty first century, we have witnessed one of the most devastating events in history, indeed 9/11 reached a level of lethality that is unprecedented. Up to 3000 people died in that one single attack on the World Trade Centre. Yet the misfortunes of the twenty first century did not end with 9/11. The latter became the focal point of policy making and especially global security that is linked to self defence operations and retaliation. Among the significant issues we face today is the multiplicity of dimension that terrorism can take and that are not always visible. Terrorism is in fact the act of committing organized violent actions to achieve certain political goals, yet it also takes the form of retaliation or self-defence that has the same modus operandi as terrorism which we can refer to as state terrorism. The dangers and the challenges that we face are related to the single vision that we tend to have vis-à-vis terrorism and the need consider the different manifestations of terrorism in order to better understand its internal workings and modes of operation. The paper would explore the complexities of terrorism and state terrorism and deceptiveness of their functioning within the period of 9/11.

Keyword: Terrorism, State Terrorism, Perspectives, War On Terror, 9/11.

In *Terrorism: A Critical Introduction*, Richard Jackson et al suggest the idea that state terrorism is far more a salient issue than non-state terrorism. He continues to argue that casualties and destruction caused by states and governments all over the world are far more alarming than individual or organisational terrorism (Jackson, 2001, no page) Andrew Silke in his *'the Roads Less Travelled'* similarly maintains that after the period of 1990s, attention was more and more dragged towards religious extremism and left-wing violence while governmental and state sponsored terrorism research declined considerably during that same period (1990, p. 301) Similarly, Schmidt and Jongman in their 1988 review of literature on terrorism, *Political terrorism*, concluded that research in the field of terrorism focuses mainly

on the convenient and efficient responses to terrorist incidents related mostly to non-state terrorism (Schmidt and Jongman, 1988, no page) However, the domain of state terrorism remains under-researched. They continue to argue that research on the field of terrorism should not be conducted “through the eyes of the power holders” (ibid). Moreover, the researcher should not identify with one cause or another but rather aim at as objective a research as possible. Richard Jackson also pointed out the lack of research in matters of state related terrorism. He maintains that the analysis of hundreds of texts by established researchers in the field reveal that “state terrorism is noticeable mainly for its absence.” (Jackson, 2001, p.)

The post-Cold War era was characterized by terrorism becoming “*a central feature of foreign policy in government circles, a leading agenda for active insurgencies, and the paramount concern of citizens globally.*” (cited in Schomsky, 1987, p. 1) With the end of the Cold War, the communist ‘**Red Scare**’ ceased to be the enemy of the United States. The latter lost the justification for its political and military strategies of repression. Therefore, communism was no longer the necessary fear engine that allowed the validation and disguise of state terror. With the changes occurring in world politics and specifically the politics of the United States and its position in world, as well as the absence of a clear danger, there was a necessity for the reinvention of a potential enemy that would serve as the vehicle and justification for state terror. Communism could no longer be considered the source of terrorist activity, however the motivations and the hostility remained and laid down the foundations for state terror for the coming years. It is essential to recognise the implications that come with the need to justify and validate state terror. The latter cannot be defensible if it adopts bare face terror therefore, there is an existential need for camouflage and false flag danger. Covert plotting through secret agencies and disguised agents is one way of getting that necessary clandestine cover for state terror. The reaction of the US administration to 9/11 has put one of the central conception of the contemporary world into question: globalization and the global identity. The ‘Us vs Them’ phrase suggests the reinstallation of the cultural borders that are accompanied by degrading rather than celebrating connotations. Carr maintains that:

Death squads, massacres, the bombing of civilian populations, torture, assassination and extra-judicial execution- all [...] forms of violence have been adopted in the name of counter-terrorism by states that presented themselves as virtuous crusaders in a campaign against the terrorist evil, while engaging in the most ruthless and amoral realpolitik. (Carr, 2011, p. xvi)

There is a need to explore terrorism from the terrorist perspectives, not in intention of justifying it, but rather in the aim of discerning a clearer image of its functioning and therefore improve world’s reaction to terrorist incidents. Furthermore, although 9/11 attack targeted New York, it had a global impact and therefore the US should not be the sole point of reference when it comes to its explanation, peacekeeping processes and military operations. There is a tendency to mistake attempts to understand terrorism and terrorist with sympathy and justification. There is an urgent need to separate the overly loaded emotional American reaction to terrorism and to stop making of it a personal matter rather than a global issue. Terrorism cannot be reduced to 9/11 or the American experience of terrorism,

The definitional problem of the terrorism is taken a step further after 9/11 with the limited exploration of state terrorism and understanding of organizational terrorism and with the absence of an agreed upon international definition, the one contained in the U.S. Code which states that terrorism is "*Premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.*" (U.S. Code, title 22, sec 2656f (d).) The reliance on this definition engenders considerable limitations and exclusions. The limitations do not allow a wider inclusive dialogue especially after the attack on The World Trade Centre and the Pentagon. This perspective is strengthened by the attitude of the White House, the latter's spokesman Karl Rove in his speech on the 22nd of June 2005 denounced the Liberals attempts to understand the attacks of 9/11.

Liberals saw the savagery of the 9/11 attacks and wanted to prepare indictments and offer therapy and understanding for our attackers. In the wake of 9/11 conservatives believed that it was time to unleash the might and power of the United States military against Taliban. (Rove, 2005, no page)

Mr Rove's comments on the attempts to include the other side of the terrorism discussion reveal the attitude and the strategies that were planned by the US government. Any possible consideration of a more reasonable and inclusive reaction was, and is still met, with accusations of lenience and mockery vis-à-vis the sufferance of the American people. Indeed, the only reason why state terrorism is viewed as virtuous is because of the lack of awareness and realization of the reality behind any state violence. Carr speaks of demythologizing the concept of terrorism that is often viewed only from one perspective. In fact, there is also a need to reconsider the authority of the state that allows the monopolization of violence, its uses and condemnation

Terrorism, in fact, is a complex and multivariate phenomenon. It appears in many different forms in many parts of the world in pursuit of many different objectives. It occurs in democracies, autocracies and transitional states and in developed, underdeveloped, and developing economies. It is practiced by adherents of many religions and by adherents of none. (Richardson, 2006, p. 2) Terrorism is global phenomenon that occurred and occurs in different parts of the world under different circumstances that are context dependent but most importantly follow very similar patterns when it comes to the working logic. Derrida through his discussion about the deconstruction of terrorism, discusses the idea of limits and boundaries that he relates to the transformation of identity as a "*homogenous and self-contained totality.*" (Borradori, 2003, p. 147)

In fact, Derrida, when explaining the reason behind referring to the World Trade Centre as 9/11, exposes the making of 9/11 a major and unprecedented event that the media turned into a cluster of impressions imposed on the global audience and hence, making of it a significant propaganda tool. (Carr, 2011, p. 149) With that being said, the mediatisation of 9/11 as a major event has hindered all perspectivism about terrorism and its understanding from different standpoints. The absence of numerous visions from the terrorism discussion echoes the sudden transformation of the American society from a vibrant melting pot to an overly nationalist country in the mid of the global village. Indeed 9/11 needs to be kept as emotional an event to the American people as possible because it permits the

maintenance of the United States at the heart of its own myth about the immunity of its system.

The United States, in its role as the greatest technoscientific, capitalist, and military power, symbolizes the world order, the legitimacy of the international law and diplomacy and the power and the media. The world order, said Derrida, is based on the solidity, reliability, and credibility of American power. (Borradori, 2003, p. 159)

Therefore, the manipulation that surrounds the conception and the process of information of terrorism leads to various fallacies within the very core of the global world as well as the functioning of national and global belonging

Bhabha in his lecture about the writing rights and responsibilities, discusses how the use of language of metaphoricity allows “to establish ideology and hegemony [...] it carries the change of affect” (Bhabha, 2008, no page) He carries on to say that “*it is the way people feel persuaded rationally and emotionally.*” (ibid) Indeed the discourse that usually accompanies political violence aims at creating an illusion of reality that is rationally constructed and therefore engenders a strong mechanism of justification. The latter triggers a certain state of mind that determines the state of mind of the audience. 9/11 and the body of metaphors and language that surrounds it triggered the highly nationalist attitude of the Americans as opposed a global mind set concerning the consequences of that same incident.

Carr maintains that

The war on terror became a catalyst for a new era of global governance, in which states across the world evoked a vaguely-defined but overarching invocation of ‘national security’ to justify a culture of official secrecy, extra-legality and an absence of transparency and governments presented the public with a ‘closed’ version of terrorism which seemed designed to stifle and silence any further debate about its causes or possible solutions, and which was often at odds with what their own officials and analysts believed. (2011, p. xv)

The GWOT allows the operation of the power relations that serve the superpowers of the New World Order. It offers a new theatre of operation to the art of manipulation and geopolitical interests with the essential accompanying justification.

In the post-9/11 period, the United States and its allies represented the GWOT as “*a moral crusade against ‘evil’*”. (Carr, 2011, p. viii) That is the GWOT is the cure that the US introduced and reinforced to defeat the ‘enemy’. Carr formulates the ‘cure finding process’ in terms of “*opportunism’ to achieve global hegemony, politically and economically.*” (ibid, p. xiv) Indeed the level of the threat is amplified in the aim of extending the American military interventions and power especially in the regions that represent great economic interest.

The nature of state terrorism is meant to be “indecipherable” (Gray, 2003, p. 75) hence all the secrecy surrounding all its practices. The enemy destruction myth is only the front face of the ‘creative destruction’ (ibid, p. vii) behind state violence. Gray explains creative destruction as a strategy adopted by the western world in order to overthrow existing governments and establish others that would serve their economic and political interests. He gives the model of Iraq on which this project was undertaken. In the context of the GWOT and the Iraq war, US national

security and elimination of the threat emanating from Iraq and its Weapons of Mass Destruction were used as legitimate justifications for the US coalition military intervention. The WMD (Weapons of Destruction) threat coming from Iraq was never fully proved to be real, in fact, never was the Iraqi terrorist threat fully explained. Terrorism is often obscured and distorted as necessary and is reduced to mere conflict of 'evil vs good', a conception that George W. Bush used in his address to the congress in 2001. Because of the extremely exaggerated assumption made around the threat of terrorism on the US, "*the elementary notions of legality, morality*" were completely ignored in the war against terror.

