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The Turkish Military's Perception of Instability as an External Threat and Terrorism

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Abstract: *This paper tries to understand the increasingly employed concept of instability in its post Cold War sense and argues that regional instabilities are perceived as a threat by the military. The goal here is to put the concept of "instability" under the scholarly microscope to understand why and how it is viewed as a threat, especially as an external threat. To this end, the paper studies the concept of threats in international politics and brainstorms on the types, old and new usages of the term of instability, arguing that instability is indeed a threat as it is the suitable ground on which other threats, especially terrorism, emerge. By examining the texts written by Turkish military sources over the last 20 years, the paper aims to highlight how the Turkish military focuses and reacts to instabilities around the country, how it sees the links between instability and terrorism and how this focus changes the foreign policy framework of the Turkish military.*

Keywords: *Turkish Military, Instability, Terrorism, Threat Perception.*

Introduction

After a Cold War marked by bipolar stability, instability has probably been one of the terms most frequently used to describe the state of international affairs in the world. The post-Cold War world is characterized by instability encompassing all sorts of ethnic conflicts, failed states, newly emerging states, separatist movements, regional tensions, economic rivalries, regionalism vs. globalization, emerging powers and above all terrorism. The repositioning of the former communist countries in the international system in the transition from the bipolar structure to a unipolar one has created most of the turmoil in the 1990s. However, this is not to say that the disorder created is only due to the changes in the former communist world. The dissolution of the Soviet Union and the strengthening of the USA ever since, gave rise to new opportunities and also

new challenges for many of the existing actors in the international stage. Moreover, new actors appeared on the stage of world politics. All these novelties contributed to a more unstable world.

The study of world politics became more of an interdisciplinary area given the complexities and overlapping influences of globalization. This being the case, new types of threats replaced the old. Terrorism, drug trafficking, human trafficking, migration, environmental problems, structural violence, questions of identity, separatism, religious fundamentalism, energy security, water security, economic recession, even globalization became the names of the new threats. Now that the structure of the Cold War is history, actors' behaviors have become less predictable due to the uncertainties and instabilities which accompany the new times.

Turkey has had its share of changes and challenges brought by the new era. In this new era, thanks to the newly emerging security atmosphere in the immediate aftermath of the Cold War, the new types of threats were increasingly scrutinized in Turkey. For the Turkish security elite, there has often been a spill-over effect between internal and external threats; the internal front has often been regarded as an extension of the external front. During the Cold War, domestic communist groups were regarded as instruments of the USSR; in the post Cold War world, ethnic separatists and religious fundamentalists were not only evaluated as internal threats but also as extensions of external threats and as reflections of global trends of rising ethnic and religious identities.[1]

The perception of this spill-over effect became all the more visible in the post Cold War era. In this sense, ever since the end of the Cold War, Turkish civilian and military authorities have emphasized the existence of the crises and instabilities within the troubled neighborhood of Turkey and have seen these crises and instabilities as a threat to the security of the country. The common rhetoric goes that Turkey finds itself in the very center of the hottest spots of the new world: the Balkans, the Caucasus and the Middle East. This situation is worrisome for the Turkish statesmen, as the global world is known for having problems that transcend borders where security problems in one country are especially likely to spill-over to nearby countries. Containment was once a term used to define encirclement and a strategy to stop the progress of the communist waves, but today containment can be applied as a strategy against all kinds of instabilities emanating from failed or rogue states, civil or interstate wars, political and economic crises in the world.

Instability in its post-Cold War sense will be the focus of this paper. The goal here is to put the concept of "instability" under the scholarly microscope and try to understand why and how it is viewed as a threat, especially as an external threat by the Turkish military. To this end, we will first take a look at the concept of threats in international politics and reflect on the concept of instability. Then we will argue that instability is indeed a threat as it is the suitable ground on which many other threats emerge. In this context, we will take a look at how terrorism and instability are related. We will elaborate the Turkish military's perspectives on instability in the last two decades, see how this concept is related to terrorism in the military mind through some cases and finally conclude with an analysis of the impact of the perception of instabilities as a threat on the foreign policy approaches of the military.

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[1] Itır Toksöz, "Security Dilemmas and Threat Perceptions: Turkey at the Crossroads, unpublished Ph. D dissertation", 2007, Northeastern University, Boston, Massachusetts, Chapter 5 & 6.

Threats and Instability in International Relations

In international relations, threats are often addressed within the context of security studies — especially those focusing on nuclear deterrence, alliance formation and interstate conflict. In general, a threat perception is "understood as anticipation on the part of an observer (the decision maker) of impending harm – usually of a military, strategic or economic kind – to the state".[2] Thus, in international relations we talk about threats aimed at the territorial integrity, political sovereignty, major national interests and core ideology of the state and its regime. As the study of International Relations evolved from classical realist and idealist paradigms towards contemporary ones such as theories of decision making, International Relations scholars started to employ this concept more and more in their analysis.

Threats may be understood in an active or passive sense: in the active sense, threat is the undertaking of one actor to impose a sanction on another; in the passive sense, it is an anticipation of impending danger.[3] A threat may also be announced or latent. When it is announced, the picture is often quite clear, as one actor openly challenges the other. In the case where the threat is latent, it is harder to define the nature of the threat and its credibility as the perception of the observer has more of a subjective nature based on interpretation of certain signals from or assumptions about the threatening party.

In international relations, threat perception is seen as "the decisive intervening variable between action and reaction;" unless the threat is perceived, despite information to confirm that the threat actually exists, there is no action taken; defense is not activated.[4] When threatened, a state's response behavior depends on its perception and interpretation of the signals coming from the external environment.[5] The threat and the perception of a threat are inseparable in a way, because even if A threatens B, as long as B does not perceive the threat coming from A, B does not act. [6]

There is a relationship between capability and intent in the formulation of threat perceptions: as either capability or intent appears to approach the zero level, threat perception tends to diminish. [7] However this formulation of threat perceptions is criticized for lack of a psychological dimension as threat perception also includes an inference where the perceiver subjectively, not objectively, pieces together the intent with capability in his mind upon which the threat is based.[8] Thus, one is

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2 Raymond Cohen, *Threat Perception in International Crisis,* Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1979, p.4.

3 Raymond Cohen, "Threat Perception in International Crisis", *Political Science Quarterly*, 91 (3), 1978, p. 95. also see David A. Baldwin, "Thinking About Threats", *Conflict Resolution*, (XV)1, 1971, p. 71-78

4 Raymond Cohen, "Threat Perception…" 1978. p. 93.

5 Warren Philips and Richard Rimkunas, "The Concept of Crisis in International Politics", Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 15, No.3, 1978, p. 270.

6 see also David A. Baldwin, "Thinking About Threats", *Conflict Resolution*, (XV)1, 1971, p. 71-78 on the dynamics between a country A and a country B in threat perception.

7 See in detail in David J. Singer, "Threat-Perception and the Armament-Tension Dilemma", *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1958, p. 93-94.

8 See Raymond Cohen, *Threat Perception*…, 1979, p. 7 where Cohen supports D.G. Pruitt's argument. See D.G. Pruitt, "Definition of the Situation as a Determinant of International Action", in Herbert C. Kelman,

to distinguish between external and internal sources of behavior.[9] Some of the perception is based on the perceiver's characteristics and some are relative to the environment. While we may distinguish between the two for better understanding, we must consider them jointly for their predictive potential.[10]

When dealing with the definition of a situation, most decision making theorists regard the world as viewed by decision makers to be at least as important as objective reality.[11] "Threat is not perceived in a vacuum"; it is very much related to the surrounding circumstances as well as being a psychological process and in that sense is not just an "objective appraisal of some unambiguous state of the environment."[12] This argument goes hand in hand with the concepts of "operational milieu" which sees the world as it actually exists and "psychomilieu" which sees the world through the eyes of the political leaders.[13] Taken together, these milieus comprise not only the realities as they are but also the realities as perceived by the actor where the decision maker cognitively constructs the image or a representation of a reality.

