INTERNATIONAL SECURITY POLITICS:

THE CONTRIBUTION OF INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATIONS IN TURKEY'S SECURITY POLICIES

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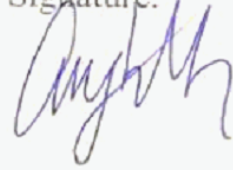[Prof. Ümit Konya] [İstanbul University]

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ABSTRACT

Intelligence is a method that states have been using for a long time as a direct or indirect instrument to ensure their security. Although intelligence data have been collected in the historical process by different people in many different ways, the area of intelligence has been professionalized over time and has turned into an element that experts determine the state's security strategies.

There are many parameters for state survival. One of these parameters, probably the most important, is security. Security can be ensured in numerous different ways. There are many methods for states to ensure their security such as military investments and armament, economic empowerment, alliances, and taking place in the current balance of power in the international area. Among these methods, as well, is intelligence services. Intelligence has an important place in state policies, future plans as well as instant security measures.

This dissertation is designed to investigate the effects of intelligence activities on state security and whether they have a role in shaping state policies. In addition, the question of which intelligence types are effective in state security policies will be tackled.

Key Words: Security, Intelligence, Turkey

ÖZET

İstihbarat devletlerin çok uzun süreden beridir kullandığı ve güvenliğini doğrudan ya da dolaylı olarak sağlamak için araç haline getirdiği bir metoddur. Tarihte istihbarat bilgileri bir çok şekilde ve kişi tarafından toplanmış olsa da zamanla istihbarat profesyonelleşmiş ve bu alanda uzman kişilerin elinde devletin güvenlik stratejilerini belirleyen bir element olmuştur.

Devletlerin varlıklarını devam ettirebilmelerinin bir çok parametresi mevcuttur. Bu parametrelerden birisi belki de en önemlisi güvenliktir. Güvenlik bir çok şekilde sağlanabilmektedir. Askeri yatırımlar ve silahlanma, ekonomik olarak güçlenme, kurulan ittifaklar, mevcut güç dengesine yer almak gibi devletin güvenliğini sağlayabileceği bir çok yöntem mevcuttur. Bu yöntemlerden birisi de istihbarat sağlanmasıdır. İstihbarat hem devletin politikasında hem gelecekte geliştireceği planlarda hem de anlık uygulayacakları önleyici güvenlik tedbirlerinde öenmli bir yere sahiptir.

Bu tezde istihbarat faaliyetlerinin devlet güvenliğine etkileri ve devletin politikalarında şekillendirici rol alıp almadığı sorusuna cevap aranacaktır. Bununla birlikte, hangi istihbarat çeşitlerinin devletin güvenlik politikalarında nasıl etkili olduğu sorusu da cevaplanmaya çalışılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Güvenlik, İstihbarat, Türkiye

To my wife,

Gülay GİRAY

I am primarily grateful to my wife Gülay Giray who has always stood right beside me.

Secondly, I would like to extend my sincerest thanks and appreciation to my father M. Alaettin FIRILDAK to my mother Aysel FIRILDAK, to my sister Deniz ÖZKAN, to my brothers and sisters Yavuz, Sema, Barbaros FIRILDAK and to my wife Gülay, to my daughter Aysel Deniz, to my sons Mehmet, Oğulcan and Giray.

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2. **What is Security?**

The concept of security is a phenomenon that human beings are surrounded with from birth to end of their life. From this perspective, security is an indispensable and unignorable obligation – a *sine qua non* for human survival and continuation of life.

Individuals need security from the moment they are born. Although this need is met by others initially, individuals become incumbered with the security of themselves, their families and properties as they grow up. Individuals take measures according to how concerned they are with their security and put into practice these measures when necessary (Dedeoğlu, 2003, p. 9).

During the hunter-gatherer era, people fulfilled their need for security by using various caves as shelter and providing security for each other. During this period, the level of security concern was rather high, and people used caves and protected areas to ensure their security against outsider threats. After the humanity adopted the sedentary life, people started to build houses and surround them with fences in order to ensure their security.

During the feudal period, on the other hand, it can be observed that the administrative system was predominantly based on the concept of security. The basic dynamic of the system was to ensure security of inhabitants of a country, lords, the

king and the country: Knights were tasked with the protection of serfdom, these knights were reporting to lords who covered their expenditures and kings demanded soldiers from lords when necessary for the security of the country.

Approaching towards the Modern Age, it is observed that individuals transferred a part of their rights and particularly the right to use force to the state within the framework of a social contract in return for their security. In light of this information, another noteworthy point about security is that its origin is a social contract. In case individuals' security cannot be ensured by the state, to whom they transfer their rights by a social contract, then they had the right to change the leader or the person using their rights by state power according to the social contract that had been formed by scholars. The state started to gather the power of the coercion apparatus in this period. On the other hand, the responsibilities of the state increased in proportion its power. Contrary to the feudal age, the state now had to ensure the security of its citizens at home without intermediaries (such as lords) in addition to keeping a permanent army against external threats. This was also a period when tax collection was under the monopoly of the state. Taxes were collected through a single method by the state center under full responsibility of the state.

Erol Mütercimler defines security as the ability of a society to protect its unity and independence against threats (Mütercimler, 2001, p. 18). On the other hand, the definition of security varies according to different viewpoints. Global viewpoints and national viewpoints towards security, thus, are different from each other in terms importance attributed to the concept of security. Therefore, it is crucial to define security in its broadest term for better comprehension.

As mentioned before, security is a must for state survival. In other words, a state has to attribute great importance to its security in order maintain its existence (Püsküllüoğlu, 1995, p. 497). It is rather challenging and controversial for a state to continue its survival if that state does not prioritize its security or is foreign-dependent when it comes to state security.

From another perspective, security cannot be considered only as state security. Security is closely related with and vital for citizens of a state with regard to having a functional legal system where individuals can live without any fear (Püsküllüoğlu, 1995, p. 497).

What states primarily understood from security in the new order emerging after the end of the Cold War was avoiding direct invasion by other states. Accordingly, security was now associated with freedom from threat perception in individual life. States took precautions against external threats and continued to ensure security, while the strict security understanding of the Cold War era started to fade away.

The period when states monopolized the instruments of tax collection and use of force was followed by adoption of the idea that state was the strongest entity and individuals did not have any chance to stand against the state power. After the end of the Cold War, however, this understanding changed and evolved into a system where individuals were prioritized, and their rights were protected under a legal order. Un this system, the state is responsible to ensure the security of both itself and the citizens living in the country (Altıntaş, 1998, s. 7).

The concept of security was re-shaped and re-tackled after the Cold War. A new understanding of security emerged with re-conceptualization and re-definition. The security and threat perceptions were not anymore accepted as clear and fixed concepts. Rather, they turned into concepts that were shaped, built and consolidated by state policies (Baldwin, 2004, s. 5).

Security, with its changing definition after the Cold War, became too large to be dealt with solely by its military dimension. In this regard, security was accepted as a whole and consisted of economic, political, individual security, cyber security and social security.

2.1. Security Dimensions

Security has different meanings for each period. The definition of security changes according to the conditions and threats of the period and states or individuals shape their understanding of security according to this definition. On the other hand, actors are also significant in terms of security in addition to the circumstances of a period. Since security or threat perception is different to each actor, definition of security varies according to the actors of a system as well.

Security is generally accepted as developing behaviors of protection against foreigners or others who are not accepted by the society. As per actors, security means protection against other actors by being stronger or staying away from them. In this sense, security has been perceived differently by each theory and approach (Dedeoğlu, 2003, p. 55).

Yet, security is not a unidimensional concept. It has many dimensions such as economy, military, psychology and union of forces as well as using these dimensions together.

Accordingly, it is necessary to start with the pure understanding of security as its first dimension. In this context, military is the first dimension of security meaning protection against foreign elements or threats. The second dimension of security is coalition among actors and unions for common interests. The third security dimension is economic which as important at least as military dimension in the developing and globalizing world. the last security dimension, on the other hand, is the psychological dimension which has become growingly important with the spread of mass communication and social media organs.

2.1.1. Military Dimension

The military dimension of security has changed over time and is the fundamental dimension of state security determined by long-term policies. From this perspective, the security understanding has shown recurrent changes in every century from the 18th century onwards. The last change of the 20th century, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, marked the beginning of a new change in the 21st century in the perceived security threats all over the world. Threats from armed groups, terrorist organizations and cyber-attacks have prevailed in the 21st century rather than threats that may come from countries.

In other words, security was attributed new meanings and importance while changing the definition of its military dimension. "Hack the Air Force 3.0" initiated by the US Air Forces can be given as an example to the newly developing security understanding and definition (Hack the Air Force 3.0, 2018). In this initiative, the US Air Forces invited ethical hackers to find the vulnerabilities in the US Air Forces systems. This was both to increase the security of the system and a demonstration that the US Air Forces trusted their own system and took the courage to take security measures. On the other hand, this initiative also started to change the security understanding of the US Air Forces. Used only operationally to bombard targets and support ground attacks in the 20th century, the Air Forces started to work on the field of cyber security in the 21st century together with the changing and transforming security understanding. A larger and more comprehensive version of this initiative was "Hack the Pentagon" program carried out by the US Secretary of Defense in 2016. Established with the fundamental duty of military security, even Pentagon updated itself in light of new security perspectives and threats, while prioritizing security against cyber-attacks. The importance attributed by the US Secretary of Defense to "Hack the Pentagon" program can be seen in the fact that 1 million US dollars was spent in this program (Ferdinando, 2016).

As a result, the military dimension as one of the various security dimensions has started to change with increasing momentum. In addition to the fact that it is still a basic dimension of security, the diversification of the military dimension further increased its importance.

2.1.2. Coalitions or Alliances Based on Common Interests

Coalitions and alliances for a common objective have become important after security threats started to diversify. In this context, it is important to have knowledge on the concept of balance of power, which was established at 1815 Congress of Vienna to ensure security of the actors against common threats by forming a certain order. These coalitions and alliances formed in the 19th century to ensure balance of power continued in the first quarter of the 20th century with World War I. In 1945, the end of World War I marked the beginning of the Cold War and various countries of the world had to form alliances to ensure their security against the two camps of the polarized world. In the 21st century, finally, alliances as the second dimension of security were established against terrorist organizations and groups that waged terrorist attacks.

Although the definition of security and threats have changed over the years, the formation of coalitions and partnerships has not changed the definition of security or threats. Countries have not given up on forming alliances and partnerships despite the fact that they have changed their coalition partners according to the changing security and threat perceptions.

As the diversity and number of threats and threat perceptions of countries increase, these countries struggle in providing their own security alone. It is for this reason that countries are building alliances. Given the difficulty of ensuring security in every field in a globalized world, countries are building coalitions and partnerships to guarantee their own security. These coalitions and partnerships consist the second dimension of security.

2.1.3.Psychological Warfare and Intelligence Dimension

In today's globalizing world, countries and their citizens are more exposed to mass communication. Written materials were of great importance in the 19th and 20th centuries. Particularly throughout the 20th century, newspapers were able to penetrate all areas of life and make a major impact. With the spread of radio and television in the world, it became easier to penetrate and direct and control people's thoughts.

In other words, the 20th century was marked by the fact that countries occasionally applied the method of deliberate misleading the required information for certain purposes.

In the 21st century, social media has started to be widely used, which has increased the level of access to information. With this increase, on the other hand, it has become easier to direct people by means of various data. Countries and their intelligence agencies are actively working in the field of data collection and processing in order to direct information that is related to their land's security.

It is also important to note that the rapid dissemination of information on social media has provided countries with the opportunity to spread misleading information and establish psychological superiority with this information. Countries have also had the opportunity to easily guide those who are less educated and do not need to confirm the information, but only get informed through limited social media content.

2.1.4. Economic Dimension

In the globalizing world, the economies of countries have also become interconnected. Although the economies that have opened to foreign countries have made use of benefits when their coalitions with other countries have been strong, this has also led to external dependence. Foreign-source dependency is of great importance for the security of countries as well. In the event of any negativity that is against country interests, certain economic instruments may be used to cause fluctuation in another country's market and currency as well as interfering with the country's fiscal and economic policies.

The countries that have the power of international finance or at least direct a part of international finances take hold of economic power, which is one of the hard powers that are defined so far. These countries take their power from production and they have two basic advantages in ensuring their security against the others that do not produce or make partial production at home: The first of these advantages is that they determine the pricing of products since they are the producers. Secondly, they can buy large amounts of goods from the markets of other countries, which do not make value-added production, and affect prices upwards and downwards since they are the predominant manufacturers of value-added products. An example to this situation is the Turkish economy after World War II. At that time when Europe's agricultural production collapsed, Turkey produced and exported large amounts of agricultural products to Europe and thereby, prices increased while people got richer. Nevertheless, this production

was not with added-value, thus the prices were started to be determined again by Europe as the buyer after a short while. The prices that increased rapidly when Europe's demand increased, decreased rapidly when the demands decreased, and this put the Turkish economy's security into danger.

2.2. Types of Security

The concept of security gained an international dimension starting during World War I and completing with World War II. Followed by these two wars, the era of Cold War was also a time when security gained international characteristics and became more visible, while states took security as their core principle in determining their foreign policies. After the end of the Cold War, security changed its dimension once again and adopted a new meaning by taking and maintaining its place in the international area. During the course of the Cold War, countries determined their foreign policies on the basis of their static security parameters as well as intelligence and security information of the leaders of the block they were a part of. After the end of the Cold War, however, countries started to comprehend and comply with the changing security understanding from a different perspective.

In this context, the 21st century marked the time when the dimensions and types of security started to change shape. The classical security understanding that focused only on state security during the Cold War started to incorporate human and social security from the 21st century onwards.

In the geopolitical theories put forward during the Cold War, it was predicted that the state that won the Cold War would be the absolute hegemon in the world and in international relations. Most of these theories were proven wrong in the 21st century, and although the US remained the greatest power, it could not establish its hegemony over the world. After the first decade of the 21st century, the concept of multi-polarity has started to be expressed more frequently and the concept of security has shifted to a new dimension.

With the introduction of the concept of global security, the meaning, dimension and scope of security have been expanded. State security has started to be tackled at different levels rather than only at the level of static Cold War structure. In other words, the security understanding focused only on military during the Cold War, while non-military areas were included within the scope of security in the beginning of the 21st century. As it will be elaborated in the next chapter, constructivists had a major role in the stratification of security.

With this new approach, the concept of security in international relations has started to be evaluated from different perspectives that include:

- global security,
- space security,
- international security,
- security of geographical or functional sub-systems (regional security)
- state security,
- social security,

- security of social sub-groups,

- individual security.

2.2.1. Global Security

Global security is shaped around new threats that directly concern all of the humanity regardless of the country. The most important issue in the concept of global security is global warming. Today, global warming is the biggest threat to the humanity. In addition to global warming, other factors that threaten global security include increased carbon monoxide in the atmosphere, ozone depletion, persistent organic pollutants (POPs), destruction of forests, desertification, excessive use of the world's limited resources such as oil and natural gas, and environmental pollution (Baylis, Smith, & Owens, 2005, pp. 452-475).

2.2.2. Space Security

Currently, commuting to the space has become very frequent and the space has been accepted as "no man's land". In this period, all countries try to use space and the space vacuum within the limitation of their means. While developed countries work on colonizing the space and conduct space researches, developing or underdeveloped countries use space to place their satellites. In this regard, space security can be defined as protection against possible threats with regard to use of space (Jaramillo, 2010, p. 1).

2.2.3. International Security

International security is related to the issues of threats, competition and cooperation between two states or larger groups of states. The scope of international security usually includes energy security, trust, development of security-enhancing measures, disarmament activities, military cooperation, and taking part in collective security systems (Çelikpala, 2014).

2.2.4. Regional Security

This can be defined according to geographical formations such as the Middle East or North Atlantic security, as well as functional security such as NATO or EU CSDP (European Union Common Security and Defense Policy) security. In other words, this is the security understanding that is oriented towards ensuring the security of a certain region (NATO, 2019).

2.2.5. State Security

Although diversified according to the classical understanding of the Cold War, state security is protection by a state of itself against all threats. However, with the diversification and expansion of the threat elements in the 21st century, it has become very difficult for states to ensure their security (Yorulmaz, 2014, pp. 105-110).

2.2.6. Social Security

Social security has entered the literature in the 21st century with a changing and stratifying understanding of security.

	Universal Security
UPPER LAYER OF SECURITY	Space Security
	Global Security
ACTOR LEVEL	-International Security -Regional Security -State Security -Social Security -Security of Sub-groups
INDIVIDUAL	Individual Security
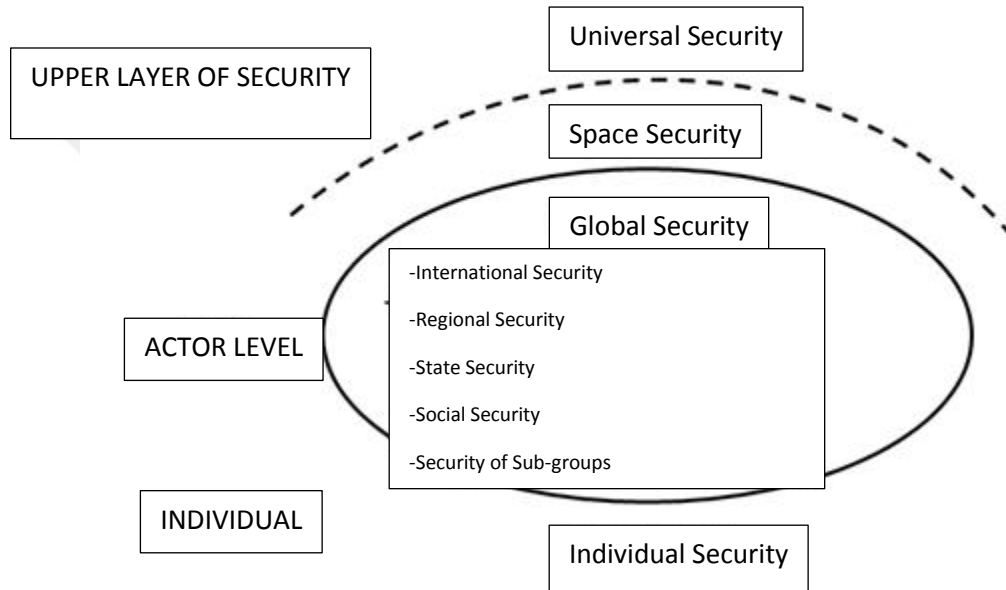
Human (individual) security is a human-centered approach to global security, which argues that sustainable peace and social justice can only be achieved by protecting individuals' rights and needs from risks (Brauch, 2008, pp. 2-11). Major human security risks include violence, violation of human rights and women's rights, poverty, hunger, and the inability to benefit from basic services education and health (Ergüven, 2016, pp. 814-818).

Pressures to expand or update the concept of security come from two sources: The first is that problems related to the conventional military-focused security have increased tremendously over the years. It is widely acknowledged that an ever-increasing arming capacity cannot provide the same degree of

security increase. Furthermore, the economic burden brought by this armament race has reached unbearable levels, which has led to these problems of military-focused security understanding (Çetinkaya, 2013). Secondly, pressures have come from requests to include other subject areas than military within the scope of security. Indeed, the daily threats to the lives and welfare of most people and nations are very different from what the traditional military perspective claims. In most of the world, security threats no longer come from militaries, but from economic collapse, political repression, famine, overpopulation, ethnic separations, destruction of nature, terrorism, crime and diseases (Booth, 2003, p. 59).