The silence and the spectrality of the framing of terrorism starting from the end of the Cold War till the present day, in addition to the mega boost that 9/11 provided, engendered serious manipulation and fluctuation in global power relations. The silence around the realities behind the deep strategies of the GWOT leads to numerous unjustified procedures like the War on Iraq for example. But because of the scale of fear that 9/11 brought about, any remote suggestion of a danger coming from the region where Al Qaeda operates blocks any attempt to rationally discuss the reality of the danger. The recurrent notion of spectrality is not only manifested in acts of political violence but also in the literature representing them. The discourse that emerged after 9/11 and even on the post-Cold War era, was directed towards the justification of US global policy of intervention under the motto of peace keeping and setting up of democracy in countries that were said to be dictatorships. Suspicion of any terrorist activity led to tremendous use of violence that was not necessarily condemned in the same way so called 'organizational' terrorism is. In fact, the casualties caused by the fight against terrorism are considerably higher than those caused by officially designated terrorists. However, the plot is never complete therefore, the operation of state terrorism or indeed Islamist terrorism becomes shadowy for the perpetrators and ambiguous for the targets. We are lost between terrorism and counter-terrorism and the separating line The obscuring of what terrorism implies is a deliberate strategy that allows freedom of operation within the spectre of political violence. Derrida maintains that "*the more confused the concept is the more it lends itself to an opportunistic appropriation*". (Borradori, 2003, pp. 103-104) There is a definitional problem of terrorism and a difficulty of placing a clear and stable border between terrorism and counter-terrorism. Derrida also speaks of a "*conceptual mutation, at once semantic, lexical and rhetorical*" (ibid, p. 105) which, in the context of the GWOT, serves as one way of explaining the way politicians in the Western states used lies and secrets "*to gloss over the conflict between their words and deeds*" (English, 2015, p. 95). Human existence depends purely on the state as Jessop Bob puts it, it is "*the disinterested servant of the common interest*" (Jessop, 2015, p. 18). Considering Hegelian and Platonian conception of the state as being an indispensable element to the human existence, it suggests that the very existence of the state itself draws from the society in which it operates. As such, its main aim would be the wellbeing and contentment of the social body it represents. However, as Philips Abrams argues the modern state as an idea is a façade that masks political and economic contrivance for power that dominates capitalist societies in a way that makes of it a legitimate entity. He argues that there is a difference between what the state or the promoted state idea and the mask that prevents us from seeing the reality of political practices and the political

practices themselves (Jessop, 2015, p. 18). This alludes to the idea that the modern state does not bear any resemblance to the utopian conception identifying it with protection of the human rights or that makes of the human existence dependent on the very presence of the state to regulate and permit stability of societies. Moreover, Lord Denning maintained that *“when the state itself is in danger, our cherished freedoms may have to take a second place”* (The Guardian, 18.02.1977, no page). Therefore, the rights of the civil societies along with their right to take part in the constitution of fair and just state system is undermined as soon as the absolutism, power and authority of the state is threatened.

Within the atmosphere of violence, the target populations tend to be lost to their surroundings and hence are more likely to accept and adopt any governmental policies that give the illusion of some sort of guidance and security, when in reality it is power politics that take advantage of that same confusion. The juxtaposition of predator and prey in this context suggests the use of the public opinion that is given the illusion that they are the decision makers when in reality, governments use their own people as a prey to become international predators. There is a strongly established double standard that in fact reinforces the confusion between, terrorism and retaliation, victim and perpetrator and defender and aggressor. The discourse of terrorism is similarly structured around the notion of silencing one side of the truth as a way of promoting a certain truth and obscuring the diverging reality that does not necessarily flow in the same directions as the power politics of terrorism. The latter is, as any other concept in political discourse, hard to determine and is often contradictory. There is a necessity to identify the structures of oppression for power hierarchy to be dismantled. Chomsky maintains that power prefers darkness because if it is exposed, it loses its authority and monopoly. Operation Enduring Freedom is the expression used to refer to the War on Terror. It suggests an emphasis on the noble and legitimate fight against the evil of the Taliban, Al Qaeda, terrorism and any government that supports or harbours terrorism. Ironically, 9/11 has offered the US colossal opportunities to harbour and adopt violent strategies under the justification of counter-terrorism

Freifrich Angels argues that the state is an outcome of society and that there is no way it could be considered otherwise. He considers that *“the state is by no means a power forced on society from without”* (cited in Held, 1983, P. 112) He continues to say that the State is the product of human history when human kind reached the climax of their conflicts with each other and when societies *“split into irreconcilable antagonism”* (ibid) Subsequently, the necessity for a greater power to guide and break through the continuous conflict was crucial. However, the US intervention in Afghanistan in the light of the Cold War was neither in the aim of protecting the American citizens nor to break through an existing conflict. But more importantly it did, directly or indirectly, create the organisation that would later aim at its own destruction. Jean Boudrillard in his article *“L’Esprit du Terrorisme”* argues that *“by keeping for itself all the cards, it has forced the Other to change the rules of the game”* (2002, p. 405), the United States has forced into being a power that it would later have to face because of its greed in establishing a New World Order that did come into existence, yet it has created with it the same entity that threatens that exact same power.

Rothbart states that *“the State is almost universally considered an institution*

of social services" (2017), the argument here, I would say, is not that the state is, in fact, an establishment that is inherently at the service of the people but rather Rothbart is suggesting the concealed façade of the state, that is coercive states. In this direction, Weber argues that modern states are characteristically monopolizing and "authoritative" which shields and implements their power (cited in Held, 1983, p. 08). Furthermore, the coerciveness of state does not lay only in the absolutist nature of its power but it extends to the way it shields and preserves it, that is through repression, oppression and terrorism. The Soviet-Afghan conflict that began in 1979 was not a shortcoming of the Cold War, it was the accumulation of numerous measures that started as early as 1919. The Soviet seizure of Afghanistan is a carefully thought and planned political and geopolitical strategy. Rosanne Klass (1990, p. 99) argues that if the USSR achieved their goal in controlling the region, it would have been a simple question of time until it managed to deconstruct the whole Western alliance. She continues to argue that the Russian invasion is a designed and natural phase in its expansion project. Its presence has thus completely altered the geopolitical balance of power in the region which, in the light of the Cold war, distorted the Western Block especially the US position and its aim at establishing a New World Order and global power (ibid). Henceforth, it was necessary for the United States to find a way through to the region and stop the Soviet expansion which would have been otherwise fatal.

Following from the context of the Cold War and the US intervention in Afghanistan, the attack on the World Trade Centre has created an estranged sentiment and context for the US, not because of the uniqueness of 9/11 but because that attack was on the American soil which is not a traditional circumstance for them. Extremist violence was mostly an alien enemy; it was a danger that is 'over there' rather than on its own soil. Therefore, the sudden feeling of insecurity and vulnerability produced one of the most devastating interventions in multiple regions especially in Iraq and Afghanistan. Those interventions in the name of peace restoration and keeping is indeed a narrative that is constantly voiced through the media and that keeps the atmosphere of an eminent threat that serves to secure an ongoing legitimization of political violence without an awareness of the transgressions that are being committed and that are in many cases more lethal than official designated terrorism. The narratives that surround political violence are usually double structured and ambiguous. Moreover, "*fact is fiction, fiction is fact, war is peace and peace is war*" (Pilger, 2003) and that is where the dangers of discourse lie, its consistency threatens reality and truth and therefore, the latter are lost or compromised.

Modus operandi of political violence is significantly challenging especially because of power politics and the authority of discourse creators. Reality is like "*something broken [...] like a tiny crack that becomes visible only when viewed through a magnifying lens; normally it is hidden by the brilliance of the stone*" (Hamid 2007, p. 59). Indeed because of the idealistic vision that is circulated about either the War on Terror, or religious extremism, to their respective target audiences, the crack, or the underlying issues and consequences are not visible to the general audience exactly because of the idealism that sugar-coat the dangerously widespread assumptions about both of them.

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THE CAPABILITIES THAT TERRORIST POSSESS IN THE DIGITAL AGE

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Abstract

Terrorism has long existed in the past. Throughout the years, terrorists have evolved in their capabilities and methods of attacks. This is due to the emergence of new technologies and later the Internet. Initially, terrorists have caused harm and executed their illegal activities through physical means. But then, with the emergence of new technologies, they use technologies such as the Internet to carry out some of their malicious activities. The terrorists have benefited from the Internet in order to enhance their knowledge and technical capabilities to facilitate malicious activities. Furthermore, there is a concern and fear that terrorists are able to cause cyber- physical harm as well as damage remotely or through online operations and attacks. The borderless nature of the Internet poses cross border challenges in terms of legal and jurisdiction issues. In this regard, this paper will discuss what terrorists are capable of in the digital age, especially in their cyberspace operations and attacks. This paper will also give an overview of how terrorism will be like in the future and how it will impact the world. Last but not least, the paper will discuss preparations, solutions and measures in countering terrorists with well-equipped cyber capabilities that are also known as cyber terrorism.

Introduction

The terrorists have used the Internet for two purposes. First, is the misuse of the Internet to facilitate terrorist activities such as communication, recruitment, financing, coordination, propaganda and information sharing purposes especially

by social media. And the second is for cyber terrorism which is the use of cyberspace to commit terrorist acts, which in turn, cause fear and lead to physical harm and damage. Examples of cyber terrorism are hacking into a computer system to cause a financial system to go haywire, power plant meltdown, dam to open the floodgate and vehicles to collide. Terrorists resort to the use of the Internet for their terrorist activities and operations are because of anonymity, easier to use, cost less, pose less risk and harder to track and catch due to its borderless characteristics. Also, law enforcement agencies have strengthened their physical security and border, and which led terrorists to find alternative avenues or methods in conducting their activities and operations such as the use of cyberspace.

Terrorist Technical and Cyber Capabilities

Several types of research, documentaries and write-outs described most terrorists such as the members of the Al-Qaeda, as well-educated individuals. These terrorists have background in electrical engineering, chemical engineering, physics, computer science, computer system and other technical areas. For example, according to a Canadian Threat Analysis Report, Usama Bin Laden in 2001 has claimed that he has hundreds of technically trained men, including those trained in computers and electronics. Terrorists have recently shown that they prefer asymmetric and unconventional warfare by staging cyber operations worldwide. This is to counter overwhelming conventional military superiority by nation-states. They love to create a surprise attack on a big scale and also to put on a tremendous dramatical performance. Terrorist groups will hire or produce hackers in order to match their cyber-attacks with massive physical attacks. They are also famous in abusing legitimate tools and services that have been developed for positive and useful purposes in order to hide their tracks and identities.

In the past years, terrorists used the Internet to spread their ideology and propaganda. The Internet is also used in recruitment, training, terrorism financing, communicating and targeting. Terrorists also used the Internet to search, identify, obtain, compile and reveal personal information of victims through their cyber operations in order to coerce, extort, to instigate and enable physical attacks on the victims. Subsequently, they will initiate small yet impactful and disruptive cyber-attack on victims. The cyber-attacks that are often used against vulnerable and poorly protected networks are web defacement or Distributed Denial of Service (DDoS).

To better illustrate the current cyber-terrorism landscape, it was revealed that most Islamic terrorist group in the present day combines the physical jihad with the cyber dimension. Electronic jihad (e-jihad) advocates had widely shared their knowledge, tools, tactics, techniques and procedures in political or militaristic jihadi websites. There are even websites that automatically download hacker tools to any user that accesses their website (Heffelfinger, 2013).

Misused Of The Internet To Facilitate Terrorist Activities

In the previous decades, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) has reported that the involvement of terrorists in cyber-attack limited and it is mainly due to unsophisticated and simple attacks such as spamming regarding ideology, propaganda and their adversaries online especially via social media. They also

usually prefer to deface websites because it is easier to be executed (Lachow, 2011). However, in this day and age, the terrorists have enhanced and refined their cyber capabilities, or cooperate and form an alliance with cybercriminals that possessed a high-level computer and telecommunication expertise in executing large conventional attacks with cyber-attacks. The tools used by cyber professionals, cyber defenders, cybercriminals and cyber-terrorist might not be much different. What differentiates them from each other are their motives and objectives that determine their modus operandi. However, these differences and boundaries become more blurred, especially when individuals or groups working for or being recruited by a well-established terrorist organisation. Terrorists exploit the Internet as well as technology for the following purposes:

- i. Spreading propaganda
- ii. Psychological warfare
- ii. Recruitment and mobilisation
- iv. Attracting sympathisers
- v. Fundraising
- vi. Data mining and information gathering
- vii. Communications
- viii. Knowledge and skill-sharing
- ix. Obtaining a counterfeit government document
- x. Software distribution
- xi. Utilising the Dark Web
- xii. Cyber-attacks
- xiii. Training
- xiv. Obfuscation/misinformation

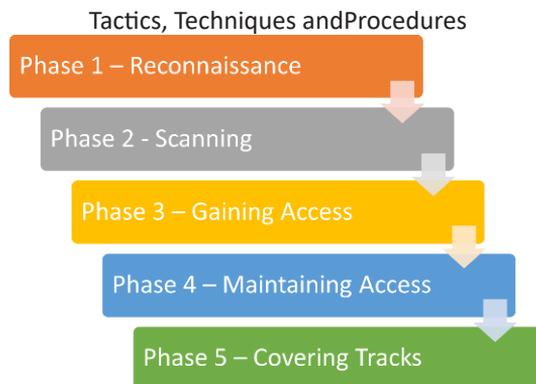


Figure 1. Phases of hacking.