Generally threats are of two kinds: external and internal. The majority of the scholarly literature employs the word threat in its external sense —the threat originates outside the country's borders. This focus on external threat only is to be expected given that most of the literature on threats and threat perceptions was written right after WWII and during the Cold War. For a great majority of the Western world — where the literature on threat perceptions was born — most of the time threats actually originated outside the borders of a country. Therefore, when we refer to the generalization of an "actor" in the scholarly literature, the authors and the readers mostly think of another state. Still, we have seen in the post Cold war period more states dealing with intrastate conflicts rather than interstate ones. Only after the end of the Cold War, and especially with the post 9/11 era of War on Terrorism, the domestic and/or transnational characters of threats were additionally discussed platforms. Actors are now more varied and the new types of threats are different than old types of threats. These new actors are fed by instabilities and the new types of threats surface more easily within instabilities. In this new world, instability is thus also a threatening condition and it needs to be studied as such.

In political science-international relations, instability can be employed within three different contexts: 1- instability of the international system at large, a type of instability which occurs during power transitions on the global scale; 2- instability within a region where the relations between or among countries are sour; 3- instability within a specific country which suffers from fluctuations in its economy, social unrest, illegitimate or poor governance etc. These three contexts of instability are often interdependent: instability of the system may cause increased

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(ed.), *International Behavior: A Social-Psychological Analysis*, New York: Holt, Reinhart & Winston. 1965, p. 399-407.

9 Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*, Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press,1976, p. 35.

10 Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception…*, p. 48.

11 James E. Dougherty and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff Jr., *Contending Theories* p. 554-555

12 Raymond Cohen, *Threat Perception,*1979, p. 87.

13 Harold Sprout and Margaret Sprout, *An Ecological Paradigm for the Study of International Politics*, Monograph No.30, Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Center for International Studies, 1968, p. 11.

turbulence especially in regions of strategic importance; instability within a specific country may generate instability in one region; instability in a region may spill over to the neighboring countries.

Originally, instability or stability of the international system was mostly a topic of the Cold War. In the Cold War sense, Gaddis asserts that systems theory provides criteria in order to distinguish between stable and unstable political configurations and draws his arguments on stability from David Singer and Karl Deutsch where they define stability as "the probability that the system retains all of its essential characteristics; that no single nation becomes dominant; that most of its members continue to survive and that large-scale war does not occur."[14] In that sense, stability is the balance of power and is a feature of the systemic level. Gaddis explains the stability of the Cold War through the structural elements of stability such as bipolarity and independence of the superpowers from each other and through the behavioral elements of stability such as the nuclear weapons, reconnaissance revolution and ideological moderation. According to him, in a system which functions without a superior authority, order is dependent upon certain rules of the game such as respecting spheres of influence, avoiding direct military confrontation, using nuclear weapons only as an ultimate resort, preferring predictable anomaly over unpredictable rationality, refraining from undermining the other side's leadership.[15] He cites this last one as a dilemma and asks: "If what one wanted was stability at the international level, did it make sense to try to destabilize the other side's leadership at the national level?"[16] Even this remark shows how instabilities at different levels of analysis could affect one another.

This systemic notion of (in)stability is no longer the exact sense in which we use instability in international politics today. In the post Cold War world, the immediate problems of security seem to have relocated from the systems level to regional and local levels. The term of instability is more and more frequently used, yet in a sense completely different than in that of the Cold War. Today, instability of the international system seems to be of a lesser concern to states than instabilities within regions and within countries.

If instability on the systemic level is generated by absence of balance of power, then what is instability at regional or national levels? In a study conducted by Blanco & Grier, where the determinants of political instability in 18 Latin American countries between 1971-2000 are investigated, the authors study regime type and regime durability, factionalism, income equality, ethnic diversity, ethnic discrimination, regional spillover effects, urban growth and macroeconomic variables. They find that democracy and openness to trade has a negative impact on instability, that factionalized political systems experience higher instability and that instability is affected by income inequality, ethnic fractionalization and urban growth.[17]

Another such study was conducted by the Political Instability Task Force, which studied internal wars and failures of governance that occurred between 1955 and 2006 in all countries with

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[14] John Lewis Gaddis, "The Long Peace: Elements of Stability in the Postwar International System", Karen Mingst and Jack Synder, *Essential Readings in World Politics*, New York, W.W.Norton & Company, 2001, p. 12.

[15] John Lewis Gaddis, "The Long Peace:…", p. 13-19.

[16] John Lewis Gaddis, "The Long Peace: …", p. 19.

[17] Louisa Blanco and Robert Grier, "Long Live Democracy: The Determinants of Political Instability in Latin America", *Journal of Development Studies*, 45:1, 2009, p. 76-95

populations of over 500,000. A part of the study was designed to identify factors associated with state failure. For the four different types of state failure or serious political crisis examined for this project such as revolutionary wars, ethnic wars, mass killings and adverse or disruptive regime changes, four broad areas of variables correlating with state failure were identified. These areas were: demographic and societal measures (infant mortality, school enrollment, population change), economic measures (GDP per capita, change in inflation, trade openness), environmental measures (access to safe water, drought, intensity of use of cropland) and political and leadership measures (democracy level, traits of ruling elites, presence of ethnic discrimination and separatist activity).[18]

As seen, these studies scrutinize political instability in states. Yet there are also those which refer to instabilities in regions. Actually political instability in states and regional instability are linked closely. Ades and Chua define regional instability as political instability in neighboring countries and find that regional instabilities have a negative effect on a country's economic performance, by disrupting trade flows and by increasing military expenditures, which result in "negative spillovers among politically unstable neighboring countries."[19] Goldstone et al. suggest that if a country has four or more bordering states in armed conflict, this state is more likely to suffer a crisis onset.[20] Gurr et. al found that countries with neighbors in civil or ethnic conflicts show more vulnerability to an outbreak of ethnic war.[21] They also found that Muslim countries are more vulnerable to instability when more bordering states are engaged in any type of armed conflict, internal or international. This result confirms their models on global and ethnic-wars, yet it is only for the Muslim countries that they find the involvement of neighboring states in international conflict contributing to the risk of instability.[22] Blanco & Grier suggest that countries in 'bad neighborhoods' which receive a flood of refugees into the country or which the guerilla armies use as a base from which to attack their home country are more prone to instability.[23]

Thus, regional instabilities can be a result of the existence of unstable states in a region or due to existence of troubled relations between neighboring states in this region. Often times, it is both: unstable countries provoke unstable regional relations and unstable regions result in more unstable states. It is a chicken and egg problem. As such, instability has a snowballing effect both inside and outside the borders of the polity which it strikes, and as such, instability needs to be first contained in order to be eradicated. Marshall sees instability as a series of events in sequence and suggests that for any given country, a period of instability is the period between the onset of the

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18 Daniel C. Esty et al., "State Failure Task Force Report", 30 November 1995, p. 7, available at http://globalpolicy.gmu.edu/pitf/SFTF%20Phase%20I%20Report.pdf.

19 Alberto Ades & Hak B. Chua, "Thy Neighbor's Curse: Regional Instability and Economic Growth", *Journal of Economic Growth*, Vol. 2, No: 3, September 1997, p. 279.

20 Jack A. Goldstone et al. "A Global Forecasting Model for Political Instability", paper prepared for presentation at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 1-4, 2005, p. 22, available at http://globalpolicy.gmu.edu/pitf/PITFglobal.pdf.

21 Ted Robert Gurr, Mark Woodward and Monty G. Marshall, "Forecasting Instability: Are Ethnic Wars and Muslim Countries Different?", Prepared for delivery at the 2005 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 1-4, 2005. p. 3. http://globalpolicy.gmu.edu/pitf/PITFethnicmuslim.pdf.

22 Ted Robert Gurr, Mark Woodward and Monty G. Marshall, "Forecasting Instability…", p. 9.

23 Louisa Blanco and Robert Grier, "Long Live Democracy…" p. 84.

first instability event and the conclusion of the last instability event.[24] He draws attention to the fact that periods of instability are characterized "by unique combinations of instability events" and that "the onset of one event coincides with or is followed by the onset of overlapping or sequential instability events."[25] Being in an unstable neighborhood is a condition which can facilitate the emergence of the first instability event. This potential is the key to understanding why instability can be qualified as a threat.