Scope of Security

Scope	Origin	Type
Military	State-led	* War (Conventional, Nuclear) * War-like Operations * Low Intensity Battles * Peacekeeping Operations * State Terror, Disruptive Activities * Implicit Operations / Activities * Armament / Weapons Control
	Non-state actors	* Terror

		* Guerrilla Activities
		* Civil War
Non-military	Political	* Coercive Diplomacy
		* Controlling
		* Shaping the Security Environment
	Economic	* Economic Sanctions (Embargo, etc.)
		* Energy Security
		* Foreign Debt-Finance Games
		* Economic Depression, Unemployment
		* Poverty, Scarcity, Hunger
	Social	* Missionary
		* Violations of Women and Human Rights
		* Ethnic and Religious Conflicts
		* Population Growth, Brain Drain, Children
		* Cultural Degeneration

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		* Identity Problems
		* Racial Discrimination
		* Sexual Issues (Homosexuality, etc.)
		* Urbanization
	Environmental	* Environmental pollution
		* Ozone Depletion, Acid Rain
		* Global Warming, Submarine Resources
		* Destruction of Forests
		* Desertification, Biodiversity
		* Harmful Chemicals
	Health	* Diseases (AIDS, Cancer, etc.)
		* Migration, Nutrition
		* Displaced People / Refugees
		* Water and Water Pollution
	Natural Disasters	* Flood (Tsunami)
		* Earthquake

		* Hurricane (Tornado, etc.)
		* Volcano Eruptions
		* Fires
		* Space Objects
	Accidents	* Transportation Accidents
		* Building Accidents
		* Industrial Accidents
		* Personal Injuries
	Crimes	* Narcotics
		* Ordinary Crimes (Murder, etc.)
		* Internet Crimes

(Yılmaz, 2007, p. 210)

In the post-Cold War era, the conventional threat largely fell off the agenda.
On the other hand, asymmetric security threats and risks came to the foreground in
the international agenda including terrorism, regional instabilities, separatist micro
and ethnic nationalism, extremist religious movements, organized crime, drug and
human trafficking, mass migration, mass destruction weapons and spread of the
means to launch such weapons. All over the world, security threats are no longer
military threats, but are economic collapse, political pressure, famine,

overpopulation, ethnic separations, environmental destruction, terrorism, crime and diseases. In terms of levels, there is a deepening of the concept of security. This means that national security as well as individual, international and global security should be analyzed. In addition, the actors related to security are not only limited to states, but include individuals, societies, international institutions, civil society, various interest groups and non-governmental actors as the objects of the security concept. In this context, non-military areas are also added to the expanding scope of security. Deepening the concept of security, the pluralists and social constructors, included non-state security issues such as human security as well.

One of the reasons for taking security studies to the international level is to understand the state as an obstacle to global security with an idealistic approach. According to this approach, the formations that are called as "state" are definitely important elements of world politics. Yet, they have various unreliable and illogical characteristics for a comprehensive security theory:

- States are primarily unreliable since some of them prioritize security (domestic and foreign) according to the circumstances while others do not (Aydoğan & Aydın, 2011).

- When considering security, it is unreasonable to position states in the center since even those that prioritize domestic or foreign security represent instruments rather than goals. It is not logical to prioritize the security of instruments as opposed to the security of goals (Aydoğan & Aydın, 2011).

- States are too diverse in their character to serve as the basis for a comprehensive security theory. The reason for this, as many scholars have argued for years, is the different states in history and the relations between them have forced us to question the state theory (Aydoğan & Aydın, 2011).

   While the traditional security issues have been largely engaged in external or foreign threats, security problems have increasingly become trans-national/sub-national and multidimensional with the effect of globalization. Today, there is a need to adapt security studies to multidimensional and non-linear approaches and find ways to further conceptualize these approaches (Quliyev, 2019, pp. 119-120).

3. SECURITY THEORIES

3.1. Transformation of the Concept of Security

From the historical perspective, the concept of security is evaluated within the framework of Machiavelli's first theorems in the 16th century, where he argued that competition among states led them obligatorily to conflicts and the security of a state was often under the tutelage of another state. In the 17th century, Hugo Grotius tackled the concept of security with the impact of rationalism and suggested that the international system was anarchic, yet he argued differently from Hobbes that the international system could not be regarded as an absolute area of conflict (Demiray & İşcan, 2008, pp. 145-146). Together with Grotius, a direct relationship was established between security and defense. Thereby, the concept of security started to be accepted as integrated defensive measures against an attack by a state. Before 1648, the European order and its policies were called with different names such as the "European Alliance", "Collective Security", or "Restriction" (Demiray & İşcan, 2008, p. 146). Each of these was actually a name given to the national state and the diversity of balance of power. Under the rule of Richelieu in the 17th century, France introduced a modern approach to international relations based on the concept of nation-state with the ultimate aim of attaining national interests. In the 18th century, this time Great Britain developed the concept of "balance of power" that dominated European diplomacy for the next 200 centuries (Kissinger, 2000, p. 10).

In this regard, security began to be identified with the denial of war in the 18th century, when idealist tendencies developed. Propositions to prevent war and conflict were started to be presented and all of such propositions constituted the basis of the idea that state security must be assessed together with the security of the international system. In his article titled "Perpetual Peace" in 1795, Immanuel Kant underscored that violence and war should be condemned legally in order to protect international peace, that people should assume responsibility to ensure peace and that this is only possible through a social contract (Demiray & İşcan, 2008, p. 153). In this, he pointed out to a collective corporate structure to ensure international level security, while believing that the federative international structure, which is defined in today's literature as "Global Governance", can provide perpetual peace by incorporating all states in the world. In the 19th century, Metternich's Austria re-established the Europe Agreement. Later, though, Bismarck's Germany demolished this agreement by turning the European diplomacy into a cold-blooded power policy game. The emergence of border – authority relations, which are analyzed in the context of nation-states, dates back to the Peace of Westphalia. In the 19th century, the concept of nation-state became systematic with the contributions of Hegel .

Modern studies in the field of security, on the other hand, emerged the US after World War II initially with a narrow scope focusing mostly on the military aspects of international conflicts. Following the end of World War II, such studies were brought under the roof of universities and as of the 1970s, the number of think-tanks increased tremendously. The US has been continuing to take major roles in security studies today. The evolution of security studies can be examined in four

different periods: The early period between 1918 and 1955, the Golden Age between 1955 and 1985, expansion of the scope of security between 1985 and 1995 and finally the critical security studies that have been prevailing from 1995 up to today.

3.1.1. Early Period (1918-1955):

The first period between the years 1918 and 1955 is the stage when security studies were not structured as a separate branch from the international relations discipline. Covering the time period between the two world wars as well as the post-World War II era, the early period in security studies marked an understanding of security as an interdisciplinary and multidimensional concept deemed equal to international law, international organizations, dissemination of democracy and international institutions on the basis of political theory and disarmament. Renowned academicians of the time including Herz, Wolfers, Brodie and Wright conducted many researches investigating the political, psychological and economic aspects of war and peace. During this time, the importance of democracy, international cooperation, right to national self-determination, disarmament and collective security in providing international peace and security was often emphasized. Except for the studies conducted by few academicians, it was observed that military power was not given much importance as a political instrument in providing national security (Baldwin D. , 1996, pp. 117-141).

The outbreak of World War II was reflected in the basic research topics of security studies. As referred to before, security studies initially were concentrated on a narrow scope, neglecting the non-military aspects of international conflicts and dwelling too much on military balances. In this period, four main assumptions were acknowledged: Firstly, it was assumed that security was only one of the aims and fundamental values (economic welfare, economic stability and individual freedoms) of states rather than being one and only objective of all states at all times. Secondly, national security was accepted as a foreign policy objective that can be achieved via both military and non-military diplomatic instruments and methods. Thirdly, there was awareness of security dilemma, which paved the way for states to always be cautious and prudent in their military policies and strategies. Finally, attention was drawn to the relationship between economy, civil rights and freedoms, and domestic and national security within the framework of democratic political processes (Bakan, 2007, p. 38)..

Re-shaping after World War II, the world entered a new period referred to as the "Cold War" between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, the super powers in ideological and strategic terms. The structure of international politics also started to change during this period causing the emergence of a bilateral structure. In this new process, colonialism was abolished, and formerly-colonized countries gained their independence paving the way for many countries to take their places in world politics. These new countries were generally named after the Third World or the Non-aligned Block. Referring to the longer-term results of World War II, discharge of colonies was discussed in the post-war era

and the number of actors in the international area increased rapidly. Furthermore, other regions and countries that had previously been referred to in European policies – Asia, Africa and Latin America – started to take their place in international relations after the mid-20th century. While the Cold War was ongoing – around the 1950s – deterrence theory emerged. And until the 1970s, the international relations discipline focused on the deterrence theory. The behavioral revolution in social sciences paved the way for the emergence of various research programs on international conflicts such as the "Correlates of War" at Michigan University. These programs provided important contribution to the methodological awareness of the science of international relations. Nevertheless, these programs were not formed to determine the problems that are directly related to national leaders and therefore, they had limited effect on national security policies (Yılmaz, 2014).

3.1.2. Golden Age (1955-1985):

Covering the time between 1955 and 1985, the second period is accepted as the Golden Age of security studies. Differently from the first period, nuclear weapons started to direct international politics in this period which was thus marked by debates over the control of nuclear weapons, possibility of nuclear war and the concept of limited war. The definition of security took its place among the initial research subjects in this period and here, the question of its role among other foreign policy objectives and the instruments to provide security was left aside. Rather, security studies focused on how to use brand new nuclear weapons

in providing national and international security. Indeed, various academicians including Shelling, Snyder, Kaufmann, Kahn and Kissinger investigated in their articles the methods how to use military tools and strategies in eliminating military threats. The connection between theory and practice was strengthened in the bipolar system of the Cold War and security studies constituted the research area where the highest amount of investment was made. In fact, reputable academic journals published many articles on security studies, which came to a privileged position among the other sub-branches of the international relations discipline (Bakan, 2007, pp. 37-42).

Another fundamental feature of this Golden Age of security studies is that academicians at universities were outstandingly interested in this field as they increased their knowledge and as a result, these academicians replaced others with military and diplomacy origin. In connection to this fact, all conceptual and theoretical studies were based on an objective understanding of political science. Think tanks, research centers and universities conducted various scientific studies modelling the possible use of nuclear weapons and explaining the deterrence theory. Other theoretical studies directly related to security issues included alliance efforts, détente policy, and strategies of cooperation between enemies. Such theoretical studies and researches predominantly shaped the field of political science, while academicians facultatively endeavored to apply the results of these studies to solve certain political problems. Another property of the Golden Age was the large space of security studies within the academic world. while academicians maintained their positions at universities, they put forward most

impressive studies in think tanks such as the RAND. In other words, the center of gravity clearly shifted towards the academic world during the Golden Age of security studies. Moreover, the emergence of new political problems and certain theoretical and empirical issues contributed in the commencement of the Renaissance in security studies (Yılmaz, 2008).

Nevertheless, security studies started to lose momentum in the mid-1960s. In addition to the fact that research programs experienced a blockage during those years, the reason for this decline in security studies in the 1960s was the failure of the first wave academicians in raising sufficient number of PhD students who could give momentum to research activities in this field. Although academicians such as Albert Wohistetter from Chicago University and William Kaufmann from M.I.T raised students in the field, these students preferred to become government officials or advisors rather than serving in academic departments. On the other hand, the Vietnam War caused suspicion over the first studies in the field, which focused on "system analysis" techniques and applying the bargaining theory in international conflicts. Furthermore, this war caused security studies to be treated as old-fashioned in many universities. The US-Soviet Union détente also made war studies even less important and international economy politics gained more interest after the declining trend in the US economy. In this perspective, the détente period (peace among countries – relief in international relations) in the 1970s was marked by the dominant view of international security. The balance of power emerging in the international order created stagnation in international

relations, while the states' own pursuits of security brought stability in the international area as well (Yılmaz, 2008).

In this context, the Renaissance in security studies started in the mid-1970s. The developments that initiated this Renaissance in security studies are the decision of Ford Foundation to support various academic centers which worked on security issues and establishment of the "International Security" journal, which became the fundamental forum in this field. The formation of the US Grand Strategy also increased the importance of security studies. This Grand Strategy was a "state theory" formed by military and diplomatic instruments to ensure security. What left its mark on the Golden Age, on the other hand, was the presentation of Kenneth Waltz's "Theory of International Politics (1979)" in the international political economy with formalized version of realism (Yılmaz, 2007). The characteristics of the Golden Age are identified often by the large place given to security studies in the academic literature. In addition to continuing their research activities at universities, academicians also joined think tanks such as the RAND to produce their most effective studies. Therefore, there was a shift in those years towards think tanks from universities. In the studies they produced, the central point was national security and states were regarded as the primary actors, while all states could achieve their national interests – determined as ensuring national security – only by use of military force (Yılmaz, 2008).

During the Cold War, security studies consisted merely of scientists' works focusing on the military aspect of states. Any issue related to military power was accepted as a security issue and those that were not related to military power were

included in the category of low politics. In brief, military power was centered in the security understanding of this period. This security understanding shaped by realist and neorealist theoreticians deemed possessing, increasing and using military power superior and more important than anything. According to this assumption, as Walt stated, "military power is the core of this sub-branch… Security Studies dwell upon threat, control and of military power" (Walt, 1991, p. 212). The main research areas during this period included acknowledgment of states as the primary actors in the international system, shaping security policies on the basis of military strategies, the need for states to trust only their own military power against current and potential threats to national security, and in the same vein, the importance of self-reliance and the benefits of nuclear deterrence system. The concept of security was a state-centered target that could only be achieved by the state with its military power during the Golden Age of security studies (Baldwin D. A., 2004, s. 10-11).

3.1.3. Transformation of the Security Concept (1985-1995):

The years between 1985 and 1995 marked a period when security studies experienced a shift from the Cold War understanding of military power and nuclear weapons and were redefined by an expansion of the concept of security. Keohane's "Neorealism and its Critics" published in 1986 and Barry Buzan's book "People, States and Fear" were among the core academic studies of this period (Walt, 1991, p. 212). The understanding of security started to be shaped around the idea of common security during this period and the relationship of

security with economic development and political integration was often emphasized. As of the 1970s and 1980s, criticism against the narrow definition of security started to dominate international relations as well as economic and environmental circles. As an indicator to this, a prestigious international relations journal, "Survival" published a special issue in 1989 which covered only non-military foreign policy subjects. In addition, transnational crimes, identity issues, and migration were included within the scope of security studies in the 1990s (Bakan & Şahin, 2018, p. 135).

The year 1989 was a turning point for the European history in many aspects. What was experiences after this year was way beyond the developments of 1789, 1815 or 1919, which represent revolutions, collapse of empires and restructuring of power groups. Until 1989, changes took place only within the settled system of balance of power or within the limits of hegemonic independent states. After 1989, on the other hand, the changes experienced in the international area entailed Europe to change its state system dramatically (Tanıyıcı, 2004, pp. 158-159). The end of the Cold War led to the emergence of new patterns in international security and insecurity. While the bipolar balance of power was terminated, the expansion of NATO and EU paved the way for the development of a new understanding of security in Europe. In this regard, democracy was used as the fundamental dynamic feature to form the new international community. The former Yugoslavia was experiencing identity issues; the Gulf Region was trapped in pursuit of regional hegemony by various groups; and Africa suffered from failed states as security issues. In this regard, the understanding of security changed

fundamentally along with the 1990s. After the collapse of the Berlin Wall, a new concept defined as "security state" emerged as opposed to state security. After this point, states were not the only actors in security studies, but individuals and environment were also taken into consideration. After 1991, the concept of security moved away from the realist perspective that had been dominant during the Cold War. The reason for this included that the realist assumptions were insufficient in explaining the international developments and on top of that, realists were insistent on not accepting the new international political agenda (TUİÇ, 2011).

As it is elaborated before, the traditional understanding of security started to transform after the end of the Cold War and the importance of military power reduced compared to the past (particularly among European states). State-centered security was questioned, and individual-centered security definitions were advocated by scholars. In other words, threats against citizens and basic resources were regarded as threats against the organizational identity and structure or political system of the state. According to Buzan's analyses, it is necessary to scrutinize threats in the post-Cold War era on the basis of various sectors: Security must be evaluated within the framework of threats against military, political, economic, social and environmental security. What underlies military security is defensive and offensive military capacity of states determined according to their interactions as well as the perception of good will or otherwise, and strategic objectives. Political security, on the other hand, is determined by organizational stability of states, governmental systems and whether the ideologies providing

legitimacy to these governmental systems are robust or not. Economic security is

defined as the state power to ensure welfare and an acceptable life style for its

citizens by means of necessary resources, finances and adequate access to markets

(Buzan, Wæver, & de Wilde, 1998, pp. 27-28). The concept of social security, on

the other hand, results from a state's concern over protecting its national identity,

traditions, culture, religious structures and official language. Finally,

environmental security refers to protection of the ecological system, which hosts

all human formations and organizations including states, at both regional and

international level. Buzan argues that these sectors are not separate from each

other, on the contrary they are strictly intertwined (Buzan, 1991, p. 65).

3.1.4. Critical Security (After 1995):

When defining security studies in its fourth period from 1995 until the

present time, it will be correct to use the term Critical Security Studies, emerging

by the intellectual journey of a group of academicians in the post-Cold War era at

an international conference held in Canada's Toronto city in 1994 with a critical

approach towards security studies. In this regard, the book "Critical Security

Studies: Concepts and Cases" compiled by Krause and Williams in 1997 opened a

new page in the discipline. Expanding with the researches of various theoreticians

such as Buzan, Waever, Booth, Ayoob, Walker and Eriksson, the critical security

approach is a non-state-centered ideology, which was based on the critical theory

and post-positivist approach (Bakan Z. A., 2007, p. 41). It was grounded on a

critical approach towards security and started with questioning the main or

reference actor of security. In this regard, Critical Security Studies tackle the concept of security by integrating the actors, different dimensions and levels that are involved. In the meantime, the 9/11 attacks brought international terrorism to the agenda and caused intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq. Thus, Islamic fundamentalism was included among sources of threats for the US. While the US unilateralism and preemptive strike strategy led to the reaction of its Western allies and major powers such as Russia and China, the lack of international consensus led to a new anarchy in the security environment (Mutlu & Akbaş, 2016, pp. 1-2). The sources of this anarchy can be summarized as different approaches, insecurity and uncertainty.

The most important contribution of critical security studies in the restructuring of the concept of security was to reveal the need for accepting security as a concept built, defined, perceived and applied by actors on the basis of ideas, norms and values that are socially constructed. At this point, it is vital to note the concept of *securitization* propounded by the Copenhagen School with a pivotal contribution to the framework of critical security understanding (Krause & Williams, 1996, pp. 229-254). Securitization is defined as the act of presenting a political issue to the public as a threat to an actor's survival as a result of shifting that disputable issue to the area of security by taboos and immediate prevention. The actor (usually the political or military elite in a country), who turns any issue into a security issue, thus acquires the authority to use extraordinary instruments and measures. This enables the actor to legitimize his policies pertaining to the issue.

3.2. Security Related International Relations Theories

International relations theories or, more accurately, schools of international relations have developed perspectives for states to understand their relationships with one another. Since the themes every schools prioritize are different from each other, different schools have different approaches towards international problems and relations.

Nevertheless, scholars have had to reinterpret various themes and approaches since some fail to meet the needs of the age and turn old-fashioned, thus leading to the renewal of existing theories.

The concept of security stands out as the most variable theme among others in the field of international relations and as mentioned before, the one that has the highest number of different dimensions.

3.3. Realism and Neorealism:

International Relations became an academic discipline only after World War II and the dominant view in this field back then was a positivist paradigm defined as "realism". The origin of realism dates back to Athenian General Thucydides (460-395 BC). Thucydides is considered to be the first thinker of the realist tradition and had a pessimistic approach towards human nature, underscored power and did not give much space to moral values in inter-state relations. His words, "The strong do what they can, and the weak suffer what they must" is the most important assumption of realism today. Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527), on the other hand, contributed to

classical realism in his work "The Prince" where he advised the Prince of Florence, Medici, whom he served during the Renaissance period. According to Machiavelli, unlike Plato and Aristotle, an ideal society is utopia. In this regard, he advocated that a leader should adapt himself to changing situations and not pay much attention to moral values in order to preserve his political power (Öztürk, 2013, p. 181). In his work, the "Leviathan", British philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) introduced the theory of "social contract" and the doctrine of the state and legitimate government. According to Hobbes and Machiavelli, international relations were usually dominated by war, and peace only existed in intermediate periods. The mutual relations meant a zero sum game, that is, the gain of one and the loss of the other. Moral values could not guide international politics (Arslanel & Eryücel, 2011, pp. 1-2).