Figure 1 shows that there are five common phases of hacking that are used by cyber defenders, cyber-criminals and cyber-terrorist. They are reconnaissance, scanning, gaining access, maintaining access and last but not least covering tracks. The explanation of these phases is stated below:

- i. Reconnaissance: Perform profiling and early surveillance. Hackers search and compile data regarding the target physically, via the Internet and also

by social engineering. It can also be automated when the perpetrator successfully installs a virus, worm or spyware to perform surveillance and transmit relevant information back to the perpetrator without being detected.

- ii. Scanning: Perform additional surveillance by scanning an organisation's computer software and network.
- iii. Gaining access: Quietly takes over the system and network by using stolen usernames and passwords to create phoney accounts, exploit a vulnerability that allows them to install a malicious malware called Trojan Horse or automatic bot that will await further commands sent through the Internet.
- iv. Maintaining access: Create back door, rootkits that allow them to return as often as they wish without getting noticed. Special privileges, computer system and the network, can be taken over by perpetrators. Attackers sometimes also install software patches to close the previous security vulnerabilities to keep other hackers out.
- v. Clearing tracks: To modify the log files, create hidden files in order to avoid detection by the legitimate system administrator.

Terrorist Hacker Groups

There are several well-known terrorist hacker groups in cyberspace. Some of the terrorist hacker groups that made themselves known online are Al-Qaeda, Al-Shabab, Daesh, Boko Haram, Caliphate Cyber Army (CCA), Islamic Cyber Army (ICA), Islamic State Hacking Division (ISHD), Rabitat al Ansar, Sons of Caliphate Army (SCA) and United Cyber Caliphate (UCC).

The group Al-Qaeda has a high level of encryption and communication skills. This is because they do not want to be intercepted during their operation. They are not interested in creating and spreading propaganda. The Caliphate Cyber Army (CCA) that was established in 2014 is said to have recruited and cultivated hackers. They are well known for defacing websites, and also hacking social media accounts. The CCA also was responsible for the Malaysia Airlines website hacking incident.

Al-Shabab and Boko Haram use and rely heavily on social media. Whereas, Daesh is not interested in the interception. They use a low level of encryption and covert communication. This is because they want to reach as many people as they can to spread their propaganda via online channels such as Twitter.

The Islamic Cyber Army (ICA) that emerged in September 2015 was known for their #AmericaUnderHacks and #AmericaUnderAttack campaign. Their cybercrime activities usually involved stealing and leaking confidential data, e-mail hack and hacker dumps. They also have hacked data from White House personnel. However, overall, they lack in sophistication in their TTP (Tactics, Techniques and Procedures).

Islamic State Hacking Division (ISHD) that emerged in early 2015 was loosely linked with Cyber Caliphate. They have the knowledge and skills in computer hacking, identity theft and data leakage. Their most significant data leakage incident involved the personal details of almost 1,500 military and government personnel from the US Marines Corp, the US Air Force, NASA, United States Agency of International Development (USAID), the New York Port Authority and also various embassies.

Rabitat al Ansar is a media unit which was behind the #WeWillBurnUSAgain campaign. Their forte is stealing and leaking confidential information online. Sons

of Caliphate Army (SCA) that emerged in 2016 only has basic hacking skills.

United Cyber Caliphate (UCC) is the result of the merger of Ghost Caliphate Section, Sons Caliphate Army, Caliphate Cyber Army and Kalashnikov E-Security Team. Their scope, methods and target have expanded. They like to provide education online and perform data leakage, which is called the kill list.

CCA, ISHD, ICA and UCC have actively launched cyber-attack. They usually resort to hijacking or defacing websites and social media accounts. They usually posted images, text and videos, which spread the message of the Islamic State and create terror throughout the western communities (Giantas D., Stergiou D., 2018).

Other well-known terrorist hacker groups that are worth mentioning are the Anti-India Crew, Cyber Rox Team, G-Force Pakistan, Kalashnikov E-Security Team, TeaMpoison, The World's Fantabulous Defacers (WFD) and Unix Security Guards (USG).

Cyber-terrorism Activities

Now the Internet has also turned and served as an important weapon for the terrorist. It can now cause physical damage and harm to others.

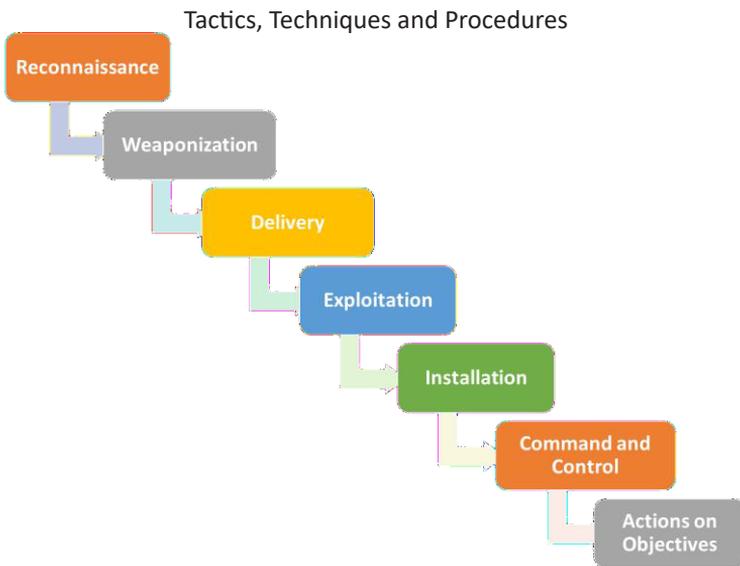


Figure 2. Phases of Intrusion Kill Chain

Figure 2 shows that there are seven phases of the intrusion kill chain. They are reconnaissance, weaponization, delivery, exploitation, installation, command and control and actions on objectives. The explanation of these phases is stated below:

- i. Reconnaissance: Research, identification and selection of targets.
- ii. Weaponization: Pairing remote access malware with an exploit into a deliverable payload (e.g. Adobe PDF and Microsoft Office Files)
- iii. Delivery: Transmission of weapon to target (e.g. via e-mail attachments, websites or USB drives)

- iv. Exploitation: Once delivered, the weapon's code is triggered, exploiting vulnerable applications and systems.
- v. Installation: The weapon installs a backdoor on a target's system allowing persistent access.
- vi. Command and control: Outside server communicate with the weapons providing "hand on keyboard access" inside the target's network.
- vii. Actions and objectives: The attackers work to achieve the objective of the intrusion, which can include exfiltration or destruction of data, or intrusion of another target.

Terrorists are now capable of executing a host-based attack, network-based attack and also cloud-based attack. In network-based attacks, they can execute the host-based malicious attack, Internet Service Provider (ISP) - based malicious attack, WiFi attack, Router attack, ARP spoofing and ISP spoofing. Whereby, the cloud-based attack is made through the software engineering side, client-side and also through the server-side. Terrorists can also launch a ransomware attack to gain the ability to significantly impact the operations of critical sectors such as the health, energy, transportation and banking sector.

In terms of communication channels, terrorist uses encrypted communication methods such as Hush Mail, ProtonMail, GhostMail, Tutanota, Telegram, Wickr, Surespot, ThreemaWork, Silent Circle, Redphone, OSTel, ChatSecure and Signal to communicate with each other. Terrorist such as the Mujahideen has also customised their tools such as to professionally developed their own encryption application for their e-mail communication.

Terrorists use multiple ranges of tools for their cyber operation. Their tools come from open source tools, paid services and even developed and customised their tools by themselves. Open source tools, the public tools that are available on the surface web are quite useful for passive reconnaissance. Some examples of these types of tools are as the following:

- i. Google map & Street view: Aerial view/photo of the location of the attack. The pictures could also reveal the presence of supervisory staff, checkpoints, fence, entry points and much more.
- ii. Worldc.am: Provide attackers with images taken by Instagram users in a specific location.
- iii. Telegram: Encrypted messaging system. Used in distributing information and mobile apps. E.g. Amaq AgencyApp
- iv. OSINT Tools: In order to do profiling. E.g. <https://inteltechniques.com/>

Some customised terrorist hacker tools that are used are as follows:

- i. Tashfeer al-Jawal: A mobile encryption platform developed by the Global Islamic Media Front (GIMF) and was released in September 2013. The crypto algorithm of the platform was created by themselves;
- ii. Asrar al-Ghurabaa: Is an encryption program developed by the Islamic State of Iraq and Al-Sham. It was released on November 2013;
- iii. Tools that temper with a system's hardware and software;
- iv. Tools that can perform a payload attack. One example is when a plane

- can be used as a penetration mechanism. Thus, it can be hijacked to drop bombs, leaflets or take photos. Another example is when a Stuxnet which attacks Iran's SCADA system, carried a malware payload via a human operator (insider) or electronically obtains it from hacking into Siemens systems, the supplier of the specific Programmable Logic Controllers (PLCs) used in Natanz that signals Stuxnet that it was in the target system;
- v. DeepThroat: Deep Throat uses a backdoor that disrupts Microsoft Windows 9x and NT machines. It allows malicious actions to execute such as passwords theft and remote screenshotcaptures;
 - vi. BackOrifice: A legacy rootkit that exposes the security flaws of Microsoft's Windows operating systems. This rootkit allows someone to hijack one's computer that is running Windows remotely without beingdetected;
 - vii. SubSeven: Installs itself onto the target computer and modifies the system registry so that the program runs every time the user turns on the computer. The SubSeven Trojan is particularly dangerous because the virus opens a backdoor to the computer, which can be used by remote hackers to download additional malware and steal your personalinformation;
 - vii. IPStealer;
 - ix. Utilise both 'of the shelves' and customisedmalware;
 - x. Developed Android mobile apps: Alrawi.apk – executables to implement encrypted communication channels;
 - xi. Created remoteRAT;
 - xii. Created zero-day exploits and attacks;and
 - xiii. Underground exploit kits that exploit security gaps and spreads malware such as Redkit, Shyx, CrimeBoss, Sweet Orange, BestPach, BleedingLife, Phoenix Exploit Kit, Sakura andDropper.

Also, terrorists could regularly access widely available online cyber training and videos such as Cybrary, Securing Tube, Harvard/EDX, SANS Cyber Aces and LEAP in order to gain more knowledge and skills cyber- related area. Tech-savvy terrorist is also increasingly turning to highly secure, an alternative browser such as Tor Browser and Opera Browser so that they can operate online more covertly without easily divulging their IP address and risking third-partysurveillance.

Virtual Private Networks (VPNs) and proxy services are often used in conjunction with a secure browser. This helps to future confuse others regarding their online identities. They use e-mail services that are equipped with end-to-end encryption and temporary as well as anonymous account capabilities. They also leverage on specialised mobile applications to bolster security. The most favourable messengers offer end-to-end encryption, which means that messages are encrypted and decrypted within the sending and receiving devices, so they are thus unreadable in transit.