Instability as an External Threat and Terrorism

Given this two-way spill-over effect between instability in a region and instability in a country, it is meaningful to see regional instability as a threat for a stable country in an unstable region. Instability in a neighbor or between two or more neighbors can be regarded as a threat because it provides suitable ground for emergence of all kinds of new generation threats such as terrorism, migration, poverty and drug trafficking among many other ills. Perceived threats can be either actual (inferred from more or less definite signals of intent) or "potential" (inferred from some state of environment or the mere capability of the opponent).[26] When we talk about instability as an external threat we actually talk about threat in the potential rather than the actual sense.

Threats are, in a way, also symptoms of a crisis. Brecher who distinguishes between precrisis, crisis and postcrisis periods suggest that "the pre-crisis period is marked off from a preceding period by an increase in perceived threat on the part of the decision makers of the state under inquiry".[27] In international politics, crises are common, but it is often times hard to tell when and how a situation becomes a crisis.[28] Yet, it is evident that crises occur more easily in regions of instability.

The intentions and capabilities of states to harm others changes quickly, a scenario referred to as a "systemic threat."[29] There is always the possibility of interstate changes in intentions and capabilities to "unpredictably lead to dangerous threats following from the very structure of the international system".[30] Instability also aggravates this situation as it often creates unpredictability in actors' behaviors.

Instability comes hand in hand with uncertainty. Although one would be able to easily define the enemies, think of scenarios, develop strategies to deter or counter the enemy in a world where

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24 Monty G. Marshall, *Conflict Trends in Africa, 1946-2004: A Macro Comparative Perspective*, Center for Systemic Peace, report prepared fort he Africa Conflict Prevention Pool, Government of the United Kingdom, October, 14 2005, p. 6.

25 Monty G. Marshall, *Conflict Trends in Africa…,* p. 6.

26 Klaus Knorr, "Threat Perception" Klaus Knorr (ed.), *Historical Dimensions of National Security Problems,* Lawrence, University Press of Kansas, 1976, p. 78. Robert Cohen, *Threat Perceptions,* p. 4 also accepts this view.

27 Michael Brecher, "State Behaviour in International Crisis", Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. 23, No. 3, 1979, p. 457.

28 Robert S. Brillings, Thomas W. Milburn and Mary Lou Schollman, "A Model of Crisis Perception…", p. 300.

29 Klaus Knorr, "Threat…" , p. 79.

30 Klaus Knorr, "Threat…" , p. 79.

the tense state of international politics is more stable, vision is blurred in the uncertain environment of instability. When there is turmoil in a neighboring country, it may be harder to determine who its real decision-makers are and foresee how they might act. In a crisis situation, even if the decision-makers of today are the same as yesterday, they may act unexpectedly. It may also be that due to instability in a region, it becomes harder to tell who the enemy is, predict when or how he may strike and what measures need to be taken against him. Uncertainty brings unpredictability, which diminishes the ability to reflect on probabilities. In this situation, insecurity, anxiety and vulnerability accompany the condition of instability. Upon reconsideration of some of the concepts related with instability (i.e. uncertainty, insecurity, vulnerability, unpredictability, anxiety), it becomes easier to understand how unstable neighbors take away the peace of mind of the decision-makers in a country. [31]

Terrorism and instability are somehow linked to each other, yet it is not clear exactly how. A comprehensive study of terrorism by Martha Crenshaw refers to several possible causes of terrorism. Among the causes / motivations of terrorism she places under the scholarly microscope are socialization of individuals who become terrorists, terrorism's characteristic as both responsive and sustained behavior, representativeness of terrorism, its aim of creating social change, disappointments and frustrations with nonviolent action, the impact of historical bitter experiences and ideologies which justify violence.[32] Yet like in many other sources that tackle with the causes of terrorism, none of the points refer to unstable domestic, regional or systemic environments as a reason for the emergence of terrorism.

The reasons for not considering instability a causal variable for terrorism may be many. First of all, not all countries that are domestically unstable or that are in regions of instability experience terrorism. Moreover, some countries (especially the Western countries such as UK, Spain, USA) which have been experiencing terrorism do not experience any domestic political or economic turmoil and are in perfectly safe neighborhoods. Instability is also a rather new concept which has recently entered into the study of violence. Finally, instability is hard to define and the criteria by which one can judge instability is too vague and therefore does not allow for a classification of stable and unstable environments easily.

Still, there are some recent studies that include instability and terrorism together in their focus. Most of these studies are around the issue of weak and failing states as the breeding ground for terrorism. As a matter of fact, this has been the most widely adhered to view of the official American policy during the George W. Bush administration. The War on Terrorism was basically geared towards the elimination of states that were seen as weak or failing, such as Afghanistan and Iraq, because of their status as "harbors" of terrorism thereby linking the concepts of terrorism and domestic instability. The same view is also often elaborated in a regional sense as in the bad neighborhoods hypothesis. Where one weak country that harbors terrorism exists, the other

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[31] A quick look at any thesaurus for the word "instability" will give at least some of the adjectives here, if not more.

[32] Martha Crenshaw "Thoughts on Relating Terrorism to Historical Contexts", in Martha Crenshaw(ed.) *Terrorism in Context*, Penn State Press, University Park, PA, 1995, p. 12-19

countries of the region are seen as more prone to being affected by the spillover effects of terrorism in their neighbor.[33]

However, here we must note that not all scholars agree on the link between state weakness and terrorism. Partially countering the view that weak and failing states are the major reason for terrorism, proliferation, organized crime, bad neighborhoods, pandemics, energy insecurity, Steward argues weak and failing states may facilitate these vices but not in all cases. He contends that terrorists find "weak but functioning states" more suitable for their operations, as the weak but functioning character of these states makes it easier for terrorists to have access to the global world, which then facilitates the carrying out of their operations.[34] He distinguishes between weak state capacity and lack of will for good governance and argues that the most serious threats will emanate from a weak state with no will for good governance.[35]

Another view suggests that the main cause of international terrorism today is what is called "the escalation effect". In a study covering more than 130 countries yearly since 1968 wherein this escalation effect is scrutinized, the authors Campos & Gassebner claim that most of the empirical literature about the causes of international terrorism seems to be based only on low levels of political and economic development and ignore the study of the escalation effect and "the role of domestic political instability for the propagation of international terrorism".[36] Their study places emphasis on the accumulation of terrorist human capital through schooling and training of the terrorists and reveals that domestic instability and terrorism are related. Terrorists profit from domestic instabilities which provide them the "military, strategic and organizational skills" essential to carry out acts of international terrorism.[37] This view completes the above mentioned view which suggests that terrorists prefer weak but functioning states. This is enough reason for a country with domestically unstable neighbors to perceive their existence as a threat to its security.

From a systems level, another view suggests that terrorism is a result of systemic conflict and crisis, in other words, systemic instabilities: the argument goes that it is the frustration resulting from internal contradictions of the global capitalist system which is built for the profit of the few and not the need of the people.[38] From a sociological angle, terrorism is related to the rise of global capitalism and the frustrations of desire and interest global capitalism brings to certain actors. In this sense, the social and economic conditions in which the Third World, especially the Middle East, find themselves are seen as a major breeding ground for terrorism and a fight against poverty, inequality and economic oppression is seen as the sine qua non of a winnable war of terror.[39]

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33 The best example to this spill-over could be Pakistan and Afghanistan.

34 Patrick Stewart, " Weak States and Global Threats: Assessing Evidence of 'Spillovers'",Center for Global Development, *Working Paper Number 73*, January 2006, p. 16-17.

35 Partick Stewart, " Weak States and Global Threats…", p. 28.

36 Nauro F. Campos & Martin Gassebner, "International Terrorism, Political Instability and the Escalation Effect", IZA Discussion Paper No. 4061, Institute for the Study of Labor, Bonn, March 2009, p. 8

37 Nauro F. Campos & Martin Gassebner, "International Terrorism…" p. 25.

38 Ogunrofita Ayodeji Bayo, "Systemic Frustration Paradigm: A New Approach to Explaining Terrorism", Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations, Vol. 7, Number 1, Spring 2008, p. 1.

39 Ogunrofita Ayodeji Bayo, "Systemic Frustration Paradigm. … p. 32-33.

While it is important to figure out how instability causes terrorism, it is also important to see how various decision makers perceive instability as causing terrorism. Here we will take a look at the Turkish military's views on instability and terrorism.