Idealism and the disarmament efforts under this approach emerging after World War II as well as the failure of the League of Nations prepared the birth of realism. In 1939, British scholar Edward H. Carr's (1892-1982) book "The 20-Year Crisis, 1919-1939", which was seen as the first realist view of the world, divided intellectuals into two opposing groups as realists and utopians. American theologian, Reinhold Niebuhr (1892-1971) served for the realistic way of thinking with the concept of "war just war" he introduced in his 1932 book, "Moral Man and Immoral Society". American political scientist, Hans Joachim Morgenthau, who is regarded as the father of realism, purported the principles of classical realism in his book, "Politics Among Nations" written in 1948 (Karabulut, 2014, p. 59). Realism is mainly based on the assumption that international relations are shaped by a circle where the

only actors are states, which follow rational policies to maximize their interests and their relations are formed in a balance of power structured by a hierarchical order among the states. In realism, the main actors of the world scene are nation-states, and there is no power to challenge their sovereignty – except in certain collective ways. Non-state multinational organizations and international organizations are only actors under the umbrella of states and their relations. Realists claim that states are as selfish as humans. Hobbes believed that the state of nature is as negative as the biological characteristics of humans and famously said that the argument, "man is a wolf to man (homo homini lupus)" applies to the international system as well.

According to realism, international relations are underpinned "by security dilemma". It is very difficult for states to trust one another, and one state's quest for security increases another's distrust. For realists, the basis of international relations lies in the struggle for power between states that are trying to maximize their national interests. The main actor of international relations is the 'state' that makes rational decisions. The primary task of the state in an environment full of enemies and dangers is to "survive" and to maximize national interests. In an anarchic international area, survival is never guaranteed. Therefore, "security" is the main agenda for states, and it is mostly ensured by military power. The development of security and military power among policy issues is therefore seen as "high politics". International politics is a field of power struggle with strong and weak states. In this context, states must constantly develop their strength and reinforce their weaknesses with the "balance of power." Realism did not only guide the US foreign policy. In the process of hegemonic relations, secondary countries including Turkey tend to evaluate their

foreign policies within the framework of the US perspectives with a covert theoretical approach that is directly related to American interests. Realists accepted the "hegemonic stability theory". Accordingly, hegemonic powers are needed to maintain order in the international system.

In the 1980s, theoretical debates were shaped by a contest between different paradigms present in realism, liberalism and Marxism, where realism dominated. Emerging in recent years, post-realism, on the other hand, defines realism as a socio-scientific and political rhetoric, arguing that what is realistic in international relations is controversial. Emerging in 2006, progressive realism mainly advocated the idea that joining the UN and international governance will mean serving the US interests. Therefore, progressive realists argue that hard and soft power should be transformed into smart power. Important realists include famous scholars such as George Kennan, Winston Churchill, Robert Schuman, Henry Kissinger, John Mearsheimer and John Gray. On the other hand, critics of realism have revealed some variants of classical realism, especially neorealism. From this perspective, the dominance of realism has been threatened by three global developments in recent years: (1) Neoliberal institutions are becoming increasingly important. (2) Globalization has brought different features of world politics to the stage. (3) Positivist developments have emerged in the social sciences and philosophy, overthrowing the basic assumptions of realism to a large extent (Ripsman, Taliaferro, & Lobell, 2016). The criticisms directed towards realism can be summarized as follows: pessimistic view of human nature (selfish and self-interested); giving priority to military security issues as "high politics" while neglecting what they call as "low politics" (environment, healthcare,

etc.); considering conflict before cooperation; failing to predict the end of the Cold War before it started; the inability to evaluate the changes brought about by new communication and transportation technologies to international relations; the lack of attention to the rise of non-state actors (transnational corporations, strong regional organizations, etc.) while the classical state approach began to collapse.

In his 1979 book, "Theory of International Politics", Kenneth Waltz brought new suggestions pertaining to realism and became the pioneer of what is now called "neorealism" or "structural realism" movement. According to Waltz, actions of countries in the international area are guided by competition and coercion caused by the structure of the international system. Within this framework, anarchy dictates self-help to maximize their security. According to structural realism, the reason for competition and conflict is the lack of a strong supranational authority and the distribution of power in the system, i.e. hierarchy. Another difference from classical realism, where the main objective was to maximize power, is that structural realism accepts power as an instrument, not a goal. Accordingly, power is the main means of achieving national interests (Sandıklı, 2012). As opposed to classical realism, the focus of which was limited to politics and military relations, neorealism also incorporated the economic dimension in interstate relations. The reason for this is that neorealists believed that economic relations and processes can have significant impacts on power and politics. In neorealism, the concept of "international regimes" is used instead of "hegemony". Ultimately, Waltz can be regarded as being close to the realists' view in saying that states had rational goals, while acknowledging that the structure would limit their actions. Hence, neorealists have started to seek new

ways to explain the global order that shows a tendency to shift from a unipolar to a multipolar system (Özdoğan, 2019, pp. 1-5).

John Mearsheimer described Waltz's theory as "defensive realism" and used it in the definition of "offensive realism". According to Mearsheimer, structuring of defensive realism is based on threat perception. In other words, what balances the system is the extent towards which its actors see each other as a threat. In offensive realism, on the other hand, the fundamental aim for actors is to continuously increase their power, while threat perception is left aside. States are never satisfied fully, therefore they always increase their power against others (Sandıklı, 2019). In this regard, the pursuit of maintaining hegemony made competition for great power in the world a permanent state of affairs. As a matter of fact, realists developed the theory of hegemonic stability and described an international economic order that is dependent on the existence of a dominant power. According to neorealism, on the other hand, states that prioritize their own interests and are assumed to act rationally ask the question of who will gain more if they cooperate, since they act according to the principle of relative gain. Some neorealists such as Joseph Grieco argued that a state can cooperate with other states in order to increase its own power and influence (absolute gain), however this would also increase the capabilities of the other states they cooperate (relative gain). Neorealists claim that there are two obstacles in front of international cooperation with other states: deception (abrogation of agreement) and relative gain. Offensive realists argue that international relations, indeed, constitute a prisoner's dilemma.

3.3.1.1.   Contributions of Classical Realism to Security Theories

As fundamentally elaborated before, realism is based on the assumption that states are the only actors in the international system, and they generate policies to maximize their interest by acting rationally within a system that is governed by a balance of power. Prioritizing military issues, realists accept the concept of power the basic formula of international relations (Keyik & Erol, 2019, pp. 12-13). They believe that the most effective way to solve problems and disputes in international relations is to use power. The realist view finds the international environment "anarchic" due to the lack of a superior power or authority over states. Realists argue that within this structure, each state has to ensure its own security and therefore, each state will act in line with its own interests. Furthermore, realists focus solely on military and political issues, neglecting economic, cultural, environmental and social developments (Çetinkaya, 2013). According to realists, man is evil, manipulative, aggressive and sinful. They believe that men have a negative nature that puts power in the foreground in their mutual relations. Thucydides is considered to be the first thinker of the realist tradition due to his pessimistic approach to human nature, emphasis on power, and giving less space to moral values in interstate relations.

In the same vein, Thomas Hobbes in his Leviathan, states that there is a lack of common authority in state of nature to live in peace and thus, there is always the possibility of war. Hobbes places "human" in the center of security

problems and demonstrates the logic of violence and coercion among people. According to this view, at the root of the security contradiction is individuals and their conflicting personal and social preferences (Hobbes, 1998). Clausewitz also argues that the indispensable tendency to use force leads to war, and that war is the continuation of politics through different means. Here, the security dilemma is entrenched within the nation-state system itself. Clausewitz and Thucydides believed that security dilemma resulted from the relations between states and societies. More specifically, Thucydides drew attention to the definition of hegemonic position arguing that the expansion of imperial powers by military conquest was a desperate situation caused by extreme political ambitions. According to Thucydides, the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must.

According to realism, the factors that direct and steer statesmen include fear, suspicion, distrust, security dilemma, pursuit of interest and reputation. Particularly the element of fear and the resulting security dilemma are the most important factors that confront states. Moreover, realists consider it legitimate to wage wars to prevent the growth and strengthening of the states that they see as enemies. As realists are pessimistic about cooperation, they think that international security can only be achieved through a balance of power (Bilgiç, 2011, p. 124). According to this idea, strong states should try to establish balance, yet there is little chance of successful cooperation beyond the control of a hegemonic country. Realists perceive relative gains as the most important factors impeding the cooperation with another country. It is

also assumed that the establishment of international organizations will not help develop cooperation since these organizations will serve the interests of the parties forming them (Çetinkaya, 2013).

The theory of realism argues that the main agenda of international relations is national security. As mentioned earlier, the main factor that can provide national security and regulate the international system is power. Yet, there are also critiques of realism – perhaps the most popular theory of international relations – few of which are formerly put forward in this study. The main criticism is that realism neglects all non-state actors and this, in a way, reveals the limitation of this theory (Aslanlı & Memmedov, 2016, pp. 1520-1521). Besides, the assumption that policy generation is based solely on the basis of interest by assessing all inter-state relations around the axis power means that international relations are narrowly evaluated through a single criterion. And this will be an obstacle to achieving healthy results. Although it is though that the period of realism ended in the international system dominated by the US hegemony after the end of the Cold War, the use of force by the US first in Afghanistan and then in Iraq as well as the Russian intervention in Georgia proved that the theory of realism could be fashionable at all times (Kolasi, 2013, p. 174). Although interactions and interdependence in interstate relations increase day by day, it is logical to utter that today, as in the past, states will not hesitate to resort to war when their interests are concerned, and that strong states will want to shape the international environment in line with their own wishes in the future.

3.3.1.2.   Contribution of Neorealism to Security Theories

Waltz reveals in his 1979 book "Theory of International Politics" that international structure limits the behavior of states, while adding new meanings to the concept of power. The national and international structures are completely different from each other in terms of the systems that make up them. Thus, the reason for similar act lie in the concept of "structure". Using scientific methodology, neorealists move away from normativity by focusing on the international system and structure (Sandıklı, 2012). By the effect of conflict of interest, neorealists argue that anarchy prevails in international politics. In this anarchic system, states must consider their security in order to survive. At this point, the means states have, namely their power, come into play. Unlike realism, neorealism accepts that power is not an end by itself, but a tool that states use to maintain their survival and security. In this regard, the main concern has shifted from the concept of power to the concept of security.

Theoretical Basis		Realist (Alliance)	Liberal (Legal Society)
Structure of the International System		Material; static; anarchic; self-help	Social; dynamic; non-governmental governance
Security Concept	Basic Principles	Power concentration	Integration

	Strategies	Military deterrence; control of allies	Democratization; conflict resolution; rule of law
Corporate Features	Functional Scope	Military dominance	Multiple fields
	Membership Criteria	Strategic relationship	Domination of the democratic system
	Internal Power Structure	Distribution of power; mostly hegemonic	Symmetrical; high interdependence
	Decision-making	Depending on the will of the dominant powers	Democratic legitimacy
The relationship of the system with the environment		isolated; threat perception	Being a model of attraction; cooperative

(Williams, 2008, s. 42)

Neorealism evidently focuses on the structure and system when analyzing international conflicts and wars. It is stated that especially the anarchic international system causes insecurity for the states. The concepts of war and conflict are explained by the concept of "security dilemma". Security dilemma implies that if a state is perceived as a threat by another state due to armament, that other state responses in the same way by armament (Sandıklı, 2012, p. 6). According to neorealism, the states that prioritize their own

interests and assume that they act rationally are always concerned about who will gain more if they cooperate with another state. The main reason for this is argued as the anarchic structure of the system and the power distribution. Indeed, self-centered states that do not trust each other and always prioritize their interests cannot be adept in any long-term cooperation. They can only enter in short-term cooperation relations.

An optimistic neorealist Charles Glaser argues that "contrary to the acknowledged understanding, the general tendency of states to compete is not a logical consequence of the fundamental assumptions of structural realism". While accepting many assumptions of structural realism, Glaser defends the idea that there are many conditions in which competitors can best achieve their security objectives through policies that support cooperation rather than competitive policies (Baylis, 2008, p. 76). He regards security as a concept that depends on the circumstances. "Contingent realists" argue that the standard structural realism is wrong in three ways: Firstly, they reject the competitive prejudice inherent in the theory. Secondly, they advocate that standard structural realism is inaccurate since it underlines "relative gains". And a third shortcoming of the standard assumptions is that deception is overemphasized. As a matter of fact, various scholars purport that the possibility of fallacy is a risk-bearing problem. Nevertheless, the armament race also has its risks. Schelling and Halperin argue that an agreement with the possibility of fraud is unacceptable or that fraud cannot be assumed to necessarily result in significant strategic gains.

3.4. Liberal Theory

Liberalism constituted the basic philosophy of the scholars of the Age of Enlightenment (1688–1789). Indeed, liberalism was born with the dissolution of the medieval order in Western Europe. This order was based on the interdependence between the Pope, the emperor and local powers. John Locke (1632–1704) is regarded as the pioneer of the liberal movement. Later, David Hume, Adam Smith, Charles L. Montesquieu, François M. A. Voltaire and Immanuel Kant played an important role in the development of this movement. Locke is considered the true founder of the Age of Enlightenment and the Age of Reason in Europe as he was the first thinker to spread freedom of thought in the widest sense of regulating our actions according to reason. In his book "Two Treatises of Government" he wrote in 1690, he argued that the function the state was to protect the natural rights and properties of its citizens. He noted that state of nature is not war, but freedom. German scholar Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) also argued that perpetual peace could only be achieved with a world of constitutional republics, while stating that direct democracy based on the rule of the majority could be a threat to individual rights.

Liberal thinkers believed that men could be liberated through enlightenment. This understanding of freedom in the political sphere showed its effect in the economic sphere in a short time. Scottish economics-political pioneer Adam Smith (1723–1790) became famous and accepted as the father of modern economy with his book, "Wealth of Nations" written in 1776 where he elaborated

on application of liberalism in in economy under capitalism. According to Smith, allowing individuals to provide their own interests in a free market environment (let them do, let them pass – *laissez faire laissez passer* doctrine) and minimizing state intervention would serve the common interests of the state and the society as a whole (Çetin, 2001, p. 220). Adam Smith's contribution to liberalism was with individualism – the core of liberalism, harmonization of social interests, free trade, laissez faire economy, and the invisible hand theory in economy. John Atkinson Hobson (1858–1940) was one of the founding fathers to develop the idea of imperialism in the face of savage or aggressive capitalism. Many thinkers, especially Lenin, referred to Hobson's ideas in their determination of imperialism. According to Hobson, the reason for imperialism was that the capitalist system was seeking new markets and investment opportunities overseas. In this system, imperialist governments in Europe, the aristocracy and the mercantile class were in alliance. For peace, the dissolution of this imperialist alliance was necessary, while democratic reforms and interdependence relations were also imperative. As an ideology, liberalism had been influential in the history of political and economic thought in the 18th and 19th centuries, particularly in Britain and the United States.

The four main elements of classical liberalism are equality (before law), democracy, freedom and free market. Classical liberal thought advocates rationality and property rights. Unlike realism, liberalism dwells upon not only politics/security/defense policies that are collectively called as high-politics in interstate relations, but also focuses on what is called as low politics including

economic/cultural/trade policies often actualized by means of commercial firms, organizations or individuals. Liberals include multinational companies and transnational actors (NGOs and international organizations) as actors of the international relations in addition to nation-states (Çelik & Usta, 2010, p. 121). Within this scope, nation-states are not a group of states in pursuit of national interests, but the sum of bureaucratic organizations that pursue their own interests. According to the liberals, sovereignty of states is only theoretical and legal. In practice, states should consult with all actors in making decisions. Liberal further utter that the public acts rationally through the harmonization of common interests. Liberals tend to explain national interests in economic, environmental and technological dimensions rather than in military terms. In this context, interdependence between states is accepted as an important feature of international relations. And liberals oppose realists who see war as a natural necessity of international relations. They claim that cooperation is the only way to solve international problems and make the necessary arrangements. For liberals, as well, the use of military force is important, but not as prominent as realists. They think that the risk of war is less in liberal democracies. Indeed, after the year 1945, liberals aimed to develop international institutions for functions that states could not perform (Aydın, 1996, p. 72).

On the other hand, neoliberalism aimed to update realism by acknowledging that the key players in international relations are states, yet international organizations and non-state actors are equally important. The theory of neoliberalism was influenced by neoliberal economic theory. According to Milton

Friedman, the founding father of neoliberalism, the duty of the state is to protect freedom from external enemies, establish law and order, and strengthen private companies and the competitive market. From this perspective, all wages, including workers' wages, are to be determined by the market instead of imposing a minimum wage (Bozdağlıoğlu & Özen, 2004, p. 59). Health, education, postal services, even national parks should be opened to privatization. According to him, globalization needed neoliberal policies while neoliberal policies were also supporting the globalization process. The coin had two sides: Free market capitalism could not be rejected on one side, and globalization on the other. Neoliberalism began to be institutionalized at the state level in the late 1970s and early 1980s with the advent of Ronald Reagan in the United States and Margaret Thatcher in Great Britain. Not only that, they chose to impose neoliberal policies globally on developing countries through the World Bank and the IMF. Thereby, multinational companies seized local resources and production opportunities under the mask of free market and privatization. Friedman's vision served the interests of large multinational corporations hungry for new and large-scale unregulated markets. They would enter a new region free of charge and destroy the welfare state and the "big government" there. In this regard, the neoliberal revolution was the first phase of globalization, which was to be named after 20 years. With this revolution, government intervention in the economy was reduced, financial institutions took the lead, new standards for mergers and acquisitions were introduced, central banks were strengthened, and the resources were flowing from the periphery to the center. This mechanism was based on the fact that the foreign currency of the US – dollar – dominated the entire world.

Since the 1980s, neorealism has dominated security policies, while neoliberals have focused on political economy and more recently on human rights and environmental issues. Economy takes precedence over national interests in neoliberal foreign policies, which envisage free trade, the opening of borders and the spread of Western democratic values and institutions. Neoliberalism was instrumental in shaping the theory of interstate dependence that gained momentum during the Cold War and was therefore called "liberal institutionalism". The functional integration theory of the 1950s and 1960s as well as the complex interdependence and transnationalism of the 1970s and 1980s lie in the core of liberal institutionalism (Yılmaz, 2015). Liberal institutionalists argue that institutions act as intermediaries in the international system. Particularly Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye argued that transnationalism was based on the assumption that the emergence of multiple channels of communication that made the borders transparent between states increased ties between states and non-state actors, that there was no difference between high and low politics, and that the effectiveness of military power in state affairs decreased. Keohane also opposed the hegemonic stability theory and said that "the international regime is sufficient to ensure stability" (Keohane & Nye, 2015, pp. 80-84).

While acting largely within the realist framework, liberal institutionalists defend the idea that international institutions are more important in ensuring cooperation and stability than "structural realists" acknowledge. According to Keohane and Martin, "organizations can provide information, reduce the costs of transactions, make commitments more reliable, establish focal points for

coordination and facilitate the operation of reciprocity principle in general".
Hence, international institutions, which operate on the basis of reciprocity in a
world constrained by state power and different interests, can become an element
of sustainable peace. Led by the US, Western liberal institutionalism demands the
development of a community of states composing democratic and capitalist states.
According to the democratic peace theory, realism cannot be applied to the
relations of democratic countries since they do not fight each other.

3.4.1.1. Contributions of Liberalism to Security Theories

It is significant to reiterate that liberals oppose realists who see war as a
natural necessity of international relations. They put forward the idea that
relations should be balanced by cooperation, not by war. For liberals, military
power is important, but not as important as for realists. Besides, liberals do not
deem states as the only actors regulating international relations. They incorporate
multinational companies, translational non-governmental organizations and
international organization in the list of actors (Keyik & Erol, 2019, pp. 14-7). In
this context, states are not only actors that are in pursuit of interests, but the sum
of bureaucratic organizations that pursue their own interests. According to liberal
thinking, democratization and expansion of freedoms will promote the enrichment
of individuals. Since interdependence ensured by trade relations among countries
will increment the cost of war and conflict, international cooperation is a must in
order to ensure peace, welfare and justice. Furthermore, it is stated within the
scope of the liberal state understanding that there are certain similarities between

the state and the individual. Accordingly, all individuals are created equally and have the natural rights to freedom, survive and have a decent life. The reason for the existence of the state is to protect these rights of individuals. Similarly, the state has rights such as survival, independence and protection of interests. Nonetheless, liberals have not ignored military power, but made economic power come to the forefront. This was also supported by the development of the economic science. Liberalism regards balance of power in the new world order in a wide range of freedoms and economic structuring. Concomitantly, the new security environment in the future is expected to depend on countries realizing the importance of the fight against global terrorism, democratization and economic development.