Terrorist Hacker Groups

An excellent example of the current state of cyber-terrorist capabilities is Iranian terrorist hackers. Iranian hackers are known to wreak havoc and like to cause as much damage as possible. Thus, this can cause more significant harm in the future to countries such as the United States of America and its allies. It is also said that

the Iranian government and its Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) are sponsoring malicious Iranian cyber operations (Lohrmann D.,2012).

On the other hand, the Islamic Republic went fast-track in the pursuit of offensive cyber-capabilities in 2009- 2010 after becoming victims to the Stuxnet virus who was reportedly engineered and executed by the US and Israel. Two years later, they hacked American banks due to retaliation of US economic sanctions on Iran.

The Future of Cyber Threats By Terrorist

In the future, terrorists will be more adaptable and more skilful in using the Internet and other technologies in executing advanced cyber-attack modus operandi. As a result, there will be a high possibility that they will start to launch cyber warfare attacks against nation-states' critical infrastructure systems.

Terrorists usually select its target that will enable them to create or inflict significant physical, emotional and moral damage which includes the Critical National Infrastructures of a nation-state. This is especially even so, if, in the near future power grids, factories, public transport, communication system, nuclear power plants or even arsenal of one country or city is networked or connected to the Internet. At that time, the outcome of future wars will be determined even before any conventional military campaign takes place in the realworld.

Other than drone technology, in the future terrorists could also adapt to exploit the growth of Artificial Intelligence, using it to improve the operation of unmanned systems, discriminate targets via social media mapping and also improving terrorist financing through automation as well as the use of more secure cryptocurrency such as Monero.

The rapid growth of cyber technologies can stand on its own without the support at a nation-state level, especially when cyber technologies are highly mobile tools, widely available, convenient to use, and very affordable. With all these traits and its complexities, individual, groups and even a nation-state is unable to fully have a full grasp on everything regarding cyber technologies and what is happening in cyberspace as a whole.

Terrorist and extremist groups are the biggest beneficiaries of the use of technology for malicious purposes. They would face difficulty in gaining access to high end automated weapons either in the black market, Dark Web or through spy infiltration.

The possibility of this happening in the world has caused fear all around, especially in countries or organisations whose technology is far from sophisticated. However, purely devastating cyber terrorism attack is still far from happening in the near future. Nevertheless, now we already see a smaller-scale attack is within their power, and the impact is very much dramatic and disruptive.

Issues And Challenges

There are gaps or challenges that nation-states faced in having indicators or early warning system that confirms an attack is in progress. In a host-based attack, hackers usually identify gaps dan vulnerabilities to exploit their target, such as the following:

- i. A user that has a lack of security awareness and prone to fall into social engineeringattacks.

- ii. Applications are not updated or use counterfeit applications.
- iii. Operating system and anti-virus are not updated; the firewall is turned off and did not correctly manage the patch management.
- iv. Firmware is not updated for LAN card, WiFi, Bluetooth card.
- v. There is also a lack of dedicated resources in handling or reacting to the cyber-attack by terrorists.
- vi. Made a mistake in thinking that they are an unlikely target of cyber-terrorist attack.
- vii. There are challenges in identifying whether a cyber-attack was caused by a terrorist organisation to cause harm or a mere cybercriminal who wishes to steal information and identity for monetary purposes.

Cyber Security Measures

It is crucial to have a holistic and adaptive approach that identifies potential threats to organisations and impacts on national security and public well-being. Thus, nation-states should look at the overall people process and technology of an organisation and the nation-state as a whole. It is also essential to develop the nations to become cyber reliance and to have the capabilities to safeguard the interests of its stakeholders, reputation, brand and value-creating activities. Nation-states should also have a more proactive, dynamic and integrated cybersecurity approach.

There are two critical aspects to the people element that we need to consider. First, everyone needs to be aware of their role in preventing and reducing cyber threats. It is imperative to protect cybersecurity issues, risks and gaps in the organisation and everyone has their own responsibilities and should play their role in securing their data and system in their organisation. Everyone needs to realise that we could not rely 100 percent on the security devices to prevent cyber-attacks. Vulnerability and risk also come from people (internal and external threats). This is because human is considered as the weakest link. Therefore, security awareness and training to all employees must be one of the elements that must be done in an organisation. An effective security awareness program can help reduce the risk of cyber threats aimed at exploiting people. Implementing ISMS (Information Security Management System) practice or being certified in ISO/IEC 27001 is another measure to instil cybersecurity mindset to the users of the organisation.

Secondly, the organisation must appoint an expert that specialised in cybersecurity as a cybersecurity staff. They need to be entirely up to date with the latest skills and qualifications to ensure that appropriate controls, technologies and practices are implemented to fight the latest cyber threats. All employees will know about security such as organisation security policies, best practices in security, guidelines, incident response, responsibility, and so on. Implement cyber resilience in the organisation. When security is everybody's mindset, the whole organisation can predict, prevent, detect and respond to cyber-attacks.

The simulated cyber-attack drill must be done annually or when needed. The simulation must be according to the latest potential threats of attack. With having done this, the organisation can create awareness and educate its employees with the anatomy of the attacks. It also will educate employees, on how to react according to Standard Operation Procedure when they have been attacked. Cyber-attack simulation or the cyber drill of cyber-attacks such as phishing attacks from

time to time will minimise the security risk in an organisation.

Then there is the process. The process is key to the implementation of an effective cybersecurity strategy. The process is crucial in defining how the organisation's activities, roles and documentation are used to mitigate the risks to the organisation's information. Processes also need to be continually reviewed. This is because cyber threats change quickly, and processes need to adapt to them. However, processes are nothing if people do not follow them correctly.

Organisations must have their own documented policy, processes, and procedures for their staffs' guidance, handbook, knowledge and awareness in handling vulnerabilities, threats, securing data and cybersecurity as a whole. The policies must, in line with the standards and regulations that are currently being implemented by the organisation. The related policy should include provisions related to internal and external workers which include staff, third-party vendors, customers, clients and also stakeholders. Documentation such as the Risk Management Plan and Business Continuity Management Plan should always be reviewed from time to time to ensure the Cyber Security Life Cycles (Identity, Protect, Detect, Respond, Recover) are correctly implemented.

The business environment process in a cyber-enabled space and technology is essential to deal with the risks from activities in cyberspace. By identifying the cyber risks that an organisation faces, it can then start to look at what controls to put in place, and what technologies it will need to do this. Technology can be deployed to prevent or reduce the impact of cyber risks, depending on the risk assessment and what is deemed as an acceptable level of risk. To manage cybersecurity issues, here are a few steps that can be followed when using Technology:

- i. Update regularly
- ii. Remove all unnecessary services and accounts
- iii. Implement better network security
- iv. Use encryption where necessary
- v. Update anti-virus programs
- vi. Identify Existing Risks and Test the Controls

In an attempt to stop cyber-attacks, organisations must consistently identify and address risk through independent risk analysis and do security assessments as well as vulnerability testing. If a weakness such as a malicious IP address is detected that particular IP address must be flagged and information about it should be shared with the relevant sectors. Furthermore, information security controls can also assist the company in identifying whether they have required protection and technology in place and if they are correctly maintained.

In this digital age, that is full of complexities, cyber-attack is done across multiple layers. Thus, cybersecurity must also be multi-layered. Different layers of defence must be built to cover all vulnerabilities. To stop attackers in cyberspace, this defence strategy needs to be able to slow down attacks before damage is done. An organisation needs to determine the critical assets, identify any vulnerabilities and design security in their organisation in order to protect from attacks and detect any breach. The defence layers are physical, network, host, data, application, business process and organisation strategy and direction.

In terms of managing and securing data, government and organisation need

to implement confidentiality, integrity and also availability in their documentation (CIA). Confidentiality limits access to information. This means certain individuals can only access the specific document. The levels of confidentiality are Top Secret, Secret, Confidential, Restricted and Public. Meanwhile, integrity is to ensure that the information is accurate and not altered by any mean possible. Lastly is availability which guarantees that relevant information or document are made available to authorised personnel.

The is also authentication whereby a process is done to recognise and verify valid users or processes and what system resources a user, or a process is allowed to access. While non-repudiation is the assurance that business transactions, as well as information exchanges, may be trusted. The sender or receiver that exchanges the information between the two cannot subsequently be denied by either.

To secure one's data, it very important that data be encrypted. Encryption is used on devices, computers, file servers and across networks so that the confidential information of government, business and individual personal information is secured. Encryption technology is now widely available, and it is a fundamental enabler for information assurance.

Cyber threat intelligence (CTI) is now important in tackling cybersecurity. It helps organisations understand the risks and also common and dangerous threats such as zero-day threats, exploits and also Advanced Persistent Threats (APTs). CTI can help an organisation to be well-equipped and well prepared in identifying and addressing potential vulnerabilities in their everyday operations. Cyber Threat Intelligence also allows technical professionals to make better choices, decisions and actions in dealing with these threats.

Besides that, Open Source Intelligence and Social Media Intelligence can also be helpful in getting information about the inner workings of terrorists, their motivations, objectives, skills, relationship links, activities and more.

Conclusion

In truth, terrorists are well-rounded and can perform all sorts of tricks, skills and techniques in cyberspace depending on their objectives which they also have many. In this regard, cybersecurity professionals or cyber defenders also need to polish themselves in knowledge, skills and techniques in order to minimise the gaps if not a step ahead of cybercriminals and terrorists. They need to cope with emerging new technologies and should be equally intelligent by adopting holistic and strategy and through the use of new cyber tools in protecting the nation's CNII. Information sharing, intelligence sharing and collaboration between inter- agencies, public-private partnership and international communities are essential. To evolve in parallel with technologies that are used by terrorists, we need to share information amongst relevant parties, have Cyber Incidents Response and Coordination Centre, Innovative & Collaborative Research, good Capacity Building initiatives and also Cyber Security Awareness and Education programs.

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THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT OF EAST TURKESTAN AND THE UNITY OF CHINA

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Abstract

The Sinciang-Uighur Autonomous Region is the westernmost part of China. This politically turbulent area has always caused a lot of controversy, especially when it comes to China's attitude towards ethnic minorities. Islamic terrorism in China boils down primarily to one grouping. It is the Islamic Movement of East Turkestan (ETIM), which is fighting to create an independent state in Xinjiang. The Islamic movement of Eastern Turkestan East has been undertaking terrorist activities for several years. The Islamic Movement of East Turkestan had numerous connections with Al-Qaeda, illegal Islamic movements in Uzbekistan, his fighters were trained in Islamic terrorist camps in Pakistan and Afghanistan. During the war in Syria and Iraq, in the ranks of Islamic State (ISIS, IS) fought many Chinese citizens of Uighur nationality, entire branches of Uighurs were created. It is worth considering its significance in the context of the Chinese concept of the new Silk Road. How can an Islamic state that declares to help Chinese brothers are able to influence the current political situation in that region. Can the Islamic Movement of East Turkestan through the terrorist attacks influence the problem of the Uighur minority to be returned? Is the Islamic movement of East Turkestan still a threat? The research will be interdisciplinary. I will use the historical aspect only to the extent necessary to explore the issues raised. I will present potential scenarios that may arise in the context of the future of the Islamic East Turkestan movement.