Regional Instabilities in the Post Cold War World as a Source of Threat

In the post Cold War world, Turkish authorities of both civilian and military spheres have frequently emphasized regional instabilities as part of the new security problems of Turkey. How especially the military views regional instability is key in better understanding both the military's position on terrorism and foreign policy.

In general, the military, either as advisors to the civilian authorities or as more vocal participants to the process of national security policy formulation, is one of these decision-making bodies within the state that helps determine what constitutes a threat. The military and the civilian leadership, and even the society at large, may be in a position to perceive these threats, based on the nature of the threat. However, military men seem quicker to detect threats than civilian leaders.[40] Also, among these actors the military sees the world in a worst case scenario mindset[41] for it is in the nature of the military profession to plan by assessing threats[42] and then prepare for the worst.

A thorough study of articles and texts written and speeches given by military authorities reveal how the Turkish military perceived instabilities as a threat in the adjacent regions of Turkey in the aftermath of the Cold War.[43] The following paragraphs explain the frames and details of the military's threat perceptions in relation with the regional instabilities. As explained in the previous pages, instability in a country and a region are often interdependent. Therefore the military's views on domestic instabilities within neighboring countries are just as important as their views on instabilities within the regions and both views are thus taken into account for this paper. Writings about globalization and terrorism are also especially studied, for the military sees connections between instabilities and globalization and instabilities and terrorism.

One must note that the military stresses over Turkey's geography and geopolitical position and constantly sees spill-over effects between neighboring states and Turkey. This is not brand new.[44] According to the current Chief of General Staff, General Başbuğ, all throughout history Turkey

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40 Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception…*,p. 8.

41 Bengt Abrahamsson, *Military Professionalization and Political Power,* Beverly Hills, California, Sage Publications, 1972, p. 87).

42 Paul W. Zagorski, *Democracy vs. National Security, Civil Military Relations in Latin America,* Boulder, Colorado, Lynne Rienner, 1992, p. 124.

43 All the sources in this section are either articles or books written by the military authorities or speeches given by them. Among the sources are books published by the Office of the Chief of General Staff and War Academies Command Post, articles from the Armed Forces Magazine and speeches, press statements and press conference excerpts that are available on the website of the Office of the Chief of General Staff, www.tsk.mil.tr.

44 On geopolitical sitation see Lütfü Onganer, " Genel Olarak Geopolitik ve Geopolitik Durumun Milli Güvenlik Politikasına Etkileri", *Silahlı Kuvvetler Dergisi,* No. 216, 1965, p. 41. On spill-over effect see Toksöz Itır, "Security Dilemmas…", Ch. 5 and 6.

has been situated in the midst of crisis regions on which the world focuses and this situation will not change.[45] During the Cold War years, the Turkish military thought that Turkey was surrounded by many neighbors who, in the eyes of the military establishment, represented security vulnerabilities.[46] In a 1984 speech, Tümer stressed the fact that Turkey was the only NATO country which had ongoing wars around its borders.[47]

From the military's perspective, instead of changing for the better, the security atmosphere has deteriorated in the post Cold War era and there has been an increase in the number of parameters that the Armed Forces had to control and manage in the security realm.[48] This worsening of the security atmosphere is clearly reflected in the words of General Büyükanıt, when he took over the office as the Chief of General Staff in 2006, who stated that Turkey has never been under so many simultaneous threats in its entire history.[49]

In the post Cold War period, the military sees the international security arena as highly volatile and unpredictable.[50] The comfort of the tense but stable structure of a bipolar world is no longer available for Turkey.[51] In this picture, Turkey is seen as being situated among the most important hot spots of the world. When the military talks about these hot spots and the disorder of the post Cold War world, it often employs such terms as "instability", "uncertainty", "risks" or "threats" around Turkey.[52] The presence of potential crisis regions and of risks emanating from these

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45 İlker Başbuğ "Orgeneral İlker Başbuğ'un Genelkurmay Başkanlığı Devir Teslim Töreni Konuşması", http://www.tsk.mil.tr/10_ARSIV/10_1_Basin_Yayin_Faaliyetleri/10_1_7_Konusmalar/2008/org_ilkerbasbug_dvrtslkonusmasi_28082008.html, 28 August 2008.

46 Harp Akademisi Komutanlığı, "Türkiye'nin Jeopolitik Durumu Üzerine Bir İnceleme", *Silahlı Kuvvetler Dergisi,* No.210, 1964, p. 13.

47 Nejat Tümer, "Oramiral Nejat Tümer'in Konuşmaları", *Silahlı Kuvvetler Dergisi,* No. 290, 1984, p. 24

48 Hilmi Özkök, "Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Hilmi Özkök'ün Harp Akademileri Komutanlığında yaptıkları. Konuşma", http://www.tsk.mil.tr/10_ARSIV/10_1_Basin_Yayin_Faaliyetleri/10_1_7_Konusmalar/2006/harpakegitimogretimyiliaciliskonusmasi_160306.html16 March 2006.

49 Yaşar Büyükanıt, "Orgeneral Yaşar Büyükanıt'ın Genelkurmay Başkanlığı Devir Teslim Töreni Konuşması", http://www.tsk.mil.tr/10_ARSIV/10_1_Basin_Yayin_Faaliyetleri/10_1_7_Konusmalar/2006/orgyasarbuyukanitdvrtslkonusmasi_28082006.html, 28 August 2006, he later reiterated this opinion, see Yaşar Büyükanıt,"Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Yaşar Büyükanıt'ın Washington'da Yaptığı Konuşma", 14 Şubat 2007. http://www.tsk.mil.tr/10_ARSIV/10_1_Basin_Yayin_Faaliyetleri/10_1_7_Konusmalar/2007/gnkurbskwashingtonkonusmasi_14022007.html.

50 Yaşar Büyükanıt, "Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Yaşar Büyükanıt'ın 'Güvenliğin Yeni Boyutları ve Uluslar arası Örgütler' Konulu Sempozyum Açış Konuşması",31 May 2007, http://www.tsk.mil.tr/10_ARSIV/10_1_Basin_Yayin_Faaliyetleri/10_1_7_Konusmalar/2007/konusma_sempozyum31052007.htm.

51 *Bugünün ve Geleceğin Dünya Güç Merkezleri ve Türkiye'ye Etkileri*, Harp Akademileri Komutanlığı, Harp Akademileri Basımevi, İstanbul, May 1994, p. 53.

52 For example, see how Büyükanıt stresses the uncertainties in the context of the Middle East, the Balkans, the caucasus and Iran. , Yaşar Büyükanıt "Orgeneral Yaşar Büyükanıt'ın Genelkurmay Başkanlığı Devir Teslim…" 28 August 2006.

regions is a serious source of worry.[53] It is argued that there is a need to constantly evaluate what might happen in this geography in the future, as this is the very same geography where "history is filled with unpredictable events that make the nations suffer and from which one must learn."[54]

In the mid-1990s, one source asserts that when problem regions are the topic, what comes to mind are the Balkans, the Black Sea, the Caucasus, the Middle East, Eastern Mediterranean and the CIS. These regions are seen as having been problematic for a long time however, the problems of present day are seen as different from problems of the past. Firstly these regions have intra-regional problems. Second, these regions have problems with the rest of the world. In other words, the intra-regional problems of the countries in these regions somehow reflect on the world and have a significant impact on world politics; Turkey is at the crossroads of all these regions.[55]

A more recent source states that Turkey is located in a vitally important and challenging region with varying political regimes, religions, economic systems and military powers and that it rests at the intersection of the Black, Aegean and Mediterranean Seas as well as the Balkans, the Caucasus and the Middle East. These are regions known for political uncertainty, economic and social instabilities and terrorism.[56] The same regions are referred to in several texts with the emphasis being Turkey's "difficult geography". According to the military this geography demands that Turkey has complementary strong political, economic, technological, psychosocial and military elements of power.[57] The presence of a strong military is thus strongly advocated as a result of the instabilities and crisis of these regions. One source basically stated that if the neighborhood consists of undemocratic and unstable countries, or if the strategic position of the country is important, possession of strong armed forces is seen as a state necessity.[58]

As these regions are also of high importance to world powers, Turkey's geography and its neighbors have a considerable impact on her policies and Turkey has to interact with global

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[53] Hilmi Özkök, "Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Hilmi Özkök'ün Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri Şeref Madalyası ve Üstün Hizmet Madalyası Tevcih Töreni'nde Yaptıkları Konuşma", 24 August 2005,http://www.tsk.mil.tr/10_ARSIV/10_1_Basin_Yayin_Faaliyetleri/10_1_7_Konusmalar/2005/madalyatevcihtoreni_240805.html.