3.5. Marxist Theories:

Together with Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx published a four-volume book, "Das Capital" between 1867–1894 and put forward the theory of socialism. However, the globalist and integrated perspective they revealed had limited contribution to international relations. The scientific socialism explained in Marx's Communist Manifesto assumed that there were class conflicts behind historical developments. According to this assumption, socialism would come with a violent revolution and communism would take its place when the capitalist system was transformed by the workers of the world. Indeed, certain communists opposed even this transition process and aspired to establish communism by direct revolution. Three basic elements of Marx's vision are collectivism instead of

individualism, freedom instead of exploitation and equality in all interests. Communism envisages a classless and stateless social structure based on the common ownership of the means of production. Less effective and widespread than realism and liberalism, the Marxist theory was based on the idea that international relations are formed within a world run by capitalist economic order. The most important actors in this economic world are classes, not states, and the behavior of all other actors can only be explained by class struggle. Marxists argue that class struggle had been the cause of wars and conflicts since the beginning of human history. In the same vein, the most critical problem of the world system is "inequality". The concepts of mandate, patronage, colonialism, imperialism and hegemony that have changed during the course of history are always the result of a world order where dominant powers or classes exploit lower classes. Lenin explicitly uttered that "Imperialism will continue to be legitimized as long as the terrible face of liberalism, which is capitalism, continues to exist".

Vladimir Lenin (1870-1924), who led the revolution in Russia in the civil war in 1917, developed and applied the understanding of Marxism-Leninism for in Russia. For Lenin, imperialism was the last phase of monopolistic capitalism, and it was inevitably eating the heart out of capitalism. Among Marxists, those who argued that workers should have a state instead of a having a world state of workers were called Maoists, while there were also those who argued for a more moderate reform rather than revolution (Bernstein and others) and those who did not defend strict policies of regimes such as Trotsky were called Revisionists. Contemporary Marxism contributed to the theoretical aspects of international

relations with new approaches such Gramscianism, World System Theory, Critical Theory, and New Marxism. In this context, Italian scholar Antonio Gramsci produced the concept of hegemony from Machiavelli's concept of power which was based on fear and consent. According to Antonio Gramsci, the main reason for the failure in spreading the classical Marxist understanding in Western and Central Europe at the beginning of the 20th century was the flaw in the order of hegemony. In the hegemonic order, the dominant state imposed its own political, moral and cultural values on other societies (Okur, 2015, pp. 131-134). Contemporary Canadian scholar Robert W. Cox, on the other hand, adapted the Gramscian approach to theories of international relations and international political economy. According to Cox, the two great hegemons of the world, Great Britain and the United States, realized the idea of hegemony with the concept of "free market", and established an order of exploitation between the center and the periphery.

Table 1: Comparison of International Relations Theories

Parameters	Realism	Liberalism	Constructivism	Marxism
Main Assumption	National interest and balance of power	Wealth, liberal values	Collective norms and social identities	Collectivism, equality
Main Unit	States	States	Individuals	Working class
Main Instrument	Economy and particularly military power	International institutions, trade	Opinions and discourses	Class conflict
Founders	Hans Morgenthau Kenneth Waltz	Adam Smith Immanuel Kant	Alexander Wendt John Ruggie	Karl Marx Friedrich Engels
Modern Theoreticians	John Mearsheimer Robert Pape	Michael Doyle Robert Keohane	Kathryn Sikkink Michael Barnett	Immanuel Wallerstein Harry Magdoff

	Stephen Walt	G. John Ikenberry	Martha Finnemore	Jürgen Habermas
Post-Cold War Vision	Returning to the struggle of great power	Increased cooperation, free market	Uncertain, not able to envision the future	Neo-imperialism, Capitalism is in crisis
Limitations	Ignoring international transformation	Tendency to underestimate power	Not able to predict the content of opinions	Failure in predicting international transformation
Facilitators	Otto von Bismarck Henry Kissinger Brent Scowcroft	Woodrow Wilson Kofi Annan Bill Clinton	Mahatma Gandhi Usama bin Laden Anti-globalists	Vladimir Lenin Mao Zedong Willy Brandt

Theory and Practice

Use of Force	Democratic Development	International Institutions	Principled Activism	Social Democracy

Neo-conservatism **Human Rights Activists** **Nationalist Left**

From the 1930s onwards, the idea of socialism paved the way for studies on center-periphery relations and the World System Theory within the framework of the Dependence School in Latin America. This was followed by globalist thinkers such as Immanuel Wallerstein, John Galtung and Organ Modelski. Globalists developed theories of imperialism, dependence and center-periphery relations. They argued that the underdevelopment of the Third World was due to capitalist exploitation by the center. A contemporary Marxist scholar, Harry Magdoff states that peripheral countries are also joining in capital export with the new definition of imperialism. Galtung, on the other hand, defines a semi-periphery between the center and the periphery. And Wallerstein argued that there have been basically two types of world systems in historical perspective: World empires and world economy. When the trends and conflicts in the world economy caused a crisis, that economic system was replaced by a new system. And now, liberalism is

coming to an end according to this view. Critical School thinkers (Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, and Jürgen Habermas), also called the Frankfurt School, criticized capitalism and socialism, and proposed an alternative path for social equality by developing human capacities and capabilities. On the other hand, New Marxists believed that Marx's original theoretical approaches were misinterpreted. This group of New Marxists is led by British Bill Warren and Justin Rosenberg. Warren used Marx's analyses of capitalism and colonialism to criticize the theoreticians who advocated the dependence and world system theories. Rosenberg, on the other hand, tried to bring an alternative approach by following the changes created by the relations of production in world politics (Demir, 2018, pp. 65-70).

The social transformation strategy presented by the Leninist view was "First seize the state, then transform the world". However, the latter was never achieved, and a more liberal and egalitarian society could not be established. The Leninist strategy predicted that the disadvantaged or oppressed groups would eventually come together as a homogeneous community. Thus, this strategy was centralist in nature. Wallerstein opposes this centralist thought and argues that it is not possible to bring together people who have different conditions and demands all around the world with a centralist thought. Wallerstein proposed a "rainbow coalition" formed anti-system movements as an alternative strategy. Today, two-thirds of the world does not have a liberal state system, and the liberal world order is in crisis and a transition process. Although the collapse of the Soviet Union led to a crisis in Marxism, which was proposed as an alternative to capitalism, the idea of the

collapse of capitalism in recent years and the continuation of a Marxist understanding without a workers' state is still alive. Even though the Soviet Union collapsed, four countries (China, Vietnam, Cuba and North Korea) are still ruled by a communist administration and left-wing regimes come to power in many continents, especially in Europe and Latin America.

3.6. Constructivism:

Social constructivism gained fame in the 1990s and was widely accepted in Canada and Europe. Nicholas Onuf first used the term constructivism in his book "The World of Our Making" (1989). The main events that led to the development of this theory were the emergence of new states after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the collapse of the Berlin Wall. Unlike realists, constructivists defend the existence of a self-renewing social order rather than a closed world, where not only the world order but also the identities, structures and interests are constantly changing. And differently from the realist, liberal and Marxist theories, the idea of constructivism is based on more people at the center and envisions that the social order can change continuously for individuals. As opposed to realists, Alexander Wendt, in particular, advocates the afore-mentioned self-renewing social order where identities, structures and interests are always changing. According to Alexander Wendt, international organizations also have the capacity to change our identities and interests. On the other hand, Michael Barnett proposes the idea that constructivist theories define international relations, and this structure in return defines interests and identities of states, while states and non-state actors

reproduce this structure in accordance with their needs. Constructivists refer to "ideas", threats, fears, identities and other perceptions of reality affecting states and non-state actors within the international system. They further argue that perceptions play a vital role in shaping international consequences. Therefore, they do not approach anarchy as the unchanging basis of the international system, but with the understanding that "anarchy is what states understand" as Alexander Wendt uttered (Wendt, 1992).

At the same time, constructivists believe that social norms shape and change foreign policy. Indeed, they point out to a change in the ideas put forward by Gorbachev in the second half of the 1980s, leading to a common knowledge of the end of the Cold War. When both sides accepted the end of the Cold War, the Cold War was indeed over. According to this view, comprehension of the importance of the social structure is vital in developing interaction policies that will lead to cooperation rather than conflict. In this regard, optimists believe that there is sufficient softening in the international system that allows states to pursue peaceful social change policies rather than engage in constant competition for power. Certain constructivists believe that it would be an irresponsible act to fail to follow such policies if there are opportunities for social change. Finnemore and Sikkink state that global transformation took place after three stages: The emergence, imitation and internationalization of norms, thus increasing homogeneity in world politics. In this context, constructivist ideals envision that identities and interests of not only states, but also non-state actors may be shaped by the normative structure. Proposing alternative ways such as socialization to

international institutions and organizations rather than power politics, this new paradigm is yet to prove its accuracy. According to social constructivist authors, power policies compose only an idea that affect states' behaviors, yet they do not describe all interstate behaviors. States are also influenced by the rule of law and other ideas such as institutional cooperation and limitations.

3.7. Alternative Approaches

The end of the Cold War not only changed the world's political geography, but also marked the beginning of important structural and relational transformations in international relations. The changes in the practice of international relations were soon reflected in theories, and in particular, gave momentum to security analyses after the Cold War. Some of the alternative theories that evolved in the 1990s and found more or less supporters are summarized below (Bakan Z. A., 2007, pp. 37-43).

3.7.1. Global Governance

The concept of Global Governance does not mean a world government. Rather, this theory draws attention to the increasing formal institutionalization of international relations and the increasing interstate dependence through these institutions. Key scholars putting forward this theory basically argue that the issues of refugees, environmental problems, developmental crises, criminal

networks and global terrorism are becoming increasingly complex and can only be solved through formal inter-state cooperation.
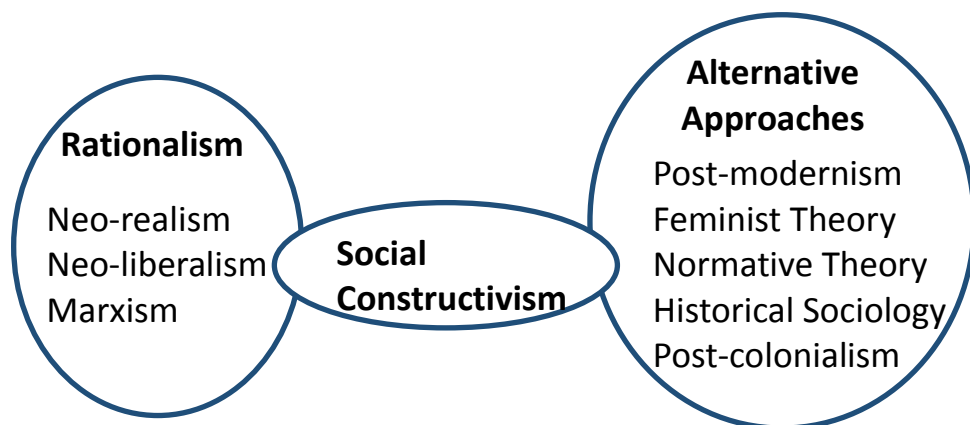
3.7.2. Functionalism

Functionalism is essentially a theory of international relations that emerged from the European integration experience. Functionalists replace personal interests – which are regarded as motivating factors by realists – with common interests shared by states. According to this theory, integration constitutes its own internal dynamics. This "invisible hand" inherent in the integration process is called a spillover (Baran, 2013, pp. 15-19).

3.7.3. International Community Theory

The international community theory examines the common values and principles of states and their impact on international relations. These principles include diplomacy, order, and humanitarian intervention. Contrarily, pluralists place more emphasis on sovereignty and international order. Leading names in the theory include pluralist Hedley Bull and solidarist Nicholas Wheeler (Tepeciklioğlu & Demirel, 2017, pp. 73-78).

Figure 2: International Relations Theories in the 21st Century

Rationalism

Neo-realism
Neo-liberalism
Marxism

Social Constructivism

Alternative Approaches

Post-modernism
Feminist Theory
Normative Theory
Historical Sociology
Post-colonialism

3.7.4. Critical Theory

According to Max Horkheimer, one of the founders of the Critical School who provided the first and most comprehensive definition of the critical theory, "Unlike a conventional theory focusing solely on understanding and explaining a society, critical theory is a social theory that observes and criticizes the society as a whole, replaces and liberates this society from oppression." The initial aim with this theory was to return Marxism, thought to turn into a dogma, to its essence and to relate it to philosophy. It is possible to define the critical theory of the Frankfurt School mainly as a critique of ideologies. In this sense, this critical understanding is derived from Marx's political economy criticism (Odabaş, 2018, p. 212). The first generation members of the school stated that classical Marxism was inadequate in explaining today's societies in terms of many issues. For critical theoreticians, states should not be the focal point of analysis, since they have different qualities and are part of the insecurity problem rather than its solution. Security can best be achieved by human emancipation, which is defined as

liberating individuals and groups from social, physical, economic, political and other constraints that prevent them from doing what they can under normal circumstances (Odabaş, 2018, pp. 214-216).

3.7.5.Feminist Theory

Aspiring to expand the role of women in society, the feminist theory is a doctrine that advocates giving all of the social, economic and political rights granted to men to women as well. According to the feminist theory, women are usually kept in private sphere (family and domestic services) and their roles in public sphere (society and state order) are limited in today's patriarchal societies. Although there are significant differences among feminists, all of theoreticians in this line of thought agree that the international security literature is written from a male-specific perspective. They argue that the majority of casualties and refugees are women and children in armed conflicts, and as the recent war in Bosnia shows, rape of women is often used as a means of war (Ataman, 2009, pp. 2-3).

3.8. Post-modern Approaches

Post-modernists argue that "ideational discourse" and "logic of interpretation" are important in understanding international politics and security. Since realism was a former "power and rule" discourse supporting competition for security in the international relations, post-modernists, like other theoreticians who advocate the "critical security approach", regard realism as a fundamental

problem of international insecurity. When the realist perception of people is replaced with a new understanding based on collaborative norms, individuals, states and regions will learn to cooperate and global politics will be more peaceful (Baylis, 2008, pp. 69-75).

3.8.1. English School

The English School is based on two trilogies. These are three levels of analysis (international system, international community and world society) and three traditions of thought (realism/Machiavellianism, rationalism/Grotianism and revolutionism/Kantianism). The founders of the school, Martin Wight, Adam Watson, Herbert Butterfield and Hedley Bull all argued that all these three levels of analysis and thought exist at the same time, although sometimes one is more evident than another. More broadly, the main doctrine of the English School, which seeks a middle way between the power policy of realism and the "utopianism" of revolutionism, is that although states are the main actors of the system, they set some rules (the international system) for their common interests and thus, make the behaviors of other states predictable by means of dialogue and consent (Devlen & Özdamar, 2010, p. 45).

3.8.2. Changing Security Approach in International Relations after 9/11

The role of the US in solving international problems has shifted from the "leadership" role to the "world police" role after 9/11. The two types of threats to

the US remain above and below the range of conventional weaponry: Weapons of mass destruction on one hand, terrorism on the other. The US policy of deterrence is aimed at preventing both threats. The US policy of deterrence is aimed at preventing both of these threats. The attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in the US on September 11, 2001, militated American foreign policy under the pretext of "fighting terrorism". The first concrete step was the US intervention in Afghanistan. A few years later, the US launched a war against Iraq. The aim of the US, in fact, was to launch the "Greater Middle East Initiative" which aims a transformation in the region from North Africa to Central Asia with political, economic, socio-cultural and military aspects. In this regard, the US is observed to act according to the domino theory in the Middle East. It is now Syria's turn for American aspirations, while other countries are waiting for their turn (Yılmaz, 2019). With the invasion of Afghanistan, the US gained access to a tower where it is possible to observe Iran and China, in addition to drawing a close border with Russia. Furthermore, the US knocked down the first domino by invading Iraq and later triggered Arab movements with smart power. And today, it is trying to redraw the map of the geography which they call the Greater Middle East on the grounds of fight against terrorism. Nevertheless, the failures in Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as the increasing power capacities of its rivals in the global balance of power, make the US military competence increasingly questionable. It can fairly be argued that the US, which withdrew from Afghanistan, will face has a hard in the upcoming period.

Realists claim that a powerful and large country such as the US should never contradict with its interests, in other words, it should never leave its path for maximizing its national interests. Indeed, what America did with these wars was to survive and expand its energy resources that were about to end. The US was fully concentrated on its interests in these wars and it engaged in major occupation operations in cooperation with many countries. The realist aspects of the US interventions and wars include the facts that the US considered Iraq's weapons of mass destruction as a threat to its security as well as its allies' security and endeavored to take control of the energy resources in the Middle East and particularly Syria and Iran – two pivotal countries in the region – in order to maximize its interests (Yılmaz, 2019). Yet, there have been different approaches among realists. As a matter of fact, defensive realists oppose the assumption that aggressive and expansionist actions will contribute to the security of states. The perception of 9/11 by Bush – a Jackson-supporting nationalist – Rumsfeld and Cheney – who were offensive realists – and Condoleezza Rice – who was a defensive realist – revealed certain common points with the new conservatives. Therefore, the related policies issued after 9/11 were supported by the representatives of these various ideologies.

According to American liberalism, democracy is the common concern and need of all countries of the world, while it is also a criterion in the relations between states in the global order. Therefore, the US regarded the terrorist attacks of 9/11 as not only an attack on its country, but on all free democratic countries in the world. In accordance with this view, international organizations have the right

to intervene against any threat to the world order. In this line, the US believes that global security, stability and peace depends on the spread of freedom and democracy as much as possible. A Berthold Beitz Research Professor in Human Rights and International Affairs at the Harvard Kennedy School, John Ruggie argues that national interests lie behind the neoliberal ideals and tour de force of the US. Furthermore, the concept of "embedded liberalism" has changed form and turned into "realism embedded in liberalism". The desire to take control of the oil resources of both occupied regions (the Middle East and Central Asia) is a product of American neoliberal policy embellished with capitalism. When this approach is combined with realist interests that entail the desire for oil capital, a synthesis of liberal and realist approaches emerges (Yılmaz, 2019).

From the Marxist point of view, the Afghan and Iraqi wars were imperialist wars, and the economic interests behind the wars are indisputable. The wars waged by the US form the preparatory process of new imperialist wars, which imperialist forces will provoke for the re-sharing of the zones of influence. In other words, capitalism, which dominates the world system, makes the Greater Middle East region a new exploitation zone, since this region is endowed with economic and energy resources such as oil and natural gas. The US wars in the Middle East serve a monopoly bourgeoisie, thus they are deemed as reactionary wars. In light of this information, occupied countries are often seen as companies by the US. The US mission of "bringing democracy", on the other hand, is rather controversial as the concept implies. As a matter of fact, it is not possible to bring democracy to a country through war or occupation. However, the wars the US

waged have produced internal consequences against its country. A very small group in the US income distribution table holds the majority of the country's prosperity. There is growing revolt against capitalism in various states of the US (Yılmaz, 2019).

From another perspective, pluralists argue that limited cooperation in international relations and the inadequacy of international institutions impose a significant problem in the current age. As is known, the liberal romanticism of the United Nations ended with the Iraqi War. Leaving aside the thesis that democratic states will not attack each other, the most aggressive states have been democratic once in recent times. Although states join alliances and sign agreements on arms control, they continue to be cautious in terms of ensuring their own national security. As a matter of fact, conventional armament races continue in different parts of the world. Nuclear, chemical and biological weapons still have a significant impact on the security estimations of many states (Yılmaz, 2019).

Idealists, on the other hand, criticized the Bush administration's failure to take into account the views of the UN. They further claimed that the US had distanced itself from democratic values and neglected international legitimacy when it invaded Iraq (Yılmaz, 2019).

Feminists claimed that women and children were most affected by the intervention in Iraq and Afghanistan. As a matter of fact, women were subjected to sexual harassment and rape in Iraq intervention. The country was under fire and left without electricity and water supply, while women and children were affected the most. Therefore, it is propounded by feminists that women should have an

active role in international relations in order to solve all such problems (Yılmaz, 2019).