Introduction

The Uighurs are the fifth national group in the People's Republic of China. There are over 11 million of them. The Xinjiang Autonomous Region in literal translation means "new frontiers" in Polish. The name is not insignificant and should be

considered symbolically as an attempt to blur the history of the people of this region at a time when these lands were called Eastern Turkestan. Already in the name of the Uighurs they see humiliation. Vengeance for their historical achievements and attempt to destroy cultural identity. Most Uighurs still use the old name of the region, which can be seen in the activities of the Uighur diaspora institutions or in direct talks with the Uighurs. The Uighur Diaspora is represented primarily by two organizations, namely the World Uighur Congress and the Islamic Movement of East Turkestan. The first institution is based in Munich and is recognized by international organizations as a moderate wing representing the Uighurs. It is fighting to improve the situation of the Uighur minority. Controversies around this organization are primarily caused by the leader of Congress, Rebiya Kadir, compared by some Uighurs as the equivalent of the Dalai Lama. On the one hand, her goal is “to become the mother of the Uighurs, a medicine in their suffering, a scarf to wipe away tears and their protection against the rain”¹. On the other hand, her past remains unclear, because formerly she was an influential person in China with quite substantial wealth of unclear origin. Her criticism of the Chinese Communist Party led to her becoming an enemy of the state, but it is not clear what the criticism was about. In addition, controversy is raised by Congress obscure relations with the Islamic Movement of East Turkestan (ETIM), which represents the extreme extremist faction. This group was mentioned on the American list of terrorist organizations. In my essay I would like to focus on analyzing the activities of this organization.

1. Terrorism as a major threat to the world In the modern world

The phenomenon of terrorism is a threat to both the internal sphere of the state and the international arena. The goal of terrorism is primarily to destabilize the subject being attacked and to create chaos. The attacker using this form of aggression wants to force his claims to be met, to present the weakness of the state². It is important to emphasize that the phenomenon of terrorism is undergoing constant transformations, but there is also no clear prescription and holistic solution that inhibits this form of anti-state action. Referring to Europol statistics, it can be distinguished that terrorism is motivated by ethnonationalism and separatism, is both jihadist as well as leftist and rightist terrorism. It can be single-issue terrorism and unspecified purposes³. The evolution of terrorism has resulted in cyberterrorism as a new area that is growing in importance. Cyber terrorism is designed to intimidate people, gain followers and arouse indignation in the international community. Through the network, you can raise funds for terrorist organizations in an uncontrolled manner. It is worth quoting one of the many definitions of terrorism to try to understand this phenomenon. Terrorism, according to one of the French definitions, means the use of violence by some political organizations that want to achieve their goals in this way, such as: causing

1 R. Kadir, A. Carvelius, *Die Himmelstürmerin: Chinas Staatsfeindin Nr. 1 erzählt aus ihrem Leben*, Heyne Verlag, München 2007, s. 18.

2 D. Byman, *Fighting the War on Terrorism: A Better Approach* [in:] S. V. Evera, *How to Make America Safe: New Policies for National Security*, Tobin Project's National Security Working Group, Cambridge 2006, s. 69-72.

3 European Union Terrorism Situation and Trend Report, s. 12.

pressure on the government, forcing people to obey, extorting money, promoting their ideologies. Terrorism can take the form of assassinations, killings, kidnappings, sabotage, blackmail, acts, threats, etc. In addition to direct victims, often civilians⁴. Terrorist attempts to influence public opinion to frighten and create an atmosphere of terror and fear. An important evolution of terrorism in international relations is the announcement in June 2014 of the creation of a global caliphate in the form of the Islamic State (PI) or also referred to as The Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) and Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). The goal of PI is supremacy over the Muslim world⁵. The organization calls for the liquidation of Americans and their allies as the greatest threat from the Western world. Unconventional activities of terrorist organizations are also becoming a problem. The bombers encourage the use of everyday items as weapons (which causes increased fear among societies)⁶. An example of such a tool can be a kitchen knife. As I have already mentioned, the Islamic Movement of Eastern Turkestan constituting a threat to international order is included in terrorist organizations. His forms of pressure are also changing.

2. Shaping of Xinjiang and the importance of the province in contemporary Chinese policy

The Xinjiang area has always been of strategic importance for China by its very location. This was the route known since the Han Dynasty (3rd century BC - 3rd century AD), the Silk Road, which was an important trade route⁷. In modern politics of the People's Republic of China, Xinjiang has been part of the New Silk Road project since 2013. It is through this area that the transport corridor is to run. Xinjiang borders eight countries. In the context of China's image, this is a flagship project that will affect not only China, but also Europe and the global situation. This region is a huge resource for crude oil, natural gas and hard coal, which are important for the Chinese economy. The sheer size of the province is also a significant problem in the management and coordination of security policy, because the area of Xinjiang is 1 million 600 thousand square kilometers. Therefore, it is not surprising that ensuring security in this area is crucial for the success of the described project.

Culturally, this area with Uighurs should be identified from around the 9th - 10th centuries, when Turkish, historically related peoples inhabited these areas⁸. Although the name „Uighurs” came out of circulation in the 15th century, it was restored by the Soviet Union in the 1920s, referring to the Turkish minorities of East Turkestan. Until the 17th century, this area was divided and did not belong fully to China. In the nineteenth century, with the emergence of the neighborhood of the Russian Empire, the name Turkestan East appears, introduced by the Russians, distinguishing Central Asia under China's control from the western part, gradually

4 A. Bauer, C. Soullez, *Le Terrorisme pour les Nuls*, First, Paris 2014.

5 B. Roggio, *ISIS announces formation of Caliphate, rebrands as 'Islamic State'*, Long War Journal, 29.06.2014.

6 A. Olech, S. Gliwa, *Islamic state activity in the french republic. Terrorist acts experiences and propaganda in social media in the years 2015 – 2019*, Academy of Martial Arts, Warsaw 2019, s. 5

7 J. Mark, *Silk Road. Ancient History Encyclopedia*, https://www.ancient.eu/Silk_Road, (access: 12.04.2020).

8 M. Romańczuk, *Islamic separatism in the Sinciang-Uighur autonomous region*, Krakow international studies, XV: 2018 nr 2, s. 144

conquered by Russia. Interestingly, it is this name - Eastern Turkestan, Sharqi Turkestan, that is used by separatist organizations to describe the homeland of the Uighurs. The Chinese authorities established the province of Xinjiang in 1884, with a territory close to that of the modern region. After the Xinhai revolution of 1911, which overthrew the Manchurian Qing dynasty, the term Uighurs is beginning to be applied to the dominant population in the region, and one of the five colors on the republic's flag symbolizes Muslims⁹. It should be remembered that the Uighurs are identified with the general term for Muslims, which includes, above all, the Hui group known as „Chinese Muslims”. In the years 1944-1949 it operated with the support of the USSR in the northwestern part of today's region (the so-called Kazakh Prefecture Ili)¹⁰. On October 1, 1949, after the victory of the revolution, Mao Zedong proclaimed the People's Republic of China. The Republic of East Turkestan (Second) was annexed to the PRC¹¹. From that moment the process of sinicization of the region began and the transport to Xinjiang of the ethnically dominant group in China, namely Han. The goal was to disturb the social structure of the area inhabited by Uighurs. In Uighurs, a threat was perceived due to its historical origin and relation to the Turkish peoples. From 1955, the area was renamed from Xinjiang Province to the Xinjiang Autonomous Region - Uighur. Apart from the population of Hui, Hanami and Uighurs, this area is also inhabited by Kazakhs, Kyrgyz people, Tajiks and Mongols.

The group of the Islamic Movement of East Turkestan began to organize training since the nineties. The first mention of their existence in the international environment appeared around 2000, when the Russian newspaper mentioned that Osama Bin Laden had promised funds to the Islamic Movement of East Turkestan and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan. ETIM was founded by Hasan Mahsuma from the Kashgar region of Xinjiang province. He was inter alia accused of committing violent murders in the Khotan region on December 14, 1999¹². After the assassination of Mahsum in 2003 by the Pakistani army, the group was headed by Abdul Haq, who was also killed by the Pakistani army in 2010. The next leader was Abdul Shakoor al -Turkistani, who died in 2012. Abdullah Mansour took over the organization, continuing the fight against China.

The foundations of ETIM's activities should be primarily seen in the fact that the Uighurs were dominated by China's policy, and that the region's autonomy, guaranteed by the Communist Party of China, was only apparent. The migratory pressure of the Han population, their relatively high income, while the benefits of the undeniable development of the region suffered by the Uighurs, combined with assimilatory practices in the past, and today with the increasing reduction of religious freedom, cause the radicalization of the young Uighur generation. In matters that may have caused social conflicts in the Uighur province, they obtained

9 M. Przech, *Uighur separatism in the Sinciang Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China* [in:] M. Marczevska – Rytko, M. Pomarański, *Separatist movements*, Faculty of International and Political Studies, Jagiellonian University, Cracow 2019, s. 207.

10 *Ibidem*, s. 208.

11 J. A. Millword, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang*, Columbia University Press, 2007, s. 230-240.

12 *FM Spokesman Confirms Death of Wanted Terrorist*, „Beijing Time”, http://en.people.cn/200312/25/eng20031225_131190.shtml [access:12.04.2020].

certain privileges. A good example would be to exempt Uighurs from having one child as part of China's anti-overpopulation policy. These decisions caused hostility and resentment among the Hui and Han people. Statistics can provide evidence of deliberate changes in the social structure. The census in the province in 1952 showed that the Han people constituted 7.1% of the population, while in 1971 this indicator represented Han population as 40.1% of the population¹³. For comparison, we can present the number of Uighurs in the province in individual years. The Uighurs constituted: 82.70% in 1945, 45.70% in 1982, 50.60% in 1996, and 46.10% of the province's population in 2008¹⁴. This data shows how the social structure was deliberately disturbed. An example of escalating hostility of ethnic groups can be events that took place from July 5 to 9, 2009 in Urumqi. There was a lynching when several Uighur workers were accused of rape on Chinese women. The accusations turned out to be false, however, this incident perfectly showed the state of tension especially between Uighurs and the Han group. 197 people, mainly Chinese, were killed, and most importantly, riots were spontaneous.

Not without significance is the escalation of violence in Xinjiang, which the authorities committed against Uighurs. In 1992, over 80 people were killed in more than a dozen cities in the province (including at the bus station in Urumqi). Further attacks occur in both 1994 and 1997. In addition, the Uighurs are exposed to cyclical repression striking their cultural separateness. It was forbidden to give children certain names of a religious nature, the length of male beards was limited, the use of Ramadan, which is important for followers of Islam, was disrupted and Uighurs trying to get a job were discriminated against. In 1997, Guldja (Yining), accused of separatism, was also executed¹⁵. The result is more riots and a bus explosion in Beijing. This attack went beyond the province, which was a revolution in the activities of the separatist movements. This operation is also associated with the activities of the Islamic Movement of East Turkestan. The group also confessed to attacks in 2011 that targeted the Chinese administration. The government increased the public security budget in 2010 to protect Xinjiang by nearly ninety percent, indicating a significant threat to the Chinese state's territorial unity.

3. The Islamic Party of East Turkestan in the context of the threat to the unity of modern China

It is important to note that the Islamic Party of East Turkestan is called the Islamic Party of Turkestan (TIP). The Chinese use the name ETIM to a large extent in their reports, emphasizing in this case, in my opinion, rightly, the origin of the organization and the resulting threats. It is very vague when this name was changed in real terms and whether it is really necessary to define the Uighur extreme organization with a new concept. TIP in the international environment is more associated with military operations in Syria, where they participated, among others, in the offensive in north western Syria or the siege of the Abu al-Duhur air base. TIP

13 I. Kuşçu, *The Origins of Uyghur Long-distance Nationalism: The First Generation Uyghur Diaspora in Turkey*, „Journal of Central Asian and Caucasian Studies” 2013, nr 16, s. 85–86.

14 A. Howell, C.C. Fan, Migration and Inequality in Xinjiang: A Survey of Han and Uyghur Migrants in Urumqi, „Eurasian Geography and Economics” 2011, nr 52(1), s. 123.