[54] Yaşar Büyükanıt, "Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Yaşar Büyükanıt'ın Harp Akademileri 2006-2007 Eğitim ve Öğretim Yılı Açılış Konuşması",2 October 2006, http://www.tsk.mil.tr/10_ARSIV/10_1_Basin_Yayin_Faaliyetleri/10_1_7_Konusmalar/2006/harpakademilerikonusmasi_02102006.html.

[55] *Bugünün ve Geleceğin…,* p. 53.

[56] *Turkish Armed Forces and the Defense Concept,* Mönch Türkiye Yayıncılık, Ankara, 1999, p. 2

[57] Hilmi Özkök, "Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Hilmi Özkök'ün Konuşması", 13 April 2004, http://www.tsk.mil.tr/10_ARSIV/10_1_Basin_Yayin_Faaliyetleri/10_1_6_Toplantilar/nisan2004/ana.htm

[58] *Dünya Jeopolitiği ve Türkiye*, Harp Akademileri Komutanlığı Yayınları, İstanbul, 2005, p. 100, Also see İlker Başbuğ, "Genelkurmay II nci Başkanı Orgeneral İlker BAŞBUĞ'un Açış Konuşması", Türkiye, Nato ve AB Perspektifinden Kriz Bölgelerinin İncelenmesi ve Türkiye'nin Güvenliğine Etkileri Sempozyumu, 27 May 2004, http://www.tsk.mil.tr/10_ARSIV/10_1_Basin_Yayin_Faaliyetleri/10_1_7_Konusmalar/2004/sempozyum_acis_konusmasi_240504.html, Hilmi Özkök, "Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Hilmi Özkök'ün…", 13 April 2004,

powers as well as regional powers.[59] It is interesting to see that one source approaches the issue of instabilities around Turkey skeptically and questions the destabilizing effects of the policies of the world powers on the countries situated in the "arch of crisis" as defined by Graham and Fuller.[60] Qualifying the global actors who are active in the global decision making mechanisms as the leading actors of security and stability of the world, big events that shake stability and balances in the world are seen as being caused by the clashing of these actors in several fields.[61] Turkey is seen in a geography of a constantly changing, complex security atmosphere, covering a fragile fault line between the East and the West. In this context the military also finds it challenging to maintain the positive image the Armed Forces have.[62]

Turkish military specifies two important events which deeply changed international relations, alliances, strategic thinking, the concept of "threat" and related to this, the concept of "security", at the end of the last two decades: the fall of the Berlin Wall and September 11th. The military questions whether these events resulted in the decreasing likelihood of an all out war between superpowers, in the ongoing significance of regional and ethnic-based wars and in the possibility that terrorist events, even through the use of WMDs, can take place anytime anywhere in the world.[63]

The military sees that "given the volatile and hard to predict state of the international security environment, in a most sensitive region of the world, in a geography of instabilities, Turkey has experienced expansion of its perceptions of threat. Regional and ethnic conflicts, political and economic instabilities, imbalance between the levels of welfare, WMDs, proliferation of long-range weapons, fundamentalism, illegal migration, drug and all sorts of arms trafficking have also fed terrorism, resulting in the expansion of the concept of threat." [64] One of the reasons why there has been a change in the perceptions of security is that the threat is no longer one-dimensional but is asymmetrical and multi-dimensional.[65] The new risks and threats have always appeared unpredictably and have no geographical or ethnic borders. Moreover, they have dynamic and flexible structures.[66] The concept of security shifted from the state security to regional and global

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59 Hilmi Özkök, "Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Hilmi Özkök'ün Harp Akademileri Komutanlığındaki Yıllık Değerlendirme Konuşması", 20 April 2005 http://www.tsk.mil.tr/10_ARSIV/10_1_Basin_Yayin_Faaliyetleri/10_1_7_Konusmalar/2005/yillikdegerlendirme_200405.html

60 Ergüder Toptaş, "Küresel Jeopolitik Yaklaşımlar, Avrasya ve Türkiye", *Silahlı Kuvvetler Dergisi*, No. 389. 2006, p. 7

61 Hilmi Özkök, "Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Hilmi Özkök'ün Harp Akademileri…", 20 April 2005

62 Hilmi Özkök, "Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Hilmi Özkök'ün Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri…" 24 August 2005

63 İlker Başbuğ, "Genelkurmay II nci Başkanı Orgeneral İlker BAŞBUĞ'un…", 27 May 2004

64 Yaşar Büyükanıt, "Orgeneral Yaşar Büyükanıt'ın Genelkurmay Başkanlığı Devir Teslim Töreni Konuşması", 28 August 2008, http://www.tsk.mil.tr/10_ARSIV/10_1_Basin_Yayin_Faaliyetleri/10_1_7_Konusmalar/2008/orgyasarbuyukanitdvrtslkonusmasi_28082008.html

65 "Harp Akademileri Komutanlığı'nda Güvenliğin Yeni Boyutları ve Uluslararası Örgütler Konulu Sempozyum Düzenlendi", *Silahlı Kuvvetler Dergisi,* No: 393, 2007, p. 11

66 Hilmi Özkök, "Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Hilmi Özkök'ün Terörüzmle Mücadele Mükemmeliyet Merkezi Açış Konuşması"28 June 2005,

security defined as international security.[67] Even in the case of NATO, paralleling the end of the Cold War, there have been changes in the security and threat conceptions: in the new NATO strategy, instead of the old unilateral massive threat, risks with political, economic, social and environmental dimensions and measures take precedence.[68]

In a speech in 2005, General Özkök stated that the Cold War paradigms were far from rendering solutions to risks and threats that negatively affect the internal stability and security of states. In his formulation, these threats and risks cover a wide range in both characteristics and variety. For Turkey in a difficult geography, these risks and threats were seen as ranging from asymmetrical to symmetrical, covering asymmetrical risks and threats such as separatist and fundamentalist movements, international terrorism, drug trafficking and illegal migration as well as symmetrical ones such as instabilities in neighboring countries, undesired entities in Northern Iraq, instabilities in the Caucasus, big blows aimed at Turkey's interests, the water issue and WMDs.[69] In a speech in 2006 General Büyükanıt stated that "those wonderful Cold War days when one could know, guess and manage everything are in the past. Nightmares of unpredictability, frozen conflicts, break down of the world power balances have taken over our horizon."[70]

The military sources often talk about the global character of the new threats and problems. The new world order is sometimes called a "disorder" or a "global chaos".[71] For the military today, in the global sense, peace and security are seen either everywhere or nowhere[72]. Even though the military categorizes threats as either internal threats, regional threats or global threats, it finds it necessary to assess them together.[73] What is important about the new problems faced is that they are global: wealth and poverty, migration and development, drugs, disarmament and environmental problems are all intertwined.[74] It is not rare to see the military authorities describe how poverty feeds separatist and radical religious movements, how rapid population growth causes unhealthy urbanization and internal migration, which brings several economic, social and

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http://www.tsk.mil.tr/10_ARSIV/10_1_Basin_Yayin_Faaliyetleri/10_1_7_Konusmalar/2005/tmmmacilis_280605.html

67 Hilmi Özkök, "Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Hilmi Özkök'ün Harp Akademileri…" 20 April 2005

68 "Yeni Dünya Düzeni, NATO'nun Stratejisinin Lojistiği Etkileyen Yönü", WWW.TSK.MİL.TR/4_ULUSLARARASI_ILISKILER/4_13_NATO_LOJİSTİGİ_KAPSAMİNDA_DEGİSEN_STRATEJİ_VE_KONSEPTLER/KONULAR/YENİ_DUNYA_DUZENİ_NATONUN_YENİ_STRATEJİSİNİN_LOJİSTİGİ_ETKİLEYEN_YONU.HTM