For liberals and idealists, realism is more than a doctrine, but an activism for use of force and a recipe that suggests violence. Thus, it is problematic in moral and legal terms. Idealists see values and international organizations as the driving forces of international politics. However, conservative realist Henry Kissinger emphasized the importance of legitimacy and multilateral institutions in the world order. Liberal idealist, Madeleine Albright, on the other hand, often resorted to the use of force, not legitimacy when it came to Kosovo's sovereignty, for instance. In this regard, neo-conservatives had a mainly unilateral liberal view. They saw the US projection of military power as a means for the country to spread its values as a moral responsibility. Although Obama tended to keep the US away from military adventures, his advisors including Susan Rice and Samantha Power were realists. In summary, it is practically impossible to adhere to only one of the realist or idealist playbooks for understanding statesmanship. Realists acknowledge that power is the driving force of international politics, yet, they have not always agreed on when and where power should be used. Thus, some realists opposed to the war waged against Iraq. They have also disagreed pertaining to the idea that international distribution of power would best protect peace and stability. For instance, most classical realists advocated multipolarity while some including Kenneth Waltz and John J. Mearsheimer defended bipolarity and many others including Geoffrey Blainey, Robert Gilpin, William Wohlforth advocated unipolarity.

From this perspective, it is too early to conclude that there is a paradigmatic shift in international politics that supports optimistic or pessimistic perspectives. Nevertheless, it is possible today to identify new positive developments suggesting that future world politics will be different from the past, while the evidence from historical experiences suggests that there is also a need to be cautious. Periods of cooperation between states and groups often led to a misunderstanding and unnecessary enthusiasm believing that lasting peace was about to emerge. Taking into account the developments after 9/11, it can be said that realism or the Hobbesian tradition will be the dominant perspective in contemporary literature and among statesmen, even if not once again at the center of politics. However, alternative approaches, particularly constructivism, which attracted more attention in the early days of the post-Cold War period, continue to form an important part of contemporary discourse on international security. In this context, the most important security priorities include preventing unilateral policies and strengthening the regulatory role of international organizations. For this purpose, the international law and norms are developed in a way to prevent national interests, and there is a general search for global interests rather than national interests. This, in fact, represents a transition from national security to international security, yet it is a far-reaching goal. Nowadays, there are new threats associated with international terrorism, the collapse of the global finance system, global warming and nuclear accidents, which are beyond the control of nation-states. These threats can be reasonably tackled by the emergence of a strong international institutionalization in the field of security (Baylis, 2008).

During Obama's first term, the US Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton believed that successful foreign policy strategy was not to do inane things, but to avoid crises. The six main elements of the new strategic plan were identified as follows: (1) To develop bilateral security alliances, (2) to deepen working relations with emerging powers, including China, (3) to engage in regional multilateral institutions, (4) to expand trade and investment, (5) to establish military presence in a broad range, (6) and to develop democracy and human rights. The US aimed to apply "pre-determined" diplomacy for its regional strategies. Furthermore, the US planned to place top officials, development experts, inter-agency teams (which are the key elements of its soft power) and other permanent means in every corner of the Middle East. In this context, the Obama administration emphasized three principles for the continuation of regional alliances: Political consensus on key objectives, agile and adaptable alliance structures to address new challenges and opportunities and an alliance system with deterrence and operational defense capabilities and communication infrastructure against any (state or non-state) threat. According to Michael McFaul, the architect of the "reconstruction policy" with Russia during Obama's first term, this policy made sure that (1) a transit route was provided for American troops in Afghanistan; and (2) Russia was prevented from selling long-range S-300 anti-aircraft missiles to Iran in addition to other benefits. In fact, President Eisenhower was the expert of the principle of "leading from behind" which is attributed to the Obama administration today. The principles of the Obama Doctrine can be summarized as follows:

- Relying increasingly on international organizations (pragmatic internationalists),

- Greater sense of submission for American values and foreign policy achievements,

- Relying on foreign aid rather than military force.

Implemented since Libya intervention, the strategy of the US to "manage from behind" is more of a choice than a necessity. Both US left-wing critics and right-wing Jackson supporters are fed up with bloodshed in the Middle East with two Iraqi and one Afghanistan wars and various military interventions, particularly in Lebanon and Libya. Americans do change the leaders in the Middle East, yet the new leaders are often worse than their predecessors, which is why hostility against Americans is on the rise. After all, the fate of generations continues with tribalism, monarchies based on petrol revenues and radical Islam. The US budget deficit of $16 trillion – increasing by $1 trillion each year – is tried to be balanced by new taxes, civil servant reforms, and scythe of pensions and salaries. The reason for the budget crisis is not the lack of material, but that intervention to the budgetary issues was too late due to the administrative crisis, in other words, the moral complexity created by the rule of the rich.

In 2014, when Western liberals attempted to change the regime in Ukraine with a military coup, the Russians who were waiting in ambush both occupied Crimea and started the separatist movements in the East. When the operation of the Ukrainian security forces against the separatist rebels was stopped with the

intervention of Russians, the West started a campaign to provide military aid to Ukraine. The problem here was that Russia's interests in Ukraine were not understood thoroughly, therefore the Russian reaction was not calculated properly. The same mistake was made by inviting Russia to occupy Georgia in 2008. Realists opposed NATO enlargement in the post-Cold War era believing that Russia was no longer a great power. Today, on the other hand, realists believe that Crimea cannot be taken back, and that Ukraine's territorial integrity cannot be restored unless NATO comes into play. The solution that the liberals have in mind is the integration of the whole country into Western institutions such as NATO or the EU and the removal of the Russian influence in exchange for granting certain autonomy to the east of Ukraine and symbolically accepting Russian as the second official language. Liberals endeavor to divide realists and states in other countries in the Middle East by claiming more rights and freedoms to minorities, thus, to establish a new balance of power. Yet, they defend Ukraine's integrity when it comes to Russia. Or realists play with the power systematics, regimes and territorial boundaries in the Middle East by demonizing Islamists, while liberals develop their own agenda and playbook by a realistic logic in Ukraine.

During the Cold War, Western powers set a balance against Russia by getting closer to China. However, rapprochement with Russians was considered by realists as a counterbalance measure against the rise of China after the Cold War. Together with Ukraine, Russia began to say that NATO was nothing more than a paper tiger. Realists have started to feel the security dilemma again in the face of Russia's ambiguous intentions in the new Cold War and they regard

NATO as the best option to provide deterrence by Europe. Realists see Iran as a medium-sized lonely country and built their strategies against the Iranian nuclear threat on the basis of limiting, surrounding and deterring. Like Iran, North Korea has been standing for 60 years, there will not be any military operation there unless it has an acceptable cost. Rather, the West prefers to manage North Korea by means of an institutionalized deterrence and sanction regime. Realists' solution formula depends on the following two principles: (1) Do not take action until an operation is precisely going to create profitable results, and (2) Use options that are viable by your own resources, do not give your enemies any opportunity. In this context, idealists focus on the costs of optimism, courage, and resistance to the 'devil' that uses force. On the other hand, realists are concerned with the costs of pessimism, restrictions on the use of force (brought about by the international environment), and the failure after taking action. Contrary to popular belief, realists have not forgotten ethics, they carry the materialist version of situational ethics. The reason for this is that they believe the outcome of a possible balance of costs and benefits is more important than one side being right. In other words, they are focused on results rather than motives and tragic situations. They are therefore most concerned about the balance of power and are very interested in how the military force will affect the behavior of the other party, the quality, quantity and type of the force that will be used.

The main slogan Obama used during his election campaigns was "Progress". Indeed, "progressiveness" has been the most preferred concept by leftists after "equality" for 200 years. Economic equality has become an ideal that attracts

many groups of people. Equal sharing is the basic argument of socialism. However, the concept of equality fell two centuries back in the American history. The notion of economic equality was supported by many immigrants to the United States. In some colonies, especially in Georgia, socialist ideas on commune life and economic equality began to circulate back then. However, this movement failed over time and the US was dominated by the idea of everyone developing their own wealth rather than common wealth. In this regard, lands were turned into private property. It cannot be said that the socialist idea was successful in other countries either. In the Soviet Union, which had the most fertile lands in Europe in the 1930s, 6 million people died of starvation during Stalin's rule. Tens of millions died again of starvation in Mao's Communist China. While defending economic equality, the leftist ideology paved the way for concentration of power in an unequal fashion. As for Americans, today 1 million Americans dictate the rest of the 360 million what they will do and will not in a wide range of issues from light bulbs to toilets. In fact, conservative leaders Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher declared that central planning did not work. As the 20th century ended, socialist and communist countries in the world began to give up central planning. India and China have increasingly reduced state control over the economy. What is ironic is that Hong-Kong, under Communist China, is selected as the world's most free market. Determined to combat economic inequality, Obama said during his annual address to the public under the title "The Current Situation of the States" on January 28, 2014 that "The majority of Americans want us to focus on their lives, their hopes, their desires. What I am suggesting

tonight is to accelerate growth, strengthen the middle class, and build new stairs of opportunity to the middle class".

According to the American writer Dennis Prager, there are currently three new major trends in the world: Leftism, Islamism and Americanism. Among them, the best one to create a good society is the value system called "American Trio" consisting of freedom, trust in God and unity from majority. While Americans have adopted these three values as their mission, the antithesis of them is Leftism advocating equality, secularism and multiculturalism. Ultimately, despite these three ideas, Americanism or the Leftism is expected to win. The biggest problem for the Americanism supporters is that these values are in the hands of an elite class, that they are only inscribed on the dollar, while these values are not even thought to American society in a systematic manner. For this reason, there is not any strong popular support behind Americanism as opposed to Leftism and Islamism (Yılmaz, 2014). In no country do these two ideologies make American values a priority. On the other hand, American values have not applied properly to their own people. While freedom means as much freedom as possible, i.e. narrowing down the state and government, in practice the US has become a major national security state with decreasing citizenship rights. Although faith in God is foreseen as much as possible to be a good society, religion has been replaced by fear of the state since religious institutions cannot control people. Thus, not only in America, but also in Europe, more and more secular and more powerful state structures have been formed. The US particularly intended to make everyone an American citizen regardless of race and ethnic origin to ensure unity

of the majority, yet it assimilated people. In this context, people were deprived of their original identity and the government tried to build a new identity by making them believe in American values. This unavoidably resulted in the ignorance of national identities (Yılmaz, 2014). While the US endeavors to export these values, it is considered not to believe in these values itself. Nevertheless, the idea that American values are the best hope to be offered to the world has been pumped since 1862.

4. INTELLIGENCE

4.1. Definition of Intelligence

It is not possible to make a single definition of intelligence. Defined in many different ways, intelligence generally is evaluation of the information collected according to the principles of confidentiality, impartiality, accuracy and continuity in order to make the most accurate estimation of the future events.

Also defined as vital information for the security of the state and protection of national independence, intelligence refers to information, news and secret services.

In recent years, the debates on the importance of intelligence in terms of national and international relations has led academicians and experts to write a large number of books and articles on intelligence (MİT, Milli İstihbarat Teşkilatı Tarihçe, 2019).

Analyzing definitions of intelligence in these books and articles, it can be observed that the most important emphasis is on the direct relationship of intelligence to information. It is further observed that the aim of intelligence investigations is to learn about the intentions of target persons, organizations or states as well as their plans and capacities to realize these intentions.

The purpose of all intelligence investigations is to protect the national interests of a country and ensure general security.

Taking into benefits to the society as well as people's wishes, national interests are determined through a realistic and rational method using contemporary measures, national values and expectations. There are also covert aspects of national interests. This covertness requires that they are protected with due diligence as state secrets (Çıtak, 2015, p. 751).

From this perspective, "national interests" form the basis of national policies. The work of intelligence services is critical in determining national interests and specifying the authorities and/or persons that will take measures under changing circumstances. The primary purpose of intelligence services is to contribute and protect the policies that will realize the national interests.

Although the intelligence services of each country wanted to extend their spheres of influence worldwide, only strong states in economic and military terms succeeded in this matter. Intelligence services can be successful only with more financial investment and training of the staff. Hence, the power of intelligence organizations should not be considered independent of the power of states.

4.2. Types of Intelligence:

It is impossible to make a definitive classification of the types of intelligence. Indeed, intelligence can be categorized in different ways with the influence of various opinions and ideas. All kinds of intelligence can be used for the internal security of countries as well as for bilateral and international relations. In this

regard, intelligence classification in different sources is given below (MİT, Milli İstihbarat Teşkilatı Tarihçe, 2019).

4.2.1.In terms of Activity:

4.2.1.1.   Positive or Offensive Intelligence:

Positive Intelligence is the activity of gathering, processing, evaluating and interpreting news by intelligence officers through scientific methods so that states guarantee their future, prevent bad surprises and use their military power efficiently and usefully when necessary. Positive Intelligence in American sources is defined as "production of intelligence within the framework of national security policies and making it available to its users".

Positive or offensive intelligence is divided into eight sub-groups: (1) Military geography intelligence, (2) transport and communications intelligence, (3) social intelligence, (4) political intelligence, (5) economic intelligence, (6) scientific and technical intelligence, (7) military intelligence, (8) biographical intelligence (Biçer, 2017, pp. 435-436).

4.2.1.2.   Negative or Defensive Intelligence:

These are activities to preserve confidential information of countries, identify those who try to obtain such data and render them harmless. In

general, they are activities to counter intelligence and are also called counterespionage/counterintelligence.

As in Turkey, positive and negative intelligence activities are carried out by the same organization in many countries. In some countries, on the other hand, separate organizations undertake these tasks. In the US, CIA conducts positive intelligence activities, while FBI fulfills the task of negative intelligence (Balcı, 2018, p. 56).

4.2.2. In terms of the Source of Danger:

4.2.2.1. Domestic Intelligence:

In addition to fight against espionage, domestic intelligence services aim to identify and render harmless any activity that intends to disrupt or destroy the regime of a state, raise hostility among individuals, abuse the trust in the government, or cause ethnic, religious, sectarian or ideological separation among people. It is also observed that domestic intelligence is divided into two as corporate intelligence and information intelligence.

While domestic intelligence aimed at the protection of individuals, kings and regimes in the past, today it serves directly for the protection of state security. This type of intelligence also includes counter-intelligence activities (MİT, 2019)..

4.2.2.2.   Foreign Intelligence:

This type of intelligence services is conducted to learn and identify the total power and capabilities of target states. Foreign intelligence includes espionage, propaganda, sabotage and psychological operations. In developed modern countries, domestic and foreign intelligence activities are carried out by different organizations (MİT, 2019)..

4.2.3. Intelligence by Subject:

Intelligence types by subject are classified as follows:

(1) Military Intelligence,

(2) General Intelligence,

(3) Diplomatic Intelligence,

 (4) Political Intelligence,

 (5) Economic Intelligence (Financial Intelligence, Commercial Intelligence, Industrial Intelligence, Technological Intelligence, Mining Intelligence, Agricultural Intelligence, etc.),

(6) Communications and Transport Intelligence,

(7) Social and Cultural Intelligence,

(8) Biographical Intelligence,

(9) Psychological Intelligence,

(10) National Security Intelligence,

(11) Intelligence about Enemy Intelligence Organizations (Biçer, 2017).

4.2.4. Intelligence According to the Level that it is Obtained:

4.2.4.1.   Strategic Intelligence:

Strategic intelligence is the intelligence needed to formulate policies and plans at the international level. Intelligence services that may yield national and international results include intelligence about highest level of policy practitioners, prime ministers, chiefs of general staff, and other related institutions and organizations. This type of intelligence naturally covers all elements of national power. The definition, scope and means of strategic intelligence will be elaborated in this chapter under a separate title (Gül, 2015, pp. 118-119).

4.2.4.2.   Tactical Intelligence:

This type of intelligence is used for a shorter period of time in a more limited and specific area (person, incident, environment) than the strategic level. The intelligence that a commander needs on the battlefield is defined as tactical intelligence. In this line, information that is not important for tactical intelligence may be more important for strategic intelligence. An example of

tactical intelligence is the intelligence used in the Iraq war: "US commanders were monitoring ground operations with JSTARS systems installed in Boeing 727 jets and capable of seeing even locations over 150 miles away. The movements of the Iraqi army were monitored by data provided by JSTARS's UAVs (Unmanned Aerial Vehicles), reconnaissance satellites and high-flying aircraft in addition to other high-tech systems. The US and British planes immediately turned to the targets of the forces in motion" (Gül, 2015, pp. 119-120).

4.2.4.3.   Operational Intelligence:

This is the type of intelligence that smaller institutions and organizations need in carrying out operations. For instance, the intelligence required for an assassination or kidnapping operation is included within this scope (Gül, 2015, pp. 119-120).

4.2.5. Intelligence According to Methods of Formation and Functions:

No matter which classification is accepted, intelligence is a very comprehensive service. The types of intelligence as well as their areas of use will continue to increase with the development of interstate relations, mass communication and civilization. Chapter Nine of this study will further elaborate on the methods of obtaining intelligence data, related technological developments and other functions of intelligence (Yılmaz, 2008).

4.2.5.1.   Human Intelligence (HUMINT):

It is a category of intelligence created by the information provided and collected by human resources. Here, human-beings are used in gathering or providing intelligence, as well as evaluating and analyzing the information that is obtained. Human intelligence is understood by regular people open intel agents as spies, secret agents, members of ministries of foreign affairs operating overseas and military attachés. It is estimated that embassies and attachés of Ministries of Foreign Affairs provide four-fifths of human intelligence (Pick, Rentner, & Dukat, 1999, p. 16).

Not only trained agents, but every person associated with a target is a source of human intelligence. People who travel abroad as tourists, politicians, athletes, journalists, academics, foreigners can be a source of intelligence. Migrants, internally displaced persons and other links from outside countries constitute semi-open human intelligence sources. Scientists, representatives of international organizations, bureaucrats and technicians visit foreign countries for various purposes (usually to provide technical assistance) with the increase in global travel opportunities and they are considered among the means of gathering human intelligence. Human intelligence resources are truly endless, and making these resources infinite depends, of course, on the imagination of the intelligence agents (MİT, 2019).

Polish Colonel Ryszard Kuklinski, who leaked 35,000 "top secret" documents pertaining to the Warsaw Pact to the CIA between 1972 and 1981,

was sentenced to death in his absence after he took refuge in the United States. According to the CIA President, "Kuklinski was one of the brave people who prevented the Cold War from turning into a hot war". On the other hand, Russian President Vladimir Putin was a former KGB officer and was in charge of monitoring German Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl while he was on duty in East Germany (Yılmaz, 2016).

It is significant to note that the former Cold War era agent types are now disappearing, and new types of intelligence agents are found within many institutions, research centers and non-governmental organizations under different images such as scientists or businessmen. Human intelligence has started to be used intensively in battlefields along with military operations. W. K. Clark gives an example from the Iraq War: "Saddam was being watched by at least one CIA spy and a Delta Force commando. On Monday afternoon, several sources learned that he had entered a restaurant outside Baghdad. A B-1 bomber aircraft was in that area and took the coordinates of the target, threw four 2000-pound bombs in forty-five minutes" (Tekek, 2016).

4.2.5.2.   Image Intelligence (IMINT):

It is the intelligence provided by taking images by various means. Air reconnaissance and surveillance are usually provided by taking images from satellites, aircrafts and unmanned aerial vehicles. For instance, images or pictures of missile positions that are obtained by imaging at international airspace with a camera form image intelligence. The system is generally based

on the transfer of images received by cameras, film systems or electro-optical systems that can take pictures from very high altitudes mounted on aircrafts such as U-2 to ground stations using electronic communication links. For this purpose, commercial satellite systems are also utilized.

With technological developments, it is observed that images with color change, photographs produced through special filters, infrared images, heat waves, images created by the impact of microwaves are also used in gathering such type of intelligence. Furthermore, images of nuclear facility construction in a target country taken by unmanned aerial vehicles also fall into this category of intelligence. The photographs of a country taken from the satellite and belonging to its agricultural areas are also assessed as image intelligence (Tekek, 2016)..

4.2.5.3.　　Open Source Intelligence (OSINT):

Open source intelligence refers to the use of the information which is available to everyone in open sources such as the internet, newspapers, and television for the purpose of providing intelligence. Especially the internet provides an important open source intelligence opportunity in this regard. Today, it is considered that more than 85% of the information constituting intelligence is obtained from open sources. In the globalizing world, freedom of information has increased the opportunity to access intelligence all over the world.

Open sources used to provide intelligence in fact constitute information that a target country does not attempt to hide from the public and foreign states or information that such a country cannot successfully store due to various reasons. In reality, a significant amount of intelligence information is categorized under open source intelligence. Although rarely, national secrets may leak from open source intelligence. Open source intelligence is relatively easy to access and cheap. Open sources normally provide information on policies, industries, agriculture, transportation or weather conditions. In addition, careful observers can obtain information on certain areas against the wish of a target country as propaganda is based on incidents (Tekek, 2016)..