15 *East Turkestan Terrorist Forces Cannot Get away with Impunity*, http://english.peoplesdaily.com.cn/200201/21eng20020121_89078.shtml, access: 10.04.2020.

in Syria cooperated with terrorist movements and their goal was to overthrow the government of Bashar al-Assad and to establish the caliphate of Iraq and the Levant based on Sharia law. Victory in Syria could breathe new hope and lead to a potential rebellion in Xinjiang. TIP, for example, used Turkish e-mails and Turkish banks to obtain donations for the “Türkistan İslam Derneği” website. These donations were intended for the training of properly indoctrinated Uighur children - soldiers¹⁶. An important date in the context of the fight against the Islamic Movement of East Turkestan is September 11, 2001. There was an attack on the World Trade Center. This organization was classified in 2002 by the United States as a terrorist group threatening world order. The administration of the then US President George W. Bush froze the group’s assets in the US due to Beijing pressure. This is a legitimacy for the fight against this organization in an international environment. Merely referring to the symbolic date and tragedy of September 11 in the Chinese message is also the foundation for the fight against the Uighur minority. The Chinese event of September 11 was named the event that took place in 2014, namely a series of assassinations, including mass killings using knives at railway stations in Urumqi, Guangzhou and Kunming. 28 passers-by were killed in a few minutes in Kunming¹⁷.

However, the number of terrorist attacks aimed at the People’s Republic of China has been gradually decreasing. The People’s Republic of China according to the Global Terrorism Index in 2019 was placed 42nd as a country exposed to terrorist attacks. This is another change in favor of China, because in 2017 they were in 31 place, and in 2018 in place 36. There was also a significant decrease in fatalities that died in terrorist attacks¹⁸. The culmination of this form of attacks that affected the Middle Kingdom occurred in 2014, and since then the situation has been constantly improving and the number of terrorist attacks is decreasing¹⁹. It should be emphasized that, apart from actual repression of the Uighur minority, terrorism constitutes a significant and justified threat to the security and cohesion of the People’s Republic of China. Under no circumstances should this issue be underestimated and the Uighur issue should be seen unilaterally in international relations. This is also understood by the majority of the population in Taiwan, which, despite the conflict with the continent, approaches the Uighur demands with some reserve. This is a significant problem in the perception of the Uighurs in the context of, above all, terrorism.

In comparison with the World Uighur Congress, the Islamic Movement of East Turkestan does not fight in the first place to respect the principles of autonomy of the region, but above all the goal is full independence. The future state called East Turkestan would include the western part of the People’s Republic of China and Turkish-speaking inhabitants of Central Asia. However, the People’s Republic of

16 L. Rodeheffer, *Turkish Organizations Exploited in Terror Finance Scheme* <https://web.archive.org/web/20170310012253/https://www.flashpoint-intel.com/turkish-organizations-exploited-in-terror-finance-scheme/>, access: 25.03.2020.

17 Xinhua/chinadaily.com.cn, *28 dead in Kunming rail station violence*, http://usa.chinadaily.com.cn/2014-03/01/content_17315088.htm, access: 10.04.2020.

18 Global Terrorism Index 2019, <http://visionofhumanity.org/indexes/terrorism-index/>, access: 15.04.2020.

19 Terrorism Index in China, <https://tradingeconomics.com/china/terrorism-index>, access: 12.03.2020.

China is taking effective measures to maintain the territorial unity of the state. It is worth emphasizing at this point that one of the goals of Xi Jinping's policy is to ensure the maintenance and territorial unification where the Chinese are the dominant group, and separatism, terrorism and religious extremism are listed among the three main threats. The members of the Islamic Movement of East Turkestan are, to a large extent, radical Muslims who profess Sunni Islam, and therefore meet all three of the above-mentioned conditions. However, the oppression against Uighurs is in itself a method of increasing the Islamization of separatists²⁰. ETIM members are also responsible for attacks on Chinese diplomatic missions in Turkey in the late 1990s. The Chinese authorities also suggest that the Islamic Movement of East Turkestan is also responsible for the assassination of Kyrgyz president „Uyghur Youth Association” Nighmet Bosakov in 2000²¹.

It is worth noting that ETIM is perceived as a regional organization, but indirectly it is a resource of the Islamic State. Examples of this are the Uighur training camps in Afghanistan, as well as captured members in the war in Syria who were of Uighur origin. During a visit to China in 2017, the Syrian ambassador presented the number of 5,000 Uighur fighters fighting on the side of jihadist groups²². This number is inaccurate and actually much higher, while the Chinese authorities estimated the number of Uighurs involved in the conflict at 300 people. The Communist Party of China did not foresee such involvement of the Uighurs in the war in Syria. This proves that the Uighur radical minority is looking for an external entity that would help them in the fight against the People's Republic of China. The group began to publish a series of propaganda films highlighting the bravery of the Uighurs in Syria. Some movies resembled music videos with heroic images of TIP fighters and songs in Uighur language that were played in the background. ISIS leader Abu Bakhr Al-Baghdadi made threats against China, calling on Muslims to fight what he called “Satan”. Al-Qaeda chief Ayman al-Zawahiri spoke in a similar tone²³. It is as part of the Islamic State that ETIM, which is based on the frustration of many young Uighurs, is a much greater threat than as an independent organization. Some researchers note that ETIM in its search for allies for the Uyghur cause has changed its form of action from attacks against the Chinese state to the support of external entities such as the Islamic State.

4. Eastern Turkestan Movement and the question of Uighur people

Due to the fact that all previous actions undertaken by ETIM itself to the interests of the Uighurs were unsuccessful, this organization began operating under the Islamic State. Uighur fighters also appear in Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand. On the one hand, ETIM undertakes terrorist actions related to the Islamic character

20 At least 50 reported to have died in attack on coalmine in Xinjiang in September, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/01/at-least-50-reported-dead-in-september-attack-as-china-celebrates-xinjiang>, access: 14.04.2020.

21 *Timeline: Terror in Xinjiang*, http://www.china.org.cn/china/xinjiang_unrest/2009-07/09/content_18104185_3.htm, access: 16.04.2020.

22 C. P. Clarke, P. R. Kan, *Uighur foreign fighters: an underexamined jihadist challenge*, International Centre for Counter – Terrorism – The Hauge, s. 3.

23 U. Botobekov, *Al-Qaeda and Islamic State take Aim at China*, <https://thediplomat.com/2017/03/al-qaeda-and-islamic-state-take-aim-at-china/>, access: 10.04.2020

of the organization, on the other, its activities are also nationalist. The adopted strategy of terrorist attacks definitely damages the image of the Uighur case. That is why the Uighur World Congress is officially becoming increasingly detached from the ETIM organization. The Islamic State project establishing a war with the West is doomed to fail in the long run. It also does not take into account the distinctiveness of East Turkestan and does not represent ETIM's nationalist interests in this respect. The Islamic State is not irrational enough to spread chaos primarily to attack the People's Republic of China. On the one hand, China is the main competitor of the United States, and on the other it pursues a policy of not interfering in the internal affairs of states if the aforesaid matters do not threaten the interests of the Middle Kingdom.

The world of Islam is not united on the Uighur issue. The reasons are, among others, the aforementioned position of the People's Republic of China on the international stage, links with the Islamic State and terrorist organizations such as ETIM fighting for Xinjiang's independence. Terrorism affects Uighurs in the international environment as a threat. This is obviously emphasized by the Chinese Communist Party in its media coverage. The authorities of the Islamic Movement of East Turkestan began to realize that attacks against the Chinese negatively affect the overall perception of the Uighurs. The number of terrorist attacks caused by ETIM has decreased, but they undoubtedly constitute a threat. Turkey's attitude towards Uighurs is interesting. First of all, the Turkish and Uighur peoples are ethnically close. Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan announced that „East Turkiestan is not only the home of the Turkish nations, but also the cradle of Turkish history, civilization and culture [...]. Our martyrs are the martyrs of eastern Turkestan”²⁴ Turkey's positive attitude towards the Uighurs should also be treated with some caution, as it has often changed. At the time when the Islamic Movement of East Turkestan was entered on the American list as a terrorist organization, relations between Turkey and the Uighurs significantly cooled. We have only been observing their gradual renaissance for several years. In the context of the Uighur case, Turkey should also be seen as a redeployment site for fighters from ETIM who thus join troops located in Syria or Iraq²⁵. Support for ETIM in Turkey has decreased compared to 2016, but remains significant²⁶.

Summary

Comparing the presented information on the Islamic Movement of East Turkestan with the initial general assumptions about terrorism, I think it is obvious that ETIM is a terrorist organization. In addition to terrorist attacks, ETIM uses other forms of activity, e.g. obtaining funds via the Internet for training Uighur children - soldiers, looking for new culturally related allies by using the war in Syria. ETIM is aware that the international community has stigmatized the organization, which has a negative impact on the Uighur issue. At the same time, in the situation of

24 http://caccp.freedomsherald.org/et/etib/etib5_4.html#4, access: 14.04.2020.

25 A. Small, *What's Behind China's Growing Security Presence in Afghanistan?* <https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/21590/what-s-behind-china-s-growing-security-presence-in-afghanistan>, access: 15.04.2020.

26 G.E. Valori, *The East Turkestan Islamic Movement*, <https://www.israeldefense.co.il/en/content/east-turkestan-islamic-movement>, access: 13.04.2020.

the existence of the Uighur World Congress as another entity representing Uighur interests and at the same time condemning terrorist attacks, there is no global support. An additional reason is the increasingly stronger religious background associated with extreme Islam as the ETIM ideology. For the People's Republic of China, ETIM remains a major terrorist threat that could violate territorial unity by creating chaos. However, there are no reasonable premises for the effectiveness of ETIM - both now and in the future. Terrorist organizations such as Al-Qaida and Islamic State that can provide support to the Islamic Movement of East Turkestan will not be exposed to open conflict with the People's Republic of China at a time when China is the main competitor of the United States and declare no interference in the internal affairs of states if these issues are not affect the interests of the Middle Kingdom. Turkey remains the only real external support for the Uyghur issue. It also officially condemns ETIM. The main source of development of extreme Uighur terrorist organizations such as ETIM may be the repressive policy of the People's Republic of China in the autonomous region of Xinjiang.

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ISIS – HAS IT BEEN DEFEATED?