69 Hilmi Özkök, "Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Hilmi Özkök'ün Harp Akademileri…", 20 April 2005

70 Yaşar Büyükanıt, "Orgeneral Yaşar Büyükanıt'ın Genelkurmay Başkanlığı Devir…", 28 August 2006.

71 Ergüder Toptaş, "Dördüncü Nesil Savaş ve Etki Odaklı Harekât", *Silahlı Kuvvetler Dergisi*, No. 392, 2007, p. 59

72 İlker Başbuğ, "Genelkurmay II nci Başkanı Orgeneral Başbuğ'un Amerikan Türk Konseyinin 24 ncü Yıllık Toplantısı Konuşması", 6 June 2005, http://www.tsk.mil.tr/10_ARSIV/10_1_Basin_Yayin_Faaliyetleri/10_1_7_Konusmalar/2005/gnkurIIncibsk_atckonusmasi_060605.html

73 Yaşar Büyükanıt, "Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Yaşar Büyükanıt'ın 'Güvenliğin Yeni Boyutları…" 31 May 2007

74 *Bugünün ve Geleceğin…*,p. 30

cultural problems.[75] Globalization is often blamed for the emergence or worsening of some of these problems. For example, one source adheres to the argument that it is due to the effects of globalization that the nation-state has suffered loss of power and has been threatened by ethnic nationalism. Globalization is also said to have adverse effects on the economies of developing countries, making them more prone to macroeconomic instabilities as a result of foreign capital movements.[76]

The military sees the uncertainty that is inherent in instability as very problematic. Büyükanıt states that the degree to which we can be sure of the behaviors of our counterparts determines our trust or distrust of them.[77] When there is instability in a country and / or uncertainty about the future of a country, it is hard to build trust. The lack of certainty is always qualified as a risk, especially when coupled with capability.[78] Uncertainty is actually regarded as more dangerous than known threats. There are ways of countering known threats. However, the sources of uncertainty and instability are varied and may quickly turn into a crisis.[79] Two examples can account for the military's views on the uncertain character of a region suffering from instabilities: the case of the former Soviet Union territories in the immediate aftermath of the Cold War and the Middle East today.

Cases for the Turkish Military's Perception of Instability as an External Threat and Its Links to Terrorism

In the post-Cold War world, the Russian Federation was still accepted as a threat. Even though the Warsaw Pact dissolved, little had changed for Turkey. One source states that in the immediate aftermath of the Soviet Union's dissolution the Red Army and its Black Sea Navy survived with strong conventional and nuclear capabilities. The lack of clarity on who controlled this armed force was a risk in itself for Turkey.[80] Russia's economic instabilities which led former Soviet nuclear scientists to seek jobs elsewhere - possibly in the rogue states- was also perceived as a threat.[81]

Moreover, the instability arising from former Eastern bloc and the non-Russian successor states of the USSR became part of the larger picture of instability. One source stated that the Caucasus turned into a region where geopolitical and economic elements were used in a multilateral and multidimensional struggle: for example, the Russian Federation pressured Georgia into the Commonwealth of Independent States by exploiting ethnic issues.[82] When Georgia joined the CIS

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75 Hilmi Özkök, "Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Hilmi Özkök'ün Harp Akademileri…", 20 April 2005

76 For an elaborate evaluation of how globalization is viewed see Hüsamettin Sarı, "Küreselleşme", *Stratejik Araştırmalar Dergisi*, No. 11., 2008, p. 74-75

77 Yaşar Büyükanıt, " Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Sayın Yaşar Büyükanıt'ın Açış…", p. 10

78 Erdoğan Öznal, *Değişen Dünya Dengeleri…,* p.40

79 Erdoğan Öznal, *Değişen Dünya Dengeleri…,* p. 101

80 Erdoğan Öznal, *Değişen Dünya Dengeleri ve Türkiye'nin Jeo-Stratejik Önemi,* Ankara, T. C GenelKurmay Başkanlığı, 1992, p. 24-32

81 Hakan Arısüt, "Kitle İmha Silahları", *Silahlı Kuvvetler Dergisi*, No: 380, 2004, p. 53

82 *21nci Yüzyıla Girerken Dünya Düzeni*, Istanbul, T.C. Genelkurmay Başkanlığı Harp Akademileri Komutanlığı, 2000, p. 48

it concluded a military cooperation agreement with the Russian Federation resurrecting a Russian military presence along Turkey's border. Russia's pressures on Azerbaijan to become a CIS member and the Chechnya conflict were also seen as worrisome areas for Turkey.[83]

The Middle East, on the other hand, is seen as the address that has something to do with separatist and fundamentalist threats. The separatist and the fundamentalist threats are also seen as connected to instabilities in the region. Three of Turkey's eight land neighbors namely Iran, Iraq and Syria are in the region and all three of them have been subject to domestic and /or regional instabilities, revolutions, civil wars or intra-state wars for the past few decades at least. Syria used to have claims on the waters of the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers originating from Turkey, provided support to terrorism, and never recognized that Hatay belongs to Turkey since 1939. Iraq also had claims on the waters of the Euphrates River as well as the Tigris River. Moreover, the power vacuum in northern Iraq where separatist terrorist organization PKK found refuge, thereby intensifying its attacks on Turkish security forces and the civilians by crossing the border, thus poisoned the bilateral relations. Iran's attempts to export its Islamic fundamentalist regime, its support to terrorist organizations, and regional competition soured the relations as well. The threats to the domestic stability and external security of Turkey are seen as coming directly and indirectly from this region.[84] Moreover, among the regions which are sources of worry, the Middle East is the one with the densest presence of weapons of mass destruction, a region that the military especially keeps an eye on with worry.[85] It is no wonder that with all these three countries in the region, given their history of instabilities, international terrorism is the key point of worry. Moreover, the conflicts between Israel and Palestine and the stances taken by third parties vis-à-vis these conflicts are seen as factors in the emergence and development of international terrorism.[86]

Terrorism, among the new problems of the world which are highly affected by the global character of the new security environment, thus receives special attention by the Turkish military. "Today the concept of security has grown out of its contours of impact and interest based on time and distance. The areas of impact and interest related to terrorism have covered the entire world. Nowadays, no country has the luxury to remain indifferent to events that take place in distant corners of the world."[87] In the eyes of the military, globalization has brought terrorism into the international arena, as well as the goods, labor and capital.[88] As terrorism globalizes, so does the security of any country.[89] Within the framework of opportunities offered by globalization, terrorist

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83 *21nci Yüzyıla Girerken…*, p. 48-49

84 *21nci Yüzyıla Girerken…*,p. 44

85 "Kitle İmha Silahları", http://www.tsk.mil.tr/4_ULUSLARARASI_ILISKILER/4_20_Kitle_Imha_Silahlari/Kitle_Imha_Silahlari.htm

86 İlker Başbuğ, "Genelkurmay II nci Başkanı Orgeneral İlker BAŞBUĞ'un Açış…" 27 May 2004

87 Yaşar Büyükanıt, " Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Sayın Yaşar Büyükanıt'ın Açış Konuşması", 10 March 2008, *II. Uluslararası Sempozyum Bildirileri*, Terörle Mücadele Mükemmeliyet Merkezi, T. C Genelkurmay Başkanlığı, Ankara, 2008, p. 9, http://www.tmmm.tsk.mil.tr/anasayfa.htm

88 Hilmi Özkök, "Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Hilmi Özkök'ün Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri…" 24 August 2005

89 İlker Başbuğ, "Genelkurmay II nci Başkanı Orgeneral Başbuğ'un Amerikan…" 6 June 2005

organizations are seen as developing mafia style cooperation with transnational criminal organizations and thereby profit from their activities.[90]

In the context of terrorism, Iraq is often singled out in the most recent declarations as a country harboring great risks for Turkey. It is not only the current picture of an Iraq in instability, but also the bleak picture of the future of Iraq that worries Turkish military decision-makers.[91] There are several major issues for the Turkish army in terms of the instability in Iraq: the national unity of Iraq, the territorial integrity of Iraq, the secular nature of the regime in Iraq, the federal structure of the Iraqi state, the Turkmen populations in Iraq and the status of the city of Kirkuk. The territorial integrity of Iraq is seen as not only vital for the future of Iraq but also for the institution of stability in the entire region.[92] The military sees the issues of Northern Iraq and terrorism as inseparable from the issue of the unity of Iraq.[93] The instability in Iraq is such an important issue that the military sees the whole of Iraq as a problem and Northern Iraq as a problem.