4.2.5.4.   Signal Intelligence (SIGINT):

- SIGINT (Signal Intelligence) is the detection of signal-like messages originally sent by a target. These messages can be detected by means of electromagnetic radiation and sensors. Some SIGINT types are listed below (Çıtak, 2015):

- COMINT (Communication Intelligence) mainly includes the detection of voice, video, morse and fax messages. This intelligence may be obtained from airwaves, cables, fiber optics or other media, and may be encrypted or unencrypted (Anonymous, 2011).

- ELINT (Electronic Intelligence) is information obtained from non-message communication means such as radars. For example, the detection of signals emitted by a fire control radar can provide an

analysis of the capabilities of a firing gun or a missile. In this way, the location of the radar and enemy troops can also be determined (Bernard, 2009).

- FISINT (Foreign Instrument Signal Intelligence) includes telemetry information from missiles and aircraft of the target country that is being tested. Aircraft designers use their own test models as telemeter or range finder packages. Information such as the operating system, performance, characteristics and fuel flow of a prototype can be determined by means of telemetry packages. A good example of such intelligence is the telemetry received from the Soviet Long Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM) by the United States (Bernard, 2009).

- LASINT (Laser Intelligence) is an analysis of information obtained through laser and other direct energy rays.

- RADINT (Radar Intelligence) is a type of intelligence formed by the information received by locking on the aircraft of a target country with radar. This intelligence provides information about both the performance and the characteristics of aircrafts. Unlike ELINT which receives signals from target aircrafts, RADINT active scan by a tracker.

- IRINT (Infrared Light Intelligence) is information collected from infrared transmissions and some electro-magnetic activities. It i is known that US early warning satellites detect the movements of

Russian ballistic missiles with this type of intelligence. As soon they

enter the atmosphere, the infrared sensor on the satellite detects the

trace of missiles.

In addition to the American and British intelligence agencies, there are at

least 30 SIGINT organizations that are run the by states. The largest of these is the

Russian FAPSI (Federal Office of Communications and Information). In addition,

France has an intelligence system in the Indian Ocean and Pacific Colony.

Germany's BND and France's DGSE have established a joint Comsat information

center in French Guiana that monitors satellite communications in America and

South America. China also has a large system working for obtaining information

on Russia in cooperation with the US and the German BND.

4.2.5.5. Communication and Electronic Intelligence:

In addition to providing information for the development of new electronic

inventions, this type of intelligence is also used to conduct strategic

assessment of communication means and capabilities of a target country.

The US National Security Agency (NSA) has a city called SIGINT, and the

only job of the residents here is providing electronic intelligence. Today, the

number of people living and working in this city is claimed to be around 40

thousand. In this SIGINT City, which resembles a university campus, the NSA

communicates with intercept stations on the earth by means of its own

satellites. NSA employees are subjected to the most serious security

investigations ever seen, and it is claimed that their employees are often

chosen from the Mormon cult, which has little to do with worldly life. The

ground floors of the large buildings in the city are fully equipped with state-of-

the-art computer networks. The NSA separated from military intelligence in

form and its main task is to provide communication intelligence only.

4.3. Intelligence Cycle

4.3.1. Traditional Intelligence Cycle

Until 1926, military intelligence officers were told that tactical combat

intelligence had four main functions: Needs, collection, use (including analysis)

and distribution, while there was no definition of main "intelligence cycle". The

origin of the intelligence cycle dates back to the 1940s with the contribution of

social sciences to military training programs for the development of the US

military's combat intelligence doctrine. The term "intelligence cycle" was

introduced in 1948 by Kristan Wheaton from Mercyhurst University in his book,

Intelligence for Commanders published together with two lieutenant colonels. The

intelligence cycle has four stages: Management of data collection efforts, data

collection, processing of information and use of intelligence. Kristan Wheaton

said that the term "intelligence cycle" was originally derived from training

activities during World War II. The intelligence cycle became popular with

Sherman Kent's work in the field of Strategic Intelligence. The standard

intelligence cycle began to emerge in the early 1970s. Developed in the 1940s, the

intelligence cycle was in fact produced for soldiers who were the main users of intelligence at the time. Thus, the intelligence cycle functioned seamlessly within the military intelligence system. Company intelligence also had no problems with the concept of intelligence cycle. However, the intelligence cycle could not be re-adapted to intelligence agencies with different responsibilities (image, signal or human intelligence). Whereas today, many intelligence services or experts are presenting new versions of the intelligence cycle with additional details or reduced steps (MİT, İstihbarat Çarkı, 2019).

Although the basic principles are the same, the intelligence cycle has four stages in the British system and five stages in the American system. The intelligence cycle usually consists of the following consecutive stages:

- During the planning and referral stage, customers of intelligence including policy makers for national security intelligence request specific information on a topic or target (MİT, İstihbarat Çarkı, 2019).

- Data collection stage starts after customers' referral. At this stage, raw information is processed in order to obtain finished intelligence product (MİT, İstihbarat Çarkı, 2019).

- Information collected through explicit and implicit means is not intelligence. Raw information can be transformed into intelligence after processing and analysis stages. Some scientists combine these two stages. In this context, processing as the pre-analytical stage where raw information is filtered and prepared by a variety of techniques. Techniques applied include decoding of

encrypted information, language translation, and purification/reduction of

data (MİT, İstihbarat Çarkı, 2019).

- In the analysis stage, organized information is transformed into intelligence.

  The basis of this stage is to connect the dots, that is, to prepare the

  intelligence product by integrating, evaluating and analyzing the information.

  Experts and analysts review the reliability, accuracy and relevance of the

  information and develop intelligence resulting from such assessments (MİT,

  İstihbarat Çarkı, 2019).

- After analysis, the final product comes out and the last stage which is

  distribution starts. The product is distributed to those who made the request at

  the first stage (MİT, İstihbarat Çarkı, 2019).

Figure 12: Traditional Intelligence Cycle
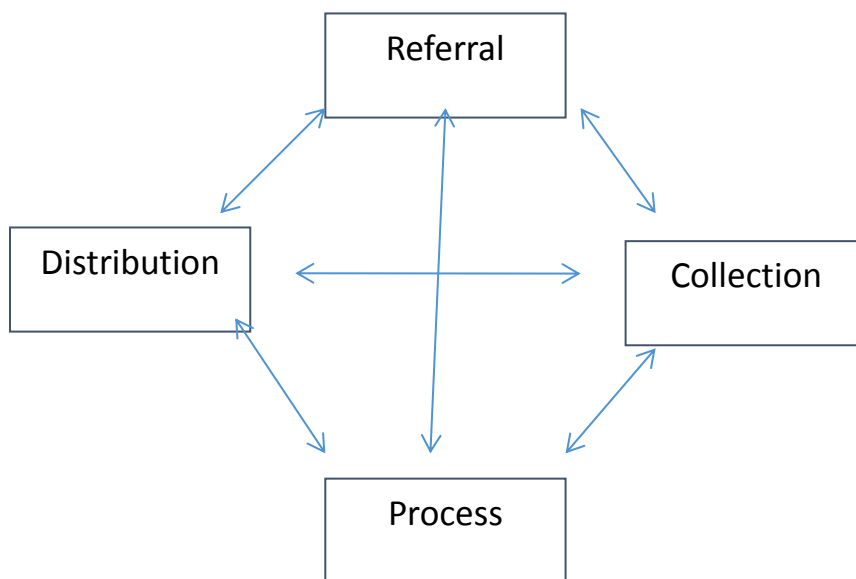
(MİT, İstihbarat Çarkı, 2019)

Intelligence needs are divided into two as prioritized and continuous intelligence needs. Prioritized intelligence needs are critical to planning, operations and decision-making processes. Continuous intelligence needs, on the other hand, form information that is regularly renewed over time.

Before planning of intelligence collection, intelligence agents must first identify indicators (signs) for specific operations or threats. There are divided into three groups as:

(1) Alarm or warning indicators,

(2) tactical or militant indicators,

(3) identification of units, facilities, etc.

There are two approaches to managing intelligence: Conventional and adaptive. Conventional approach has certain limits, in that, intelligence organizations are secret and there are certain rules for cooperation. Adaptive approach, on the other hand, focuses on needs as a more flexible and open system. There are protocols between intelligence organizations, yet barriers to agility and cooperation are easily overcome. As confidence increases, higher rate of sharing is possible.

Table 8: Intelligence Rating Criteria

Source Reliability	Information Accuracy
A Fully Reliable	**1** Confirmed from Other Sources

B Generally Reliable	**2** Probably Accurate
C Sufficiently Reliably	**3** Potentially Accurate
D Generally Unreliable	**4 D**oubtable
E Unreliable	**5** No Possibility
F Not Reliable at All	**6** Not Accurate at All

(ABCA, 2008)

Intelligence collection is a continuous process and the above-mentioned five stages can occur simultaneously. As soon as new news is collected by intelligence tools, the news collected earlier is also examined, processed and published. In this vein, intelligence is often considered a process, not a product. The basic logic of the intelligence cycle lies in the assumption that that policy-makers or commanders who need intelligence will base their decisions on this information when they receive the finished product. These decisions will create more needs and the intelligence cycle will be triggered again, i.e. the intelligence collection process is a cycle.

The intelligence cycle model does not tell how intelligence should be collected, yet it is known that intelligence collected systems are divided into three categories. Open source intelligence (OSINT) provides the majority of intelligence information, especially in civil systems. Technical data collection systems, including image (IMINT), communication (COMINT) and signal

(SIGINT) intelligence, are increasingly addressing the needs for military intelligence. Both civilian and military intelligence collectors are users of human intelligence (HUMINT) systems. Human intelligence varies from diplomatic or liaison personnel contacts to espionage. In addition, civilian intelligence places much more emphasis on human intelligence. In the private sector, on the other hand, although espionage is limited, it is likely to be found in the private sector since former civilian intelligence workers find employment in the private sector after retirement. In the electronic age, access to special intelligence and sensors has become easier. Electronic search engines are the backbone of special intelligence. Indeed, Google Earth offers states and private sector many opportunities for image acquisition.

4.3.1.1.   Discussions on the Intelligence Cycle

In the aftermath of World War II, the focus of learning intelligence was 'intelligence cycle'. It was not even possible to think of an intelligence training without learning about the intelligence cycle. Until the end of the Cold War, the intelligence cycle was almost like a religious concept, no one could question its accuracy. Nevertheless, the intelligence cycle has never been the right guide for contemporary intelligence work, and the gap between the concept and the facts is widening. Most intelligence officials admit that the proposed process of intelligence cycle is not working. The intelligence cycle is full of problems; the practice does not overlap with what is taught. The cycle

can be regarded more suitable for military systems, but not for civilian
intelligence systems (MİT, İstihbarat Çarkı, 2019).

The main reason for this argument is that civilian governments or in other
words, policy makers rarely give sufficient directives to intelligence managers.
However, intelligence managers who receive directives can divide them into
smaller pieces and identify specific intelligence needs that are more explicit
than the existing intelligence information. There is often a system for
intelligence collection in military systems and this system provides
intelligence units with information on operations, operation plans or arms
procurement programs in detail. In combat intelligence, on the other hand,
more specific intelligence needs are identified to provide tactical intelligence
support to commanders. Although business world intelligence is rarely
mentioned in intelligence training programs, managers in the private sector
often hire intelligence professionals for their intelligence needs by means of
contracts.

Established in the 1970s to provide a report on the CIA, the Senator Church
Committee concluded that there was very limited similarity between the
applied and conceptualized intelligence cycle. Since the cognitive and
behavioral notions of social sciences have changed considerably compared to
70 years ago, there is now a need to re-evaluate the intelligence cycle with the
impact of innovations such as social construction of knowledge and risk,
automation that accelerates decision-making processes and the emergence of
cyber space. In this regard, the intelligence cycle has already been criticized

for being too narrow as opposed to the broad functions of intelligence. Within this scope, there is special emphasis on the need to integrate covert operations and cyber intelligence. Those who oppose this idea, on the other hand, argue that these two areas are not related to intelligence, but are types of operation

.

According to the conventional theory, the intelligence cycle or process is initiated by policy makers or commanders identifying their intelligence needs. Although this theory accepts the direct relationship between intelligence and national policy in the decision-making process, this relationship has often remained unfulfilled. From this perspective, maintaining the connection between analysts and policy makers is the most difficult part in the entire intelligence cycle. The power of intelligence to change or influence a national policy is very limited, although sometimes exaggerated. When it comes to open sources, collectors, analysts and policy makers are already interested in many of these resources and are continuing the process in their own way. Yet, the collected information should be based on data, backed by solid sources and be up-to-date while also providing advantages and contribution to understanding. In this vein, the three main problems of the conventional intelligence cycle can be listed as follows:

- Firstly, the objectives usually do not take into account the relationship between intelligence users (customers) and intelligence producers. In a complex security environment, these two tend to be in different

directions and the conflicts between them are among the main reasons for failure in intelligence work.

- There is no facility to proactively review weak signals (changing anomalies) in the environment.

- Today's priority intelligence targets are not in line with the ever-increasing and blurred targets (non-state actors, trans-national crime and terrorist organizations, etc.) of our age.

Although the intelligence cycle model says that collection and analysis will follow one another, in practice they exist as parallel but independent functions. Collectors usually have many goals and information gaps and constantly look for new sources. Analysts have a large data bank in their hands before obtaining data from collectors and since collectors rarely produce new data, analysts do not wait for them. On the other hand, analysts and collectors may wait for each other in military and company intelligence, since collectors are usually analysts as well. Weaknesses of the intelligence process can be listed as follows:

- Failure of the intelligence cycle may be due to inaccurate, too wide or insufficiently specific requests during the identification of needs. Therefore, collectors and analysts may not fully understand what is required, which leads to collection of false intelligence and an unwanted output.

- Failure may also arise from misuse of collection means and methods. This is often related to the fact that agents, diplomats or other persons in human

intelligence use their own opinion as real. Or it may be due to misunderstanding of the technology used, misinterpretation of the image or message. Open source information may be deliberately placed to mislead as well.

- The third source of failure may be that too much data and information cannot be refined during the analysis stage, or that intelligence is not generated by linking important ends. Sometimes advanced technologies may not be enough to capture specific issues or points.

- The fourth type of weakness is due to prejudices in the analysts' interpretation. Analysts may make a very narrow interpretation or may wish to support their previous opinion. They can unconsciously think the same way and use the same assumptions. Therefore, group work should be preferred.

- The fifth type results from incorrect distribution of analysis results. Either the results are delivered late or go to the wrong address. When the report showing results of the analysis goes directly to the decision maker, the recipient may misunderstand the content. Therefore, feedback should be given before delivering reports to decision makers.

Although the intelligence cycle model purports that intelligence collection drives the analysis process, this is not the case in reality. In civil and military intelligence, analysts usually work through the existing knowledge base. As referred to in the literature, they do not wait for new inputs that intelligence customers need. Despite the long-term intelligence analysis required by civilian

politicians, most intelligence analytic outputs are short-term. As a matter of fact, frequent crises in foreign policy prevent long-term assessments. Moreover, politicians have a tendency not to read long analyses, but to rely on their advisors and to deal with analysis results that will be used in a short time. However, intelligence managers need deep analysis, especially for estimates that are relevant to the future. These analyses are seen as the leading products or masterpieces of analysts. If these important results are published to the public, they become politicized.

Intelligence analysts should use strong methodologies to avoid overestimating certain points or overlooking hidden issues and ideas. In reality, civil decision-makers rarely rely on intelligence in policy making. Thereby, according to the intelligence cycle, policy is made only after intelligence products are distributed. Yet, this is the foremost part of the intelligence cycle that does not work. While training analysts, they are taught that the cycle will work and politicians will wait for their intelligence, though. Nevertheless, politicians always have other agendas rather than meeting intelligence agents. The information they need is provided by their advisors and private headquarters. The private headquarters may have access to the same sources of information as the analysts and are in a position to advise before these analysts.

When analysts complete the intelligence collection, they go to the headquarters rather than managers of politicians. If the intelligence is the same with what the headquarters has, this means that the intelligence will be used in a very limited way. If the headquarters does not agree with the

intelligence analyst, they will first try to change it by pressure and then try to show how bizarre the intelligence is according to the one that policy makers requested. Ultimately, policy makers will be convinced of how inappropriate and invalid the analysts' report is. One example of this was the US Intelligence Director (DNI) James Clapper's interrogation in the Senate. Clapper said that Gaddafi would probably vanquish the rebellious opposition in Libya. This was contrary to the White House's work on the subject and he had to resign immediately (MİT, SAB Analiz Süreci, 2019).

Distribution, the last stage of the intelligence cycle, is the most problematic. In theory, distribution of intelligence means it is time to make a political decision, yet this is not the case in practice. There is no measurement system for how much intelligence affects decisions. Experience shows that many political decisions are made without much intelligence input. Policy makers make decisions based on their specific political agenda, public pressure and their own worldview rather than intelligence. If policy makers encounter crises, they attach importance to warning intelligence reports, however, they are less interested in long reports related to the future.

In many countries, such as Canada and United Kingdom, intelligence analysis units are not in an intelligence organization, but in an office close to the head of the government. In the US, it is often not welcome for an intelligence analyst to advise policy makers.

The function of counterespionage is not present in the intelligence cycle. Counterespionage deals with major threats to national security such as espionage, terrorism, global organized crime, disruptive activities, or drug trafficking. Therefore, there is a need for special counterespionage data collectors in the intelligence cycle to inform about threats that fall under the category of counterespionage. In many countries a separate organization, usually law enforcement agencies, performs the function of counterespionage. In addition, protective security tasks such as physical security, personal security, document security, anti-terrorism reveal the need for a new regulation. The counterespionage units should stop the threat once it has been detected, and this will require law enforcement. Nevertheless, counterespionage units do not wish to work with law enforcement since the flow of intelligence stops when the police are involved. Targets only focus on protecting their own legal rights against the law enforcement. When target people are arrested, then starts a competition for claiming the success before the public. Thus, in the US, counterespionage units have some form of law enforcement of their own.

Another function that is not present in the intelligence cycle is covert operations. Covert operation itself is not intelligence, but intelligence sources are used to support national security policies. These sources of intelligence include agents, proxy armies, safe houses, secret communications, unmanned aerial vehicles used for covert operations. A covert operation may be carried out by a military or civilian intelligence

agency. For example, in the north of Syria, the Pentagon is conducting the proxy war, while pro-US Islamist fighters in the east are under the control of the CIA. In theory, the officials requesting a covert operation must also assume responsibility, but in practice this is not the case, especially when the operation fails. The Church Committee, which supervised the CIA's covert operations in the 1970s, initially thought that the CIA was a rover, but finally concluded that only the White House did what it wanted.

According to the US Air Force Cyber Operations Doctrine, predetermined intelligence, monitoring and discovery rules are needed to make decisions in the cyber field. The "Watch-Focus-Decide-Make" formula applies in the cyber field where impact-response occurs in a thousandth of a second. However, cyber-attacks take place in seconds, while cyber operations take days, months or even years. In this case, the traditional intelligence cycle is necessary but should be re-designed properly. In this context, first of all, the focus should be on warnings, not on personal networks, and the intelligence cycle should be seen as a tool, not as the basic dimension of intelligence.

4.3.2. New Intelligence Cycle Models

There is controversy about how accurate the intelligence cycle is for various intelligence circles (national security intelligence, military intelligence, police and crime intelligence, corporate intelligence, cyber intelligence). The idea that it is time to go beyond the intelligence cycle brings about the discussion of what to

take instead. According to Julian Richards, the intelligence cycle worked against the Soviet Union, the only slow-moving threat of the Cold War, but it cannot respond to today's post-modern challenges. Developments at the beginning of the 21st century have demonstrated that the intelligence cycle should be smarter, cope with globalization and the implications of new threats. The intelligence paradigm must be added new functions and these functions must be used to formulate a new intelligence cycle as well as integrating this cycle to the new intelligence doctrine.