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INTRODUCTION

ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria), also known as Daesh, ISIL or IS, was designated by the United Nations Security Council as a terrorist organization that “constitutes a global and unprecedented threat to international peace and security”¹. Its history goes back to 2003, when the Bush administration declared the so called War on Terror and the invasion of Iraq began. An abrupt removal of a dictator Saddam Hussein, dismantling of the national military forces, banning thousands of Baathist party members from political and social life – all this led to total chaos, sectarian conflicts, law violations and finally a civil war. Social frustrations and a completely dysfunctional state turned out to be a perfect ground for various insurgent and terrorist groups to come into existence. At the beginning, most of those Sunni extremist groups were affiliated with Al-Qaeda. When Americans withdraw their forces from Iraq in 2011, jihadists gained even more steam. What is more, the repression of the Sunni by the Shia government with Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki as a head, led to many arrests and persecutions of Sunni leaders. It caused many people to go underground and join terrorist groups such as ISIS. The war in Syria which broke out in 2011 was the next theatre for them to grow, gain new a territory, train its warriors and fight under cover of rebels against the Assad regime. In 2014 under the leadership of Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi the group proclaimed itself a caliphate, calling all Muslims to unite and come to the Middle East to pledge allegiance. The name was shortened then to the Islamic State (IS)²³. Between 2014 and 2018, we all could observe an asymmetric conflict developing between IS fighters on one side and the Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS on the other⁴. The caliphate grew in power

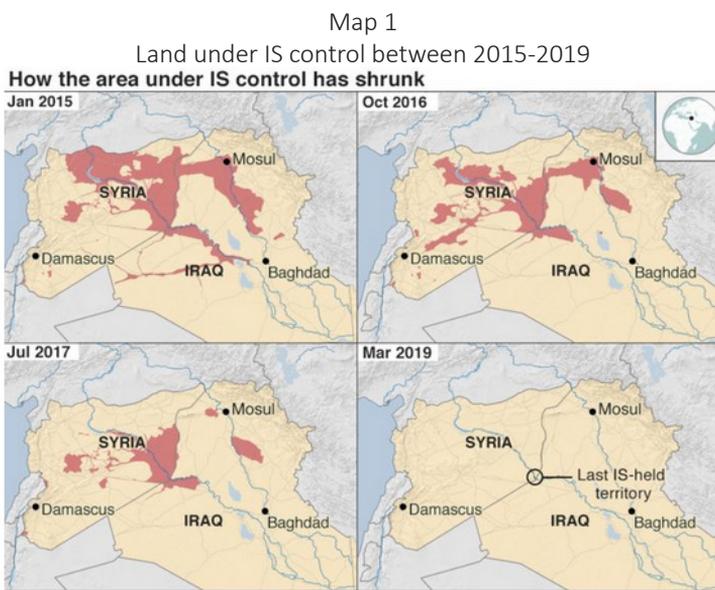
1 United Nations Security Council, *Resolution 2249 2015*, <http://www.securitycouncilreport.org> (access: 19.04.2020)

2 O. Wasiuta, S. Wasiuta, P. Mazur, *Państwo Islamskie ISIS*, Difin, Warszawa 2018, s. 18-53.

3 C. Lister, *The Syrian Jihad*, Oxford University Press, New York City 2015,, s. 221-279.

4 US Department of State, *The Global Coalition to defeat ISIS*, <https://www.state.gov> (access:

and size, at one point having under control a territory equal to the Great Britain. It was a long, bloody military campaign fought in Syria and Iraq, with some decisive battles worth mentioning here. Namely, a key year appeared to be 2017, when the international coalition managed to change the course of the conflict and finally recaptured from the terrorists' control two strategic towns: Mosul and Raqqa. Since then, despite several victories, IS gradually started to lose power, land and resources (see Map. 1).



Source: BBC News, <https://www.bbc.com> (access: 19.04.2020)

Finally, in December 2018, a leader of the Global Coalition to defeat ISIS, the United States and President Donald Trump in person, announced that the Islamic State caliphate was destroyed and the U.S. troops would start to withdraw from the region⁵. However, available sources such as qualitative reports, statistics, different officials' opinions and also, the author's own research, prove something contrary – the fact of a territorial victory over ISIS in Syria and Iraq does not necessarily mean that it has been defeated.

ISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST – PRESENT SITUATION

There is no one, officially used definition of the Middle East; thus the author decided to use the definition proposed by the Encyclopedia Britannica, which includes in the Middle East such countries as: Turkey, Cyprus, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Iran, Israel, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, Jordan, Egypt, Sudan, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Yemen, Oman, Bahrain, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Afghanistan and Pakistan⁶.

19.04.2020)

5 The New York Times, „Trump to Withdraw U.S. Forces From Syria, Declaring ‘We Have Won Against ISIS’”, <https://www.nytimes.com> (access: 19.04.2020)

6 Encyclopedia Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Middle-East> (access: 26.04.2020)

To examine ISIS activity in the Middle East during the last several months, the author has analyzed the words of some important US officials. To start with, on October, 2019, Russel Travers⁷, the US national counterterrorism chief, during his testifying before the Homeland Security Committee just after killing the ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi stated that ISIS still had a “deep bench”, and that fact would have no significant influence on their terrorist capability: “I don’t think it will have much impact. If there were significant attacks that were in the planning, that planning will continue. It won’t have that much effect.” What is more, probably to the general astonishment, he added that still “within Syria and Iraq, there are at least 14,000 ISIS fighters”.⁸ It must be mentioned that it was said at the time when President Trump was informing the world about defeating ISIS, its leader was dead and the public opinion was sure that the organizations’ days were coming to an end.

The next top American governmental, seeming to have a convergent opinion, is Nathan Sales⁹ – a Counterterrorism Coordinator Ambassador – who in November, 2019 publicly acknowledged that destroying a physical caliphate did not mean the end of fighting: “ISIS remained a growing and evolving threat even as it lost territory in Syria”, “terrorist fighters are always looking for the next battleground,” Sales told reporters during a briefing to unveil the department’s 2018 Country Reports on Terrorism. He added: “And I think we’re concerned about the possibility that jihadis who’ve been defeated in Syria might relocate elsewhere, whether you’re talking about ISIS Khorasan in Afghanistan or moving into the Sahel”¹⁰. Looking at the current tide, it seems impossible not to agree with him – as the world can observe ISIS thriving in Africa or active in Afghanistan and in Asia¹¹.

Even more disturbing seems to be an opinion of Masrour Barzani¹², Prime Minister of Iraqi Kurdistan. Taking into account the fact that he is a practitioner, a person at the theatre of operations, directly involved in combating ISIS, it is hard to doubt the credibility of his insight. According to Barzani, ISIS not only does exist, but it is even more capable to fight now than years ago: “ISIS is still very much intact. Yes, they have lost much of their leadership. They have lost many of their capable men. But they’ve also managed to gain more experience and to recruit more people around them. So they should not be taken lightly.” More importantly, during the interview with *The Atlantic*, Barzani mentioned two very warning figures - one of 20,000, meaning the current number of ISIS fighters, and the second of 60 meaning monthly ISIS attacks in Iraq only. To make it sound even more serious, he said that in February this year.

The Kurdistan prime minister seems not be alone in his ‘inconvenient’ opinion about a substantial threat posed by ISIS, as the author managed to reach two other Middle East practitioners who clearly affirmed the Barzani’s assessment of a situation.

7 Homeland Security Republicans, <https://republicans-homeland.house.gov> (access: 19.04.2020)

8 Ibidem.

9 CNN Politics, “US State Department warns ISIS grew and evolved worldwide as it lost territory in Syria”, www.cnn.com (access: 19.04.2020)

10 Ibidem.

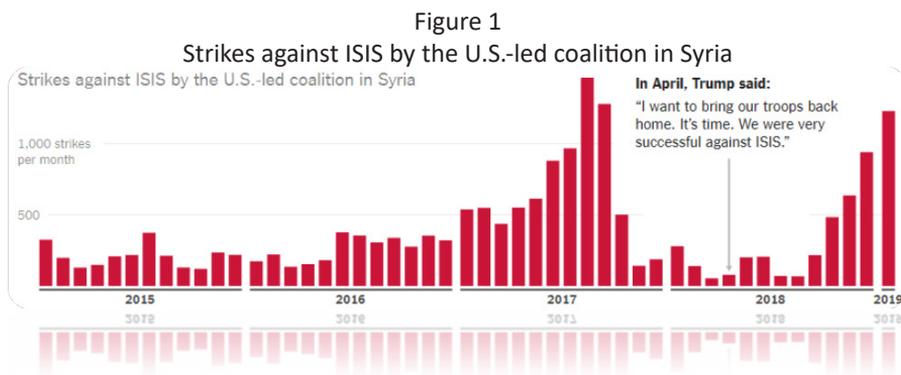
11 Asia Times, “ISIS fading in Mid East, thriving in the Philippines”, <https://asiatimes.com> (access: 19.04.2020)

12 The Atlantic, “The inconvenient truth about ISIS”, <https://www.theatlantic.com> (access: 19.04.2020)

The first was Hoshyar Siwaily¹³, a Kurdistan Democratic Party politician, who frankly stated that the international coalition had not been fully successful in stabilizing and securing the already liberated areas. Not to remain groundless, Siwaily cited an example of 900 Iraqi citizens who after having lost their homes, were placed in the camps in the Kurdistan region. After some time, when the coalition regained the land and seemed to stabilize surrounding areas, they were told they could safely go back home. However, what happened next was a surprise to all, because, as the politician said, the refugees instead of living their lives at large, decided to return to existence in the filthy and overcrowded camps. They had no choice – the reality outside turned out to be too dangerous to start a normal life. As for the ISIS activity in Kirkuk, Siwaily mentioned that only during the first eight months of 2019, there were about 450 ISIS terrorist attacks¹⁴.

The next ISIS expert interviewed was a top intelligence analyst¹⁵ from a governmental institution (a strictly anonymous source) who stated that the course of action the world was observing then – continuous ISIS attacks and its widespread activity around the globe- came as no surprise for those deeply studying the subject of terrorism. According to him, three years before its crucial military defeats in 2017, Daesh already had been preparing its post defeat strategy¹⁶. So, it seems obvious that the present scenario realized by ISIS is not just an accidental combination of events, but a well-knit strategy put in action.

For some people, there is nothing more convincing than maps, figures and statistics. So, the first one to be analyzed is a graph published by The New York Times, and it shows the strikes against ISIS by the U.S.-led coalition in Syria (Fig. 1).



Source: The New York Times, <https://www.nytimes.com> (access: 22.04.2020)

There would be nothing strange in the graph, if not one issue. Namely, taking into account the fact that President Trump in December, 2018 claimed the coalition had won against ISIS, it seems reasonable to raise a question about a pick in the strikes against ISIS at the beginning of 2019. If the organization had already been

13 Interview with Hoshyar Siwaily, conducted by the author Ewa Fronczak.

14 Ibidem.

15 Interview with an anonymous source, conducted by the author Ewa Fronczak.

16 Ibidem.

defeated, why to increase the number of strikes? Is there any logic in intensifying raids on a terrorist organization which had been already dead?

Figure 2

Countries having IS terrorist attacks in 2019, up to July 27

Figure Four: Countries ACLED Reports as Having Islamic State Terrorist Attacks in 2019, up to July 27.



Country	Terrorist Attacks	Fatalities
Iraq	338	682
Syria	211	577
Egypt	88	231
Libya	9	38
Yemen	24	58
Afghanistan	33	131
Pakistan	12	28
India	2	2
Somalia	3	3
Mali	13	91
Burkina Faso	2	1
Niger	30	73

Source: Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project, <https://acleddata.com> (access: 22.04.2020)

Another informative analysis comes from the Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project, an American data collection, analysis, and crisis mapping institution, which published a map (Fig. 2) of the countries attacked by ISIS in the first half of 2019. As the numbers clearly indicate, the most frequently targeted states were Iraq and Syria; but this fact, on its own, does not seem to surprise anyone. However, what might be surprising, is the numbers of attacks. For instance, in Iraq there were 338 of them and in Syria 211, which gives roughly 50 attacks a month. It must be stressed here that they were conducted by a terrorist group which had reportedly been defeated.

Moving on to official documents and reports, there are two reports that constitute a credible and comprehensive source of information on ISIS activity around the world. The first one prepared by the Pentagon’s Lead Inspector General was revealed in the first months of 2020¹⁷, and its main message to the public seems to be – do not declare a victory over an organization which is still alive and in a pretty good condition. To support that statement, the authors provide us with numerous data and figures. For instance, the report underlines that despite of a territorial victory over ISIS, they continue information warfare and recruitment of followers in a virtual world: “ISIS has continued to disseminate its propaganda on Twitter, Facebook, and Telegram, and U.S. Central Command reported that this propaganda revolved around two main themes: ISIS’s persistence in the face of adversity, and retaliation through a global insurgency.” Although the frequency of ISIS attacks in Iraq and Syria decreased within the last quarter of 2019, the Department of Defence analysts highlight the fact that the group has “continued to carry out attacks and operations”¹⁸ in that region.