History shows that instabilities in this country have results at the expense of Turkey's well-being: one source states that despite the existence of a legal agreement between Turkey and Iraq on Mosul oil, signed between the two countries after Iraq's independence in 1932, Turkey was not able to receive all of the 10% of the oil revenues it was entitled to because of the instabilities in Iraq between 1937-1941.[94]

For a long time now, the instabilities of the Middle East have been the focus of military thinking, especially the instabilities in Iraq, their aggravation of the PKK problem and the dire consequences for Turkey. For example a considerable number of weapons ended up in the hands of the PKK in 1988 when Barzani's forces — which were collaborating with Iran during the Iran-Iraq war —were attacked by Iraq.[95] The arrival of Iraqi Kurdish refugees in Turkey also destabilized the area in 1989.[96] The establishment of the no-fly zone along the 36th parallel in

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90 Ergin Saygun, "Genelkurmay II nci Başkanı Orgeneral Ergin Saygun'un Sempozyum Kapanış Konuşması", 11 March 2008, *II. Uluslararası Sempozyum Bildirileri*, Terörle Mücadele Mükemmeliyet Merkezi, T. C Genelkurmay Başkanlığı, Ankara, 2008, p. 212, http://www.tmmm.tsk.mil.tr/anasayfa.htm

91 See İlker Başbuğ, "Genelkurmay II nci Başkanı Orgeneral İlker BAŞBUĞ tarafından…" 2 November 2004, İlker Başbuğ, "Genelkurmay II nci Başkanı Orgeneral Başbuğ'un Konuşması", 8 July 2004, http://www.tsk.mil.tr/10_ARSIV/10_1_Basin_Yayin_Faaliyetleri/10_1_6_Toplantilar/temmuz2004/ana.html, İlker Başbuğ, "Genelkurmay II nci Başkanı Orgeneral İlker BAŞBUĞ tarafından, 26 Ocak 2005 tarihinde Genelkurmay Karargâhında icra edilen basın toplantısı", 26 January 2005, http://www.tsk.mil.tr/10_ARSIV/10_1_Basin_Yayin_Faaliyetleri/10_1_6_Toplantilar/ocak2005/ana.html

92 İlker Başbuğ, "Türkiye, NATO ve AB Perspektifinden Kriz Bölgelerinin İncelenmesi ve Türkiye'nin Güvenliğine Etkileri Sempozyumu, Genelkurmay II. Başkanı Orgeneral İlker Başbuğ'un Açış Konuşması", 27 May 2004, http://www.tsk.tr/10_ARSIV/10_1_Basin_Yayin_Faaliyetleri/10_1_7_Konusmalar/2004/sempozyum_acis_konusmasi_240504.html

93 Yaşar Büyükanıt,"Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Yaşar Büyükanıt'ın Washington'da…", 14 February 2007

94 Fatma İlhan, "Musul Meselesine Kısa bir Bakış ve Günümüze Yansımaları", *Silahlı Kuvvetler Dergisi,* No: 383, 2005, p. 105.

95 *Şeyh Said İsyanı ve PKK.* Istanbul: T. C. Genelkurmay Başkanlığı, Harp Akademileri Komutanlığı. 2000, p. 166

96 *Şeyh Said İsyanı…,* p. 169

Northern Iraq is seen as the first major attempt towards establishing an autonomous Kurdish region reminiscent of the Treaty of Sevres.[97]

According to the military, in the fight against PKK terrorism, there have been some important thresholds: the first one was the first Gulf War, comprising the period between 1991 and 2003, the second one was the Second Gulf War, comprising the period between 2003 and 2007. The PKK, which was in decline before the first Gulf War, gained a wide safe haven in Northern Iraq at the end of the war. At the end of the second Gulf War, the PKK again profited from the atmosphere of chaos in the region, acquired high numbers of weapons and explosives and got extensive support from the region. As a result, there has been an increase in terrorism incidents in Turkey, especially in incidents that included the usage of explosives. The 3rd threshold is determined to be the current period elapsing on November 28th 2007 when the military was authorized to carry out trans-border operations.[98] These trans-border operations are a direct result of the instabilities and the lack of authority in this region.

For the near future, a possible civil war in Iraq resulting from oil issues in Kirkuk, it is thought will also have a seriously adverse impact on Turkey.[99] Both the breaking up of Iraq into ethnic based regions and the ongoing chaos in Iraq are seen as lose-lose scenarios for all parties involved. Territorial integrity of Iraq is seen as a matter for regional stability.[100] A change in the demographics of the city of Kirkuk is seen as a serious security problem for Turkey and it is stated that for the stability of the region it is best that this is well understood by the parties involved. The military believes the solution is in granting Kirkuk a special status.[101] The military sees that taking any wrong steps in the case of Kirkuk risks dragging Iraq into a civil war which will eventually have consequences for the internal security of Turkey. Given the fact that most conflicts in today's world are based on material benefits, the existence of rich oil reserves in Kirkuk, especially with the demographic changes in the structure of Kirkuk, are seen as worrisome. Kirkuk resources make up 12% of all oil resources of Iraq. The military thinks that if the income from these resources is not used on the basis of equity for all the Iraqi population, and rather for the benefit of a single ethnic group, this will create serious conflicts of interest at the least for Iraq and for its surrounding region.[102]

There is yet another area of concern emerging from the Middle East: the concept of the "moderate Islam model" within the frames of the Greater Middle East and North Africa Project. In the early 1980s, the instability created by the Iranian Revolution and the activities of Iran to

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97 Sami Uzun, "Körfez Krizi, Orta Doğu ve Türkiye", *Silahlı Kuvvetler Dergisi*, No. 330, 1991, p. 23

98 Yaşar Büyükanıt, "Orgeneral Yaşar Büyükanıt'ın Genelkurmay Başkanlığı Devir-Teslim Töreni konuşması", 28 August, 2008, http://www.tsk.tr/10_ARSIV/10_1_Basin_Yayin_Faaliyetleri/10_1_7_Konusmalar/2008/orgyasarbuyukanitdvrtslkonusmasi_28082008.html, accessed May 26th, 2009

99 İlker Başbuğ, "Genelkurmay II nci Başkanı Orgeneral İlker BAŞBUĞ tarafından…" 2 November 2004

100 İlker Başbuğ, "Genelkurmay II nci Başkanı Orgeneral Başbuğ'un…" 8 July, 2004

101 İlker Başbuğ, "Genelkurmay II. Başkanı Orgeneral İlker Başbuğ'un…", 8 July 2004

102 İlker Başbuğ, " Genelkurmay II. Başkanı Orgeneral İlker Başbuğ tarafından 08 Temmuz 2004 tarihinde Genelkurmay Karargahında icra edilen basın toplantısı Soru-Cevap Bölümü", http://www.tsk.tr/10_ARSIV/10_1_Basin_Yayin_Faaliyetleri/10_1_6_Toplantilar/temmuz2004/2004_temmuz_soru_cevap.htm

export Islam to Turkey were seen as threats for Turkey. Today, since September 11th attacks, given the assumption that a relationship exists between radical Islamic ideology and terrorism, a model of moderate Islam for democratization of the countries in the region is often addressed internationally as a way out. The Turkish military finds this situation to be destabilizing for a secular Turkey. In a nutshell, what is seen as a formula to get rid of some of the instabilities in the Middle East can be destabilizing for Turkey. Warnings are made that a shift from the moderate to radical is just as possible as a shift from the radical to moderate[103] and that it would be misleading to deduce that countries with Muslim populations can easily turn democratic by showing Turkey as an example.[104]

Conclusion

The following points summarize the contours of military's thinking on regional instability:

- Turkey is in a "difficult" geography and is adversely influenced in many ways from the instabilities of her neighborhood.
- The Cold War paradigm cannot be an answer to today's asymmetrical and varied security risks and threats. New types of threats and risks have emerged. A new definition of threat is needed. Security threats are now global. Security threats are also multidimensional.
- In Turkey's neighborhood, the new types of threats and risks are especially dangerous.
- Terrorism, as a phenomenon, is at the very center of the new threats and risks. Terrorism is also fed by instabilities and the new risks and threats created by the post Cold War era. Terrorism is an instrument of destabilization.
- The role that is apparently cast for Turkey in the West to find a way out of the so-called "Clash of Civilizations", as a "moderate Islamic country", is a result of the instabilities in her region. Yet, this kind of labels are strongly opposed by especially the secular circles in Turkey, and it is argued that such a formula has great potential for creating instability within Turkey being a secular and democratic republic by its Constitution.
- Globalization as a phenomenon exacerbates the effects of these new risks and threats. In a global world, one cannot escape from security risks even in far away regions of the world, so instabilities in other regions also have negative effects on security.