Figure 14: Alternative Intelligence Cycle
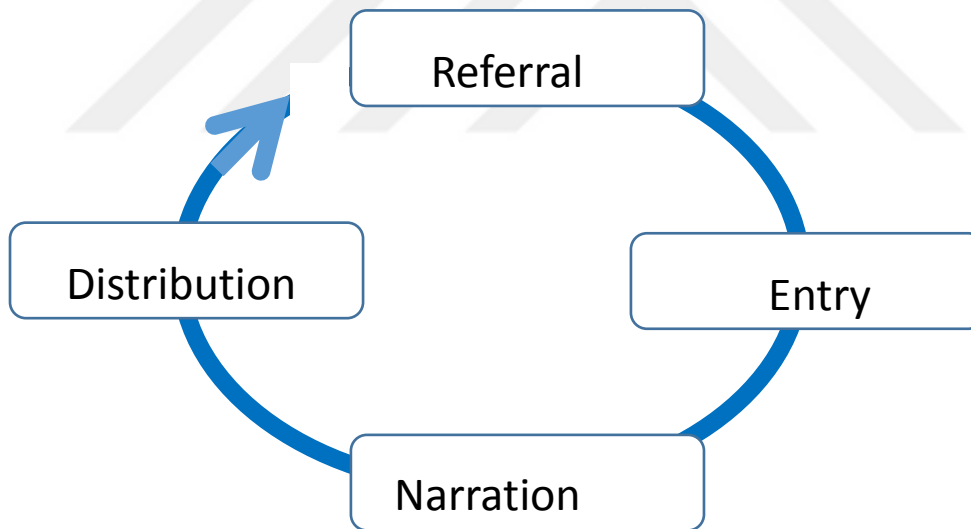
(Omand, 2009)

A former British senior civil servant and a visiting professor at King's College London, David Omand argues that the intelligence cycle model brings three different concepts together: Intelligence narration, professional intelligence identity and intelligence model concept. Even though the intelligence cycle is generally regarded as collection, analysis and distribution of data to meet the

needs of the customer, the institutionalization of a continuous process such as finding, telling, updating, listening to or developing stories in perception management, for instance, has always been incomplete. Intelligence production functions are performed in a sequence to create a story (narration). For example, in the Cuban crisis of 1962, the US intelligence created a story about the need to resist the Soviet missiles. Narration of intelligence is under more pressure today, since the global agenda is recently engaged in anti-terrorism, cyber security and preventing drone attacks, about which the public opinion is very sensitive. In this context, the identity of the professional intelligence officer should be kept away from users, especially from policy makers. Since Sherman Kent worked on strategic intelligence, the politicization of intelligence, that is, its use for political purposes, has been an area of concern. The relation of politicians, in the context, must be limited to providing feedback to the intelligence cycle, setting priorities, allocating resources and planning future investments. On other hand, the meta concept is about the intelligence model or what the any intelligence is about and its functions. These functions usually affect the boundaries, organizational scheme and development of intelligence agencies.

The key points in the intelligence chain are given below:

- First, "data check points" should be identified in the intelligence chain in order to provide real-world monitoring or digital data in the virtual world. For this purpose, the connections of aggressive intelligence operations and terrorists or criminal organizations are

determined, or their movements are monitored by means of sensors in physical environment.

- The second thing to do is to select the right areas for signal and satellite intelligence. Not every signal can be captured, and not everywhere can be controlled from the air. A list of priorities should therefore be prepared, starting with the most important warning.

- Thirdly, intelligence agencies should access data by means of their human resources, capabilities and technology. They should process data and while doing this, they should avoid prejudice and delusions as much as deception by the competitors. Nevertheless, as it is difficult to provide very important information only with national sources in the global world, thus, active operational cooperation should be established with other countries, especially in technical and human intelligence. Even the US itself is highly dependent on its allies in providing the intelligence it needs and therefore, almost every country has liaison personnel in the field of intelligence.

- The next step is that intelligence analysts realize and make sense of the information that is collected. With this information, the analyst puts a piece of the puzzle in place, but the whole picture is still not meaningful. There is a high probability of making mistakes when connecting the dots. As the analyst connects more dots, they show many differing tendencies and if the analyst gets paranoid he will choose the wrong tendency. Connecting these dots incorrectly may

lead to disasters as it did in 2003 when the US intervened in Iraq. Sometimes the analyst finds the right picture but cannot convince his manager. An example of this is the Israeli intelligence before the Yom Kippur War in 1973.

- Users of intelligence should receive reports safely and timely. One of the most important problems today pertaining to secret intelligence is that it has too many customers. Information collected about terrorists or organized crime groups can go from police to coast guard, borders, customs and airport security. This information may require diplomatic initiatives with international organizations or technology (sending high-resolution images, etc.) for cooperation with other intelligence organizations.

- Intelligence customers should understand what they are told and accept the possibilities. Predictions do not constitute a guarantee, especially if the interests of other external forces are affected, or domestic policy concerns are particularly important in the field of operations. As was in Bosnia and Herzegovina between the years 1992 and 1993, military operations may not meet political expectations.

- Customers should make the right decisions about what to do according to the intelligence provided and have the proper means to do what is necessary. Obtaining confidential information is not easy, especially when the source is in a sensitive position and requires

protection. Military commanders tend to acquire intelligence with

real-time situation awareness and imagery of virtual reality.

5. SECURITY AND INTELLIGENCE FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF TURKEY

5.1. Turkey's Priorities and Structural Security Issues:

The common reasons for the collapse of Turkish states during the course of history include lack of sovereignty due to external influences, inability to manage the administrative structure of the multinational state, difficulties in the unification of geography and culture and finally, economic underdevelopment. In this context, Turks became disorganized and disoriented when their economy or state collapsed. For this reason, the basis of Atatürk's understanding of the state is full independence and national sovereignty. Throughout world history, it has not been seen that a nation alone fights such a struggle with an allied civilization. However, this struggle, which lasted for almost a thousand years and still does not seem to be finished, has worn out the Turkish nation and it is not possible to say that the deep traces of this wearing out have been completely eradicated. Atatürk gave priority to the strengthening of our nation-state structure. Atatürk paved the way for the Republic of Turkey on the basis of a system of thought shaped by national sovereignty, individual freedoms, nation-state (the unity and integrity of the country), secularism, keeping up with the times as a contemporary state, and development on the basis of reason and science. The first objective of the Turkish foreign policy pursued during the period of Atatürk was to establish a national state that had the right to self-determination. Leading the War of Independence, Mustafa Kemal's primary objective was to establish a Turkish state

within the national boundaries that encompassed the Turkish elements. The development of the country's national power was the basis of the policies followed by Atatürk after the War of Independence.

During the World War II years, Turkey was protected from attacks by the policies of the President İnönü who projected Turkey as a balance factor between great powers of the world. During the Cold War period, on the other hand, Turkish officials were engaged in conducting the strategies the US and European states determined for Turkey, rather than developing original strategies to meet Turkey's needs. Following the incidents emerging due to left-right conflicts between 1960 and 1980, Turkey has been struggling against separatist terrorist incidents for the last 30 years. On the other hand, religious movements and parties emerging first in Arab countries in the 1960s and 1970s and then in Turkey adopted activities to re-Islamize the state and the society and have strengthened to a great extent. Turkey's current relations with the US and the process of EU membership do not overlap with the national interests of Turkey. Bilateral relations with the US with regard to northern Iraq, fights against separatist terrorism, the security of the Black Sea region, and relations with Syria and Iran are progressing in an axis that is against Turkey's interests. The option of military operation to PKK hot beds in northern Iraq has been reduced to intelligence to be provided by the US as well as permission. Turkey's support was asked for Barzani to ensure the survival of the 'de facto' Kurdish state, which led to assimilation of the Turkmen. The problem of separatist terrorism in Turkey grew by the US roadmap to transform Turkey into a federative structure. This caused the proliferation of pro-terrorist organizations and loss of the psychological

threshold in the fight against terrorism. From this perspective, the issue of Black Sea region's security and the US demands and expectations with regard to Syria and Iran put Turkey's stable and secure relations with its neighbors under risk.

In this regard, Turkey is a medium-sized power under the influence of great powers. Its domestic and foreign policy is under the direction of the US and to some extent the European Union. With the EU membership negotiations and reforms started in 2003, the Turkish Secretary General Office of the National Security Council (MGK) was rendered dysfunctional. Currently, the Secretary General Office of the National Security Council does not have any functions pertaining to the state security (referral and coordination of intelligence, and constituting the legal approval mechanism for propaganda, psychological war and covert operations). The current EU membership process and the constitutional debates keep on the agenda to give what the separatist organization wants at the desk, on the one hand, and to passivize and disable the Turkish Armed Forces under the so-called "Civilian Control of the Army" discourse. As demonstrated by the EU membership process and the US interventions in the regions close to Turkey, Turkey is highly affected by external political and economic sanctions to solve their security problems. Turkey will either continue with today's EU membership process and become a lonely, dependent and federal state in the supposedly post-modern fourth line of the EU which prioritizes the national interests of United Kingdom, Germany and France or promote itself upwards in the power pyramid by having the capability to use force as a requirement of being a nation-state and strengthening its power projection based on soft power.

The radical changes in the international system will unavoidably affect Turkey and it is obvious that these effects will be higher on Turkey compared to the other geographical regions. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990, Turkey started to pursue close relations with the emerging states and first gave importance to Central Asia and its strategic center of gravity shifted to the Middle East after the year 2003. In fact, Turkish foreign policy objectives are not realistic and there is a lack of means-instruments to achieve these objectives. Therefore, no result can be obtained from the crises and polarization in the country is coming to a critical stage, while the country is constantly facing military scenarios in the international area due to irrational policies. While Turkey cannot produce alternative foreign policies, the lack of a solid security concept and political problems erode even the country's capacity of power politics which is dependent solely on the Turkish Armed Forces. While its current position as a regional power is taken under control by the Western countries in the vicinity, other countries including the Russian Federation, Armenia, Greece, and Greek Populated Southern Cyprus take inhibitory role in Turkey's power politics in the neighboring regions, while these countries may adopt scenarios that can quickly turn into military threat under suitable conditions.

In this context, Turkey needs to re-regulate its national security parameters that have shifted, re-strengthen the nation-state structure and ultimately, a protective mechanism in the fight against the Western intervention system. Since the 1990s, Turkey has been struggling against a series of insidiously woven, difficult-to-fight, new and covert series of threats targeting its nation-state structure. The structural security problems of Turkey continuing since the Cold War have become even more

evident with the conflicting interests with the US and abrasion of security areas due to the problems experienced in the EU membership process. The related problems have growingly changed characteristics and the increasing number of domestic obstructions has turned into a deadlock. Due to the fact that the international security system is indexed on security, Turkish policies always come from behind while the state is always unprepared for the upcoming developments. Furthermore, due to the reactive nature of the system, the country ends up in determining its position passively according to other countries' policies rather than taking the lead in protecting its interests. As there is not any organization that can integrate actors and institutions such as the government, civil society, military, universities, research centers and the elite who can contribute to the security system, problems with regard to generating policies and strategies are still ongoing. The most important problem of the country is the lack of vision and inability to determine the roles that are suitable for its own interests.

5.2. Requirements in the field of National Security and Power:

Turkey's most important problem after the Cold War has been that its foreign policy is not based on 'interests' but on 'security' and therefore, it is predominantly shaped by reactive and hard power. Although the concept of 'soft power' has been frequently bought up in recent years, this concept has been dealt with its passive aspect which is why there is still a need for a true soft power formation and implementation. Similarly, the concept of 'public diplomacy' is understood with its passive aspect as the narration of the 'country's story'. In this regard, Turkey is far

away from creating an effect when it comes to its vital interests due to lack of power projection in addition to the problems in producing policies and strategies. Civil capacity that will compose the soft power of the country cannot be developed, whereas entities under the guise of non-governmental organizations directed by foreign funds are themselves a security problem for Turkey with their disruptive features. In order for this country to be prepared for the 21st century, there is a need to form a strategic intelligence network within the framework of a strategic vision based on national interests rather than providing information for the purpose of referrals. In addition, there is a need to produce deep knowledge on issues that are subjected to scientific criteria or related to the country's future. In order to develop this knowledge, it is obligatory to establish institutes with active and dynamic staff and to ensure that the information produced in these institutes forms the basis for policies.

One of the primary breaking points for Turkey is its nation-state structure – which is tried to be refuted in the EU membership process – as well as the re-organization and strengthening of the country's integrity. In short, internal threats are priority and urgent than ever. For countries such as Turkey, which open to foreign countries before they complete their political homogeneity and economic development with permeable and sensitive nation state structure, whose national power is constantly subject to disinformation and whose integrity and security are destabilized through covert activities and propaganda, it is possible to argue that such countries' roles in the international area pertaining to security is limited to protect their people socially and physically against attacks and civil wars and conserve their national identities. The transformation policy which has been implemented in Turkey

for decades by the Western powers via soft power has caused grave deterioration in our nation-state structure, while internal threat has overridden external threat. The most obvious aspect of this deterioration or distort is that separatist terrorist organization operations in the east and southeast of Turkey were carried to the civil area particularly in the 2000s as well as the formation of a second structure by its organization with the KCK (Unity of Kurdistan Communities) and its popular support. The most important security issue in front of Turkey is this second power formation and elimination of its grassroots. And this requires eliminating of all PKK terrorist deployments within and outside Turkey as well as a transformation in northern Iraq. This further requires not only a regional transformation with soft power, but also new methods with hard power. Since the fight against terrorism will only end when it is overcome in perception, new methods are needed within the scope of smart power as well.

From this perspective, it is now a must to reinforce our nation-state structure, eliminate internal threats, and ultimately develop a national power projection within the framework of a new understanding of security. With this purpose, democracy must be strengthened with a supra-party understanding and polarization must be prevented. Development of hard, soft and smart power must be priority in order to confront short – and long – term threats against Turkey and make use of the opportunities ahead. In order to come up with the above developments, Turkey must first identify its capacity and problems in the given power categories and form a new structure that is compatible with the 21st century instead of eliminating problems one by one or using institutions that are left of the Cold War era and which

have failed to innovate themselves. Power development must first be started with a new security policy that will provide a framework for such institutes and new policies and strategies in the fields of power, defense, intelligence and public diplomacy. Such activities must be programmed and regular on the basis of an integrated system. In addition, it must be considered to form flexible and modular structures which can complete each other when necessary and adapt rapidly to various crises and scenarios (Çavuş, 2012, pp. 23-37).

Turkey's security priorities include strengthening the nation-state structure, national integrity, secularity, Turkish identity, national awareness, modernization, rule of law and traditional cultural values within the framework of Atatürk's principles. For this purpose, measures should be taken to eliminate the negative effects of external centers on the security of the country, and the connections of disruptive foreign media, capital, civil society, associations, foundations and influence agents should be destroyed. Economic development with minimum dependence on foreign sources and optimum use of the country's own resources must be ensured. As a matter of fact, a strong national economy is the basis of national power that can resist foreign debt – economic sanctions – and financial games. After Turkey reinforces its nation-state structure according to the needs of the contemporary age, the country can undertake regional and global roles in the security environment as a 'great power'. Furthermore, Turkey can take firm steps towards the future with a power projection where it can also use its soft power, a security structure that is based on national interests as well as proactive policies. More courageous and independent policies await the Turkish society, which has a well-rooted state understanding, a private

sector with select entrepreneurs, young and dynamic population and a universal horizon.

Turkey needs an ideational infrastructure and ruling power that will eliminate polarization and embrace all parts of the society with an integrative approach. This ideational infrastructure must be based on Atatürk nationalism, which constitutes the basic value of our nation-state structure and Republic, in other words, Turkish nationalism that is not based on ethnic origin. This understanding should be based on a single Turkish identity forming all ethnic groups of the country yet should not avert multiple languages and identities as they constitute cultural richness of our country. There must be tolerance towards multiple languages and identities, however there should be limitation in public sphere. Turkish nationalism and the uniformity of the Turkish language should be regarded as the cement of our nation-state structure and the demands that would lead to a federative structure should not be given a basis in the domestic law. Organizations for protection of cultural assets should be established for languages/dialects with roots in history and spoken in Anatolia, nevertheless their abuse for political purposes must be prevented. Public opinion should be convinced by new and acceptable strategies and peaceful solutions, instead of banning regulations that have been brought to a certain level today. The remedy for polarization is soft and smart power as well as national authorities rather than foreigners to feel the pulse of the public and take preventive measures in time to comfort the public conscience. The easiest way to do this is to re-establish the balance of legislative-executive-judicial powers and to restore confidence in justice by eliminating suspicions over the rule of law emerging in recent years.

5.3. Statesmanship And Intelligence In Turkey

5.3.1.Statesmanship and Intelligence in Turkey

The word elite in Turkey generally is confused with the intellectuals and administrators, and it has been argued that there are two groups in our country as the elite and the regular people. There is still the obsession of seeing everyone who is a university graduate, a manager or a government officer as elite. Until the 2000s, Turkey was ruled by the Political Science Graduates (Ankara University), Graduates of Military College and Medical Schools. Today, these groups are alienated, disesteemed and silenced. Rulers in Turkey do not come from mosques contrary to popular belief, but they come from the street There is a lack of elite in Turkey in the field of politics or policy-making and there no system suitable to raise such elites. The biggest problem in Turkey is to raise elites and increase the number of qualified people who can participate in decision-making processes. Therefore, there is a need for new horizontal and vertical institutions and processes that will integrate such institutions. On the other hand, decision-makers tend not to value the opinions of such people. As there are not statesmen in Turkey who know the technique of generating policies and strategies, and the meaning of the words vision, concept, and doctrine, there is not any elite group, as mentioned above, who can work in the background for the country's interests. Research centers lost their effect since they could not find the necessary financial support during the AKP's ruling (Yılmaz, Türkiye'nin "Elit" İhtiyacı, 2014).

In Turkey, the main organization responsible for carrying out national intelligence activities is the National Security Organization (MİT) established by Law No. 2937 on State Intelligence Services and National Intelligence Organization. MİT is responsible for domestic and foreign intelligence. With the Law on MİT, ministries are also tasked with providing intelligence to in their own areas in addition to working in coordination with MİT. The Directorate General of Security reporting the Ministry of Interior, General Command of Gendarmerie and Turkish Coast Guard Command are tasked with collection intelligence about domestic security and duties pertaining to law enforcement. The Anatolian News Agency, Office of Navigation, Hydrography and Oceanography, Turkish Airlines, General Directorate of Meteorology, General Directorate of Press and Information, and General Directorate of Radio Procedures operating under the body of other ministries are also counted among institutions that provide intelligence, although it is not their main objective. The state intelligence system in Turkey can be divided into two as domestic and foreign intelligence organizations. Domestic intelligence organization include the National Intelligence Organization (MİT), Armed Forces intelligence organization, ministry and chamber intelligence and Ministry of Interior intelligence department. Foreign intelligence organizations, on the other hand, include Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Directorate General of Intelligence and Research), attachés, embassies, and representatives of international institutions and organizations (MİT, 1983).

The task of Turkish intelligence has not changed since the Republican period: To obtain domestic and foreign intelligence – although the priority is domestic intelligence – in order to determine the state's domestic and foreign policies via counterintelligence and strategic intelligence (through HUMINT, ELINT and SIGINT) and to deliver such intelligence to institutions that need them in most up-to-date version in order to ensure national unity and solidarity with the survival of the state. Table 2 shows the objectives of Turkish intelligence agencies in various periods and their relations with statesmen.

Table 2: The Relationship between Statesmen and Intelligence in Turkey

Period	Intelligence Strategy	Relationship with Statesmen
1926-1946	These activities included intelligence and counterintelligence providing with the aim of ensuring the permanence of the new Republic, preventing internal rebellions and eliminating threats against our country that may emanate from World War II.	Government policies and organizational activities were parallel due to the fact that the rulers of the single-party period and the organization were of military origin, there was not any negativity.
1946-	Party policies were supported after the transition to the multi-party period and	The relations between the government and the former

1960	counterintelligence was used to fight against communism and reactionary movements in the First Generation Countries.	National Security Services Organization (MAH – today's National Intelligence Organization) were distant and official. The government did not have influence on MAH.
1960-1982	The priority intelligence activities included fight against communism due to fact that Turkey was a NATO member as well as monitoring the leftist movements across the world and particularly the activities of the USSR. Turkish left operating in Turkey were the most important targets. This was followed by a lower level of idealism and reactionary activities.	Since the organization was run by the military, there was no relationship with politicians other than routine official meetings.
1982-1997	The big threat of communism of the past disappeared as the USSR collapsed and it lost its importance for intelligence. It was more important to provide intelligence on increasing reactionary movements in Turkey (religious communities, activities of	The relations between the government and MIT have entered a softer period due to the appointment of the retired MIT member as the second man (Deputy Undersecretary) of the organization.