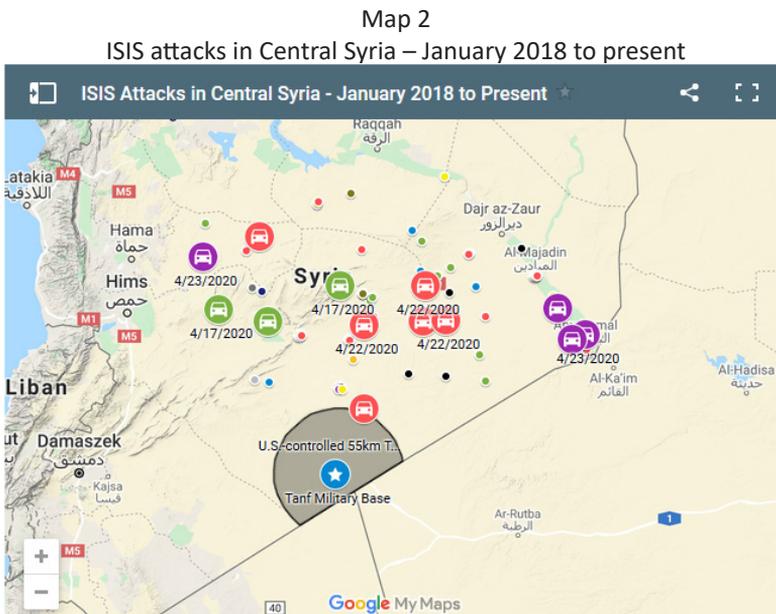
The second report worth mentioning is a report submitted to the UN Security

17 US Department of Defence, <https://media.defense.gov> (access: 20.04.202).

18 Ibidem.

Council by the UN Monitoring Team in February this year.¹⁹ Similarly to the DoD report, the UN report leaves no doubts as for ISIS vitality: “Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), following its loss of territory, has begun to reassert itself in both the Syrian Arab Republic and Iraq, mounting increasingly bold insurgent attacks, calling and planning for the breakout of ISIL fighters in detention facilities and exploiting weaknesses in the security environment of both countries.” The report also addresses the issue of a security vacuum that developed after a partial U.S. withdrawal. Unfortunately, it led to an inadequate level of security at the Iraq-Syria border, which allowed for an easy flow of ISIS fighters between those two fragile states. As for the regions of the increased ISIS activity within the last months, the report focuses on the Euphrates river area – the Dayr al-Zawr and Hasakah Governorates. The document also points out the present “spike in attacks targeting the United States led coalition and local non-state armed groups”²⁰, which is discussed in the next paragraph.

The first four months of 2020 have been the time of the intensified ISIS activity. According to a map used by a Middle East institute expert (Map 2), in Central Syria the group was able to conduct several attacks over a span of just seven April days.



Source: Middle East Institute, <https://www.mei.edu> (access: 26.04.2020)

As the Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Centre portal informs²¹, especially in the Euphrates valley the Islamic State has been taking advantage of the current COVID epidemic and it is actively involved in the operations against SAA

19 United Nations, <https://undocs.org> (access: 20.04.2020)

20 Ibidem.

21 Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Centre, “Spotlight on Global Jihad”, <https://www.terrorism-info.org> (access: 26.04.2020)

and SDF forces. A range of fighting techniques used seems to be quite wide: IEDs, shooting attacks, targeted killings, ambushes, attacks against military camps²². One of such attacks took place on January 13, when terrorists carried out a deadly attack on an Iraqi security post at the Syrian border, killing one serviceman. Moreover, several days later, they attempted a similar attack in the same area. The timing of these incidents was not accidental, as they happened in atmosphere of high tensions between Iran and America caused by the General Soleimani killing. It cannot be denied that the terrorists perfectly exploited the period of a suspension of anti-ISIS operations in the region²³. Even today, on April 26, 2020, the fight in Syria is still going on, as the Syrian Arab Army (SAA), alongside the National Defense Forces (NDF), are involved in an anti-ISIS large scale campaign in desert areas in the east of the country where ISIS underground cells have found a perfect refuge and built new strongholds²⁴.

At the same time, ISIS have been attacking and establishing its strongholds across whole Iraq; for example, in Hamrin and Makhmour, the mountainous region west of Kirkuk where fighters find perfect conditions to train and regroup. In that area, during an Iraqi led air assault operation on March 9, two U.S. servicemen were killed. The Iraqi special operations forces, backed by the international coalition, have been trying to track and eliminate ISIS militants, who took refuge in the country's hardly penetrable mountain ranges, since their physical caliphate was definitely put to an end²⁵.

Not only military members are on a list of ISIS's targets. The same month, on 6 March, gunmen and suicide bombers killed about 30 civilians and injured dozens of others in a Sikh temple in Kabul, Afghanistan²⁶. This deadly assault took place "amid widening competition with the Taliban, fractures in the Afghan government and growing political chaos in Kabul".²⁷ In the reality of a drawdown of the American mission in Afghanistan, the Afghan branch of the Islamic State, known as the Islamic State in Khorasan Province, has been trying to expand its presence. Undoubtedly, a continuous feud among factional political elites or ethnic and religious enmity, is nothing else but a perfect ground for extremist ideology to prosper among more and more disappointed civilians²⁸.

ISIS IN THE SAHEL – PRESENT SITUATION

It is necessary to explain that by the Sahel the author refers to the countries listed in a UN definition: Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chad, Gambia, Guinea Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Nigeria and Senegal²⁹. The Sahel, as the region characterized by extreme climate shifts, droughts, swaths of underdeveloped and ungoverned territories, religious and ethnic divisions, seems to be especially vulnerable to jihadist ideology.

22 Ibidem.

23 CNN Politics, <https://edition.cnn.com> (access: 26.04.2020)

24 Global Research Centre, <https://www.globalresearch.ca> (access: 26.04.2010)

25 Reuters, World News, <https://www.reuters.com> (access: 26.04.2020)

26 The Guardian, World, <https://www.theguardian.com> (access: 26.04.2020)

27 World Politics Review, <https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com> (access: 26.04.2020)

28 Ibidem.

29 United Nations, "The Sahel: land of opportunities", <https://www.un.org> (access: 26.04.2020)

To make it worse, a potential terrain for terrorists to spread their malign ideology, and size of population to brainwash, is incomparably bigger than in the Middle East. As Gen. Dagvin Anderson, the head of the US military's Special Operations arm in Africa, correctly points out: "The rural territory at risk is so large it could fit multiple Afghanistans and Iraqs"³⁰. A question that may arise here is whether such a threat is going to be just a local one, or whether it will become a global threat soon. Taking into account a fact that the U.S. military have been planning to reduce their presence in Africa, a black scenario is becoming more and more viable.

To trace back the history of ISIS in the Sahel, it is necessary to go back in time to 2015, when Adnan Abu Walid al-Sahraoui (a former member of the al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb) and his followers pledged allegiance to the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant³¹. As a result, the Islamic State in the Greater Sahara (ISGS) was created. The group has mainly operated in Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso, and together with the al-Qaeda-linked Jama'at Nasr al-Islam wal Muslimin (JNIM) they are big terrorists actors in the region. Since its formation, ISGS and other ISIS affiliated groups have been increasingly active in sub-Saharan Africa³². In recent years, a violence spiral has sharply increased as terrorists were able to expand their reach and recruit more and more followers from the poor and frustrated African young males. According to the United Nations³³, attacks have increased fivefold in Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger since 2016, with more than 4,000 deaths counted last year.

As for the *modus operandi* of ISIS linked groups in the Sahel, it has several characteristic features³⁴. First of all, it is quite different from the one used by such groups in the Middle East. There are for example no "caliphates" being declared, because it may attract too much attention from the West security forces. They rather prefer to devote time to training, gathering followers and plotting attacks. What is more, the terrorists' strategy has become more complex and organized. With a goal of penetrating a country deeper and deeper, they have been "ambushing army bases, dominating villages with surprising force, destroying infrastructure, assassinating local leaders and emptying key army posts in coordinated strikes to separate people from the government"³⁵. Next, militants have been targeting mainly impoverished communities by offering mounts of cash or by force after destroying villages. In order to reach their fanatic goals, they do not restrain from provoking ethnic conflicts in exchange for protection. Last, but not least, the extremely porous borders of West Africa favor not only internal mobility within a group, but also an increased cooperation with other jihadi groups³⁶.

A perfect example of such cooperation is the latest fusion of Al-Qaida and ISIS affiliated groups in West Africa, a phenomenon broadly reported by the worldwide

30 The Independent, <https://www.independent.co.uk> (access: 2.05.2020)

31 United Nations, "The Islamic State In the Greater Sahara", <https://www.un.org> (access: 29.04.2020)

32 Ibidem.

33 United Nations, "Amid unprecedented violence. Escalation of terrorist attacks in West Africa", <https://www.un.org> (access: 29.04.2020)

34 The Washington Post, <https://www.washingtonpost.com> (access: 2.05.2010)

35 Ibidem.

36 The Independent, <https://www.independent.co.uk/> (access: 2.05.2020)

press in April, 2020³⁷. Gen. Anderson³⁸ emphasizes a local aspect of that collaboration and comments on some aspects that make it possible. Firstly, it a “is a result of ethnic/tribal ties in the region that includes Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso”. Secondly, terrorists allegiances in the Sahel are more fluid than those in the Middle East, and they are strengthen by practical concerns rather than ideological matters. Finally, nothing consolidates better than a common foe – the West and local governments³⁹.

Finally, the last argument for the vitality of ISIS not only in Iraq and Syria, but also in Africa, will be the working of the Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS⁴⁰. It is an international coalition of 80 countries and institutions, formed on September 10, 2014 under the US leadership. The Coalition, together with its military branch the Operation Inherent Resolve, is a main political body responsible for the counter-ISIS policy worldwide⁴¹. So, till the last Coalition meeting on November 14, 2019, it had never mentioned Africa as its target area of operations. It was then, when for the first time the Coalition pointed to the Sahel as the next, after the Middle East, region of a growing terrorist threat. Despite obvious lingering, the West at last decided to focus its attention at that hotbed of Islamist ideology – the Sahel – and the whole world could hear those long-awaited words of US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo who said: “ (...) there’s a growing concern about the ISIS threat outside of Iraq and Syria” and “ (...) we agreed at the working level that West Africa and the Sahel would be a preferred initial area of focus for the Coalition outside of the ISIS core space.”⁴²

CONCLUSIONS

What does it mean to defeat ISIS – a terrorist organization of the 21st century representing a new, modern face of terrorism? An organization which exists not only in reality, but also in a virtual world? An organization which does not need a territory to be active and conduct deadly attacks around the globe? An organization which after losing its all territorial caliphate is long since ready for the next phase of its existence underground? As present events prove, regaining land and killing the main leader has not been enough. All the sources cited in the paper, documents, reports, articles, officials, clearly show that ISIS terrorist activity has not weakened. On the contrary, some alert about its possible reemergence in the Middle East, and others, in ISIS vitality in Africa, see a real threat to the rest of the world. Taking everything into consideration, there seem to be some basic issues to be faced by the so called West: what has failed in the so far War on Terror strategy, how effective has it been or how counterproductive has it been?

37 The Washington Post, <https://www.washingtonpost.com> (access: 2.05.2020)

38 The Military Times, <https://www.militarytimes.com/news> (access: 2.05.2020)

39 Ibidem.

40 U.S Department of State, <https://www.state.gov> (access: 3.05.2010)

41 Ibidem.

42 US Department of State, “Secretary Michael R. Pompeo At the Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS Small Group Ministerial”, <https://www.state.gov> (access: 3.05.2020)

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