How do these points influence the foreign policy approaches of the military? Three major concluding remarks follow:

First of all, the military acknowledges that the marginalization of countries from the international system provokes instabilities and also finds it dangerous to use political instabilities of a country or countries as an instrument of political interest.[105] "Stability" is seen as the basis of

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[103] İlker Başbuğ, "Genelkurmay II nci Başkanı Orgeneral Başbuğ'un Amerikan…", 6 June 2005

[104] Hilmi Özkök, "Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Hilmi Özkök'ün Harp Akademileri…", 20 April 2005

[105] Yaşar Büyükanıt, "Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Yaşar Büyükanıt'ın 'Güvenliğin Yeni Boyutları…" 31 May 2007

security perceptions of countries: in this sense, international organizations are regarded as institutions with overlapping areas of activity and as complementary to each other for stability.[106] Whatever the motivation for establishment, creation of stability is deemed as one of the most important functions of international organizations.[107] Even NATO developed its relations with the countries of Eastern Europe, the Caucasus, Central Asia, the Balkans and the Middle East in an attempt to expand the area of stability in the early 1990s as well as developing its mission and its military capabilities.[108] These are the very regions that suffer from power vacuums and this situation worsens global uncertainties. Alongside the international organizations, stable regional powers also help for stability. The role of Turkey as a stable regional power and its contribution to regional stability at the very center of this newly forming political geography is often addressed by the military in this sense.[109] Alongside the instabilities of the regions surrounding Turkey, the stability of Turkey is also addressed as an asset for the neighboring countries. Should Turkey destabilize, just like a stone thrown into a pond, this situation would create effects in larger waves and Turkey's neighbors would have to face its consequences.[110]

Secondly, in the international arena the military enters into more cooperation. The military acknowledges that no problem area is limited to only two countries.[111] Conscious of the fact that the security of any country is dependent upon establishing, preserving and increasing regional stability, the Armed Forces have engaged in increasingly more military education cooperation, partnerships for peace, organization of international peace forces and support for peacekeeping operations.[112] It has actively taken part in peacekeeping operations in places of instability such as Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan, and Lebanon as well as served in observer missions in some

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[106] Yaşar Büyükanıt, "Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Yaşar Büyükanıt'ın 'Güvenliğin Yeni Boyutları…" 31 May 2007

[107] Yaşar Büyükanıt, "Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Yaşar Büyükanıt'ın 'Güvenliğin Yeni Boyutları…" 31 May 2007

[108] Hilmi Özkök, "Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Hilmi Özkök'ün İpek Yolu Semineri- 2006 General-Amiral Semineri'nde Yaptıkları Konuşma", 3 July 2006, http://www.tsk.mil.tr/10_ARSIV/10_1_Basin_Yayin_Faaliyetleri/10_1_7_Konusmalar/2006/ipekyolusemineri_03072006.html

[109] For example see Hilmi Özkök, "Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Hilmi Özkök'ün TSK Şeref ve Üstün Hizmet Madalyası Tevcih Töreni'nde Yaptıkları Konuşma", 23 August 2006, http://www.tsk.mil.tr/10_ARSIV/10_1_Basin_Yayin_Faaliyetleri/10_1_7_Konusmalar/2006/tskserefveustunhizmetmadalyasi_23082006.html

[110] İlker Başbuğ, "Genelkurmay II nci Başkanı Orgeneral İlker BAŞBUĞ tarafından, 02 Kasım 2004 tarihinde Genelkurmay Karargahında icra edilen basın toplantısı", , 2 November 2004 http://www.tsk.mil.tr/10_ARSIV/10_1_Basin_Yayin_Faaliyetleri/10_1_6_Toplantilar/kasim2004/ana.html

[111] Yaşar Büyükanıt, "Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Yaşar Büyükanıt'ın Harp Akademileri…" 2 October 2006.

[112] "Türk Silahlı Kuvvetlerinin Bölge Barışına Yaklaşımı", www.tsk.mil.tr/4_ULUSLARARASI_ILISKILER/4_6_Turkiyenin_Barisi_Destekleme_Harekatina_Katkilari/konular/Turk_Silahli_Kuvvetlerinin_Bolge_Barisina_Yaklasimi.htm
Also see "Akdeniz Diyaloğu", http://www.tsk.mil.tr/4_ULUSLARARASI_ILISKILER/4_10_Akdeniz_Diyalogu/Akdeniz_Diyalogu.htm

others.[113] Today, Turkey is a country whose participation in peacekeeping missions is often sought by the international organizations. Turkey is seen as playing a key role for over 50 years in establishing stability and security in her region, which is one of the most problematic of Eurasia and of the world. Thus in the post-Cold War world, Turkey favored entering into security dialogues with many countries of her region.[114] The military refers to the globalization of threat perceptions and iterates its belief in international cooperation arguing that concrete results for international peace, security and stability can only be achieved by those who act in cooperation.[115] Lack of cooperation results in uncertainty and creates suitable ground for terrorism.[116] A common understanding against new types of threats is key for countering these threats and providing a relative stability in international relations.[117]

Thirdly, post-1990s foreign policy perspectives of the military put the emphasis on the international connection of domestic threats. The military admits it cannot downsize even though the primary adversary of the Cold War is now gone.[118] One of the reasons why the military cannot downsize can be attributed to surrounding instabilities and the perception of threat created by the instabilities as an external threat. Instability is a threat because it creates the right political climate from which all other threats can spring. When instabilities are perceived as threats, what is domestic and what is international becomes blurred given the above explained dynamics between domestic and regional instabilities. The military feels it can no longer focus on only existing threats but focuses also on potential threats. Without understanding this situation, the increased role of the military in foreign policy making in the aftermath of the Cold War cannot be fully understood.

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[113] For a complete list of the Turkish Military participation to international missions, see "TSK Barışı Destekleme Harekatına Katkıları", www.tsk.mil.tr/4_ULUSLARARASI_ILISKILER/4_6_Turkiyenin_Barisi_Destekleme_Harekatina_Katkilari/konular/Turk_Silahli_%20Kuvvetlerinin_Barisi_Destekleme_Harekatina_Katkilari.htm

[114] Hilmi Özkök, "Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Hilmi Özkök'ün Eurasian Star 2004 Tatbikatı Açış Konuşması", 16 June, 2004, http://www.tsk.mil.tr/10_ARSIV/10_1_Basin_Yayin_Faaliyetleri/10_1_7_Konusmalar/2004/Eurasian_star_04_konusmasi_160604.html, accessed 13 September 2008

[115] Hilmi Özkök, "Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Hilmi Özkök'ün İpek Yolu Semineri- 2006 General-Amiral Semineri'nde Yaptıkları Konuşma", 3 July 2006, http://www.tsk.mil.tr/10_ARSIV/10_1_Basin_Yayin_Faaliyetleri/10_1_7_Konusmalar/2006/ipekyolusemineri_03072006.html

[116] Hilmi Özkök, "Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Hilmi Özkök'ün Uluslararası Sempozyum Açış Konuşması", 23 March 2006, http://www.tsk.mil.tr/10_ARSIV/10_1_Basin_Yayin_Faaliyetleri/10_1_7_Konusmalar/2006/sempozyumkonusmasi_23032006.html

[117] Ergin Saygun, " Genelkurmay II nci Başkanı Orgeneral Sayın Ergin Saygun'un Sempozyum Kapanış Konuşması", 1 June 2007, http://www.tsk.mil.tr/10_ARSIV/10_1_Basin_Yayin_Faaliyetleri/10_1_7_Konusmalar/2007/kapanis_konusma_sempozyum01062007.htm

[118] Hilmi Özkök, "Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral Hilmi Özkök'ün Harp Akademileri…", 20 April 2005

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