	Islamic countries against our country, etc.) and separatist movements (PKK and other Kurdish movements) as well as counterintelligence on the First Generation Countries.	
1997-2006	The target was the separatist terrorist organization (PKK), reactionary activities, radical Islamic organizations and their supporters abroad.	Government and MIT relations have moved to a different dimension and relations have started to be under the control of politicians.
2006-2014	The aim was to negotiate with the separatist terrorist organization through political means and the government aspired to become the main executive body of the ideological projections in the neighboring geographies, primarily the Middle East.	MIT began to work completely under the control of the government and the ruling party.

The following results can be deduced based on the relations explained in Table 2:

- Between the years 1926 and 1946, internal rebellions that started in the first years of the Republic as well as assassination attempts against Atatürk were prevented and measures were taken

successfully. Moreover, successful intelligence studies were conducted in northern Iraq and Hatay, the developments of World War II were closely monitored, and our intelligence contributed to the balanced foreign policy that was applied at that time.

- The period of 1946-1960: The Democratic Party demilitarize MAH (former National Intelligence Organization) and a civilian was appointed for the first time as the head of MAH although by proxy. However, they could not be successful due to the reactions coming from both sub-cadres and soldiers. An indicator of this is that the government lacked news on the coup of May 27, 1960.

- The period of 1960-1982: Politicians had no influence on the MİT, a closed institution that did not allow interference with its own functioning. And only changes that MİT wanted were made by the government. MİT provided governments only the intelligence it deemed proper. In addition, politicians stated at the time that they believed MİT did not inform them about the upcoming military actions (March 12, 1971 Memorandum and September 12, 1980 Coup).

- The period of 1982-1997: The ruling party of the time, ANAP, Motherland Party, wanted to demilitarize MİT, however they appointed Hiram Abas, a retired MİT personnel, as the Deputy Undersecretary to MİT. This appointment opened a new period of change in MIT, yet it caused unrest in the organization. Hiram Abas, who had close relations with the government, prepared the

1st MİT Report together with his team. Süleyman Demirel formed the new government in 1991 and appointed Sönmez Köksal as the head of MİT - a civilian for the first time in 1993. In 1994, retired MİT member Mehmet Eymür was appointed to a high level position within the MİT by Tansu Çiller, the President of DYP/True Path Party. As of this period, the dispatch of soldiers from MİT began.

- The period of 1998-2006: Governments begun to appoint MİT Undersecretary from within, not from among retired/active soldiers and/or outsiders. Şenkal Atasagun was appointed as the Undersecretary of MİT on February 11, 1998 under the influence of Mesut Yılmaz's businessman brother. This appointment led MİT members to search for closeness with politicians in order to be assigned to higher level positions within the organization.

- From 2006 to today: After Emre Taner, who was the second Undersecretary raised within the organization, retired, Hakan Fidan was appointed as the Undersecretary from the outside and the demilitarization of MİT was ensured in all aspects. Officials started to be appointed as Vice Undersecretary from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and other various departments and institutions, and MİT has gained a new dimension. In order to be appointed to higher positions within the MİT, a greater search has started to establish close relations with the ruling party.

5.3.2. National Intelligence Organization and Soldiers

According to Law No. 1324 dated July 31, 1970, providing military intelligence is under the authority and responsibility of the Presidency of the General Staff. The General Staff Intelligence Directorate is structured to focus on foreign intelligence, while the Force Commanders are structured to perform intelligence activities in their respective fields. Military attachés, officers and representatives in international headquarters are among the sources of military intelligence. Surveillance and Electronic Systems (GES) Command, which was under the Armed Forces until recently, was included in the MİT. In the 1990s, the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) Military Intelligence Command was established to address the need for human intelligence but was later abolished. With Article 4 of Law No. 2937, paragraph e., MİT was given the task of providing the intelligence needed by the General Staff. As is seen, the units such as intelligence directorates, departments and branches within the General Staff are regarded as headquarters. There is no association of professional human intelligence for military purposes within the body of the Turkish Armed Forces. Information evaluated within the scope of intelligence is obtained from news that military units receive during their tasks (such as the fight against terrorism), MİT, civil sources, open sources, NATO and similar foreign sources as well as documents and reports from military representation offices. Strategic intelligence is used by headquarters from the General Staff to the Army Corps level and headquarters intelligence elements serve to analyze, disseminate and use this information. Tactical and combat

intelligence are usually needed by Army Corps and other sub units. Basic intelligence needs are requested from the MİT Undersecretariat and other relevant institutions with an annual news gathering plan. In case of emergency, for example, when urgent information is needed about a neighboring country's army, it must be requested from MİT in writing. However, the structure and *modus operandi* of MİT is not suitable for meeting military intelligence needs. Experiences so far show that MİT has met 21% of the intelligence needs by the Presidency of General of Staff envisioned in the news gathering plan and it is observed that most of the information provided is general information that is available on the internet such as "Country A's Minister of Defense said this", or "Terrorist Organization X waged an attack" (Yılmaz, 2019).

The backbone of Turkish intelligence, in other words the basis of the relations between statesmen and intelligence, was formed by MİT and MİT was dominated by soldiers throughout the 1990s. This relationship was so rooted and based on mutual trust that the soldiers who were always active in MİT did not see the need to establish a separate military intelligence organization like those in the US or other countries. This situation, in fact, is the biggest weakness of the military. Until 2006, statesmen had no cooperation with intelligence officials except for private relations or listening to private affairs. Since the transition to multi-party system, the biggest concern of the ruling party leaders has been the possibility of the military seizing the administration or in other words, the possibility of military coup, in the face of corrupt government in the country.

From this perspective, it is important to note that defense and economics are areas that require special expertise. Indeed, as described above, the US Armed Forces has 8 intelligence agencies. In all countries, intelligence agencies are created for the military's own needs, and such organizations as cyber security and space intelligence are generally either kept independent or given to the control of the military. In Turkey, on the other hand, the one and only effective intelligence means for the military is the Surveillance and Electronic Systems (GES) Command and it has been a good move that this organization was taken under the control of MİT. MİT must organize and collect all informations from soldiers and must evaluate them with respect to situation. In other words, MİT must be the main organization for collections and evaluation of intelligence.

For the most effective use of the defense force in peacetime, the intelligence of the country as well as the diplomacy must be in close harmony and cooperation with the armed forces. In today's war environment described above, dispersal of duties for the same mission results with waste of time and efforts. All intelligence activities in this field muts be organized under the organization structure of MİT.

5.3.3. National Intelligence Organization and Ministry of Foreign Affairs

The relations between MİT, the National Intelligence Organization, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs must be tackled in two contexts: Domestic and foreign. Domestic relations are limited to issues such as political planning and cooperation in the preparation of relevant intelligence documents. The foreign intelligence staff of our country are employed in the foreign embassies, military

attaché offices and other international institutions under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In practice, though, there is usually a lack of information in the cooperation and coordination of the embassies. Therefore, the fact that intelligence units working side by side seek to provide different information to their centers lead to the problem of coordination and labor waste. It is seen that intelligence sharing relations with embassies are more troubled especially in countries where there are joint military headquarters. Unfortunately, this situation is often used by embassies as a trump card to pressure their staff.

Pertaining to foreign intelligence, Kamran İnan, a former minister and ambassador, uttered that "The information source of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is very limited and weak. Information from the National Intelligence Organization is very superficial. However, robust intelligence is the basic condition of defense and foreign policy. Intelligence is the most important field for large and even some medium-sized states. This topic has always remained the weak side of Turkey". According to some researchers, this is primarily due to the fact that domestic security intelligence, particularly on terrorism problems has been prioritized over other areas in our country.

Under this framework, intelligence must be evaluated under the organizational structure of MİT. As I said before, intelligence of a country must be collected by one hand and must be evaluated ny one hand.

5.3.4. National Intelligence Organization and Security General Directorate

The Ministry of Interior has two departments with functions of intelligence collection: The "Department of Anti-Smuggling, Intelligence, Operation and Data Collection" and the "Smuggling Intelligence Coordination Center". While the Ministry of Interior fulfills the duty of law enforcement and ensuring security as per the Law No. 3152 on Founding Duties and Authorities, the Ministry has tasked the Intelligence Departments of the General Command of Gendarmerie and Directorate General of Security for producing domestic and smuggling intelligence. The General Directorate of Security ensures the flow of information through the Provincial Security Intelligence Branches throughout the country and provides the integrity of intelligence for domestic security and public order. In 1937, the "Important Affairs Directorate" was established under the body of the Directorate General of Security and this directorate was held responsible for intelligence and security. After May 27, 1960, this Directorate was reviewed and "Intelligence Groups" were established in ten cities, reporting to the Directorate after 1963. After the year 1970, the Directorate was transformed into a "Head Department" and "Intelligence Presidency" later in 1975 and has been continuing its work as the "Intelligence Head Department" since 1983 (EGM, 2019).

The Directorate General of Security conducts domestic intelligence activities through the Intelligence Head Department within its organization. This department serves as per the new article added to the Law No. 3201 on the Directorate General of Security in 1985. This new article added to the Law was as follows: "The police conduct intelligence activities at national level in order to take preventive and protective measures regarding the indivisible integrity of the

state with its country and nation, constitutional order and general security, and collects and evaluates information for this purpose. And the police also cooperate with other intelligence agencies of the state". With this legal regulation, the Directorate General of Security is charged with "providing intelligence throughout the country". Within the framework of this duty and authority, the personnel selected from the police organization are assigned to the central and sub-organizations after institutional training. The Intelligence Department of the Directorate General of Security collects intelligence on all areas that are related to its duty together with other departments, central and provincial units that collect and evaluate information as a requirement of the security services. Other intelligence related units within the organization of the Directorate General of Security are as follows (1) Anti-Smuggling and Organized Crime Department, (2) Anti-Terrorism Department, (3) and Intelligence Branches within the Provincial Directorates of Security.

The Police Organization must be work with MİT in order to reach the information quickly. Members of MİT are more talented and educated during the collection and evaluation process of intelligence than police organizaitons.

5.3.5. National Intelligence Organization and Politicians

Established by law in 1960, undersecretaries were appointed at MİT by a tripartite decree. Yet, this authority was later amended, and a soldier often chosen by the Chief of General Staff was approved by the President and the Prime Minister as the Head of MİT. In this context, soldiers deemed MİT under the body

of the military and MİT's relations with politicians were always very limited due to the soldier undersecretary serving in the organization. On the other hand, there were two large changes in MİT's personnel recruitment as Emre Taner and his group were recruited as a civilian group in 1965 and personnel speaking multiple languages were recruited after Sönmez Köksal was appointed in 1992. In the 1980s, Erkan Gürvit's demilitarization efforts opened the way for Hiram Abas and Mehmet Eymür who were close to him. Turgut Özal endeavored to establish his own private intelligence with Hiram Abbas and Tansu Çiller continued this effort. The tension caused by the conflict of interest caused by these intelligence polarizations was reflected to the public with Susurluk incidence. Mehmet Ağar in the Directorate General of Security and Mehmet Eymür in MİT represented these two poles in the area of intelligence. Tansu Çiller firstly wanted to make Nuri Gündeş undersecretary of MİT because of his proximity to the military. Hiram Abas, although very ambitious, remained the Deputy Undersecretary and due to his proximity to Demirel, Sönmez Köksal became the Undersecretary of MİT. This was also the first rapprochement with politicians and helped Köksal's efforts to demilitarize the MİT.

In the demilitarization of MİT with the approval of the Prime Minister and the General Staff, Demirel's sensitive and balanced behavior in military-MİT relations prevented the problems. Şenkal Atasagun who came after Köksal was promoted with the impact of his closeness to Mesut Yılmaz's brother despite the fact that there were more senior members in MİT. Emre Taner, who was not fond

of soldiers in the Security Office where worked, became undersecretary by building close relations with politicians despite Atasagun's objection.

The intelligence organization can swim without getting wet as used in intelligence jargon. It can both support the state policies and remain neutral, but this is not an easy task. On the other hand, intelligence services are not the guardians of political powers in democratic systems. Parties come in and out of power by election, intelligence services have no duty to consolidate their position or to become their guardian angel by engaging in special relations with politicians. In this context, intelligence agents should be cautious and quick against politicians and political approaches avoiding minefields. Beyond this, the intelligence service cannot undertake the task of being an actor to carry out the ideological policies of political powers against the constitution and laws.

The job of intelligence agents is to produce the intelligence needed to apply the policies prepared in line with the interests of the country. To do this, they must first provide realistic analytical intelligence products and perform their functions within the legal limits. Like an x-ray provided by a radiologist to the doctor, the intelligence should give policy makers the stained parts of the bigger picture, however, it should not produce value. The product of intelligence should provide awareness to politicians as well as policy options they can apply to unchanging national interests but should not prejudice them. On the other hand, the real problem here is how to determine national interests. National interests are determined by the competition of many political, security and economic institutions in democratic countries. National interests are not absolute; they may

vary according to the dynamics of the international environment and policy preferences, yet they are usually determined with the participation of all relevant actors. Intelligence leads this determining process with new information that is provided. Intelligence analysts have traditionally included country interests in the last part of their reports dwelling on developments in other countries. Yet, the rapid changes in the 21st century's security environment have made it more urgent and difficult to specialize in specific areas and to identify and prioritize national interests. Thus, intelligence agents should work harder to provide the necessary database for prioritizing national interests.

6. CONCLUSION

The term security is as ancient as the state of nature and is one of the biggest problems of humanity. Humanity found out the structure of state in order to ensure security and accepted that the security would be carried by that system. This compromise from independence, which was for security, laid down the foundations of state and individuals first became constituents that were suppressed by the state followed by the fact that they began to be the constituents that gained strength against the state.

Following the emergence of social contract thought, individuals gave up their rights to a higher authority voluntarily and expected to be protected with this contract. On the other hand, the condition of higher authority, in other words, the change sovereign's being altered appears. Hence, individuals have the right to change the sovereign to whom they give some of their rights.

In the aftermath of the Middle Ages, with the social contract that emerged in the transition period of states to modern ages, states began to monopolize the tools of use of force. Security gained a new dimension when states became centralized with the rise of nationalism and army accounted for power in the hands of states. After the means of collecting taxes were also centralized, states started to secure themselves in the form of regular armies.

Security also entered a new dimension at the end of the 19th Century with the impact of the Industrial Age. The fact that states sought more colonies and sought to have the resources of those involved a new insight on security which suggests the notion

that security was not only limited to self-protection but also to the security of the colonies.

After the order of the Vienna Congress, with the system built up until the First World War, the notion of security and conflicts expanded to colonies. States resorted to conflict on colonies rather conflicting on the old continent. With this conflict, security entered a new dimension.

Following the First World War, the period between the two wars, the Second World War and Cold War, the notion of security diversified and started to be present in different areas. Global security, universal security, space security, regional international, state security belong to the diversified concepts of security.

Before the diversification of security, the most important aspect of security was the military dimension. Up until now from ancient times, states equated security with military power. Together with this, following the change in the notion of security, with economic, international coalitions and psychological war and intelligence stood out as the dimensions of security.

The notion of security had experienced various changes from ancient times to nowadays, yet modern security encountered four changes in the aftermath of the 20th Century. The early period of the notion security was between 1918 and 1955. In this period, security was considered as interdisciplinary and multi-dimensional and was perceived as equivalent to carrying out international law, international organisations, generalizing democracy and international institutions and realizing disarmament. The

period between 1955 and 1985 is labelled as the ''Golden Age'' for security. Different from the first period, in this period nuclear weapons began to shape the international politics and issues such as nuclear war, gun control and limited war came to the fore. With regards to the definition of security which exist on the topics of the first research of the field, security's place within other purposes of foreign policy and with which tools it should be guaranteed were altered into a new focus point which was how new quality nuclear weapons could provide national and international security.

In 1980s, the end of the Cold War led to great changes in the notion of security. In other words, in the time period that includes the year 1985 and 1995, the notion of research which was based on the military power and nuclear weapons during the Cold War altered into a newly defined and expanded notion of security for the studies of security. In this period, the understanding of security began to be shaped on the grounds of the thought of collective security and the importance of the relationship between security and economic development as well as political consolidation was highlighted. The criticisms against narrowly defined notion of security increased after economy and environment became more crucial on the agenda of international relations in the 1970s and 1980s. 1995 was the year when change began to reveal itself following the Cold War; however, contrary to what had been expected, the USA could not become the hegemonic power in the world. Hence, after 1995, critical notions of security came into view. The critical security practices take a critical approach to security as the basis and question who should be taken as the reference point in security. In addition, critical security practices deal with security as an expanding term on the grounds of actors, dimensions, levels.

Security also found its place in the international theories as a topic that needs to be considered and understood with regards to international relations. Together with this approach, the theories of international relations developed various understandings of security. Each theory of international relations approaches to the concept of security from a different perspective stemming from the developed understandings. All the international relations approaches that have been developed from realism which considers the human nature as evil to liberalism which regards human nature as essentially good and the schools of these thoughts do not give enough importance to the intelligence which is a crucial and main topic. Most of the mentioned theories, either do not include the relation between intelligence and the importance of intelligence within security at all or they include a limited part of these. From this perspective, it can be said that the lack of intelligence that is required to maintain security is quite high.

Together with the fact that intelligence is a matter that needs to be examined entirely, through the eyes of the international relations, when intelligence is examined independently from security and from the theories of international relations, it becomes obsolete. That is why when it comes to intelligence, security and international relations theories should be analyzed together.

Indeed, intelligence constitutes diversity. In order to grasp intelligence, security and their effects on the international relations, intelligence is divided into various diversity such as the aspect of activeness, the source of the threat, topic, the ways that it come into being and the level that it is acquired.

The needs of intelligence are divided into two essentially and permanently. The essential needs are planning, operations and the critical ones that are crucial for decision making. The permanent ones are the renewed information regularly in time. In this manner, what is called an intelligence cycle appeared and it was utilized elaborately for intelligence. In time the notion of security changed and due to this change, the intelligence cycle was renewed and was modelled again through going out of the traditional system.

In the light of this general information, the need for intelligence is clear and significant considering Turkey's standpoint in security, intelligence and international relations which results from Turkey's geopolitical location.

The notion of intelligence in Turkey altered in accordance with the change in international relations. With the purposes of intelligence between 1926 and 1946, which were to maintain the permanence of newly founded Republic and to prevent the internal revolts as well as ruling out possible threats that might stem from the Second World War, carrying out both intelligence and counter-intelligence were decided upon. Following 1946, Turkey adopted a multiparty system, the Second World War ended and the change in international relations had an impact on Turkey. In this period, following the transition to a multi-party system, intelligence was used to support the policies that parties pursued, to combat with communism and reactionary activities. However, following the 1960s the world order changed and right leftist movements were on the rise. Therefore, Turkey, which is a member of the NATO, utilized intelligence so as to tackle with communism and to watch a close eye on the activities of the Soviet Union. Turkish Leftist movement was the primary target which was active within Turkey which was followed by idealist

and reactionary movements. Considering the time period after 1980, the perceived big threat of communism disappeared and the Soviet Union dissolved which then caused a new understanding of intelligence. Until the second part of 1990s when terror was on the rise, intelligence aimed to collect information on reactionary movements (congregations, the activities of Islamic states on Turkey) and on separatist movements (PKK, other Kurdish separatist movements).

From 1997, due to the changing conjuncture and terrorist activities, between 1997 and 2006, the first target was set as PKK which was followed by reactionary and organisations of radical Islam and the supporters of these movements in abroad. Between 2006 and 2014, intelligence took the duty of being the main body of ideological projections carried out by the government with regards to surrounding geography including the Middle East and also took the duty of political negotiations with the separatist terrorist organisation.

As they are stated by the laws (In accordance with the law 1324 which was adopted on 31 July 1970), the procuring military intelligence is under the responsibility and authority of Turkish General Staff. The General Staff divided the topics of collecting and processing into two within its scope. The General Staff Directorate of Intelligence executes missions according to the need for foreign intelligence in addition to the fact that service commands carry out intelligence in their field.

Military intelligence is one of the closest areas to security in terms of realist perspective. In the 21st Century, the fact that security needs to be put as a priority together with intelligence possess great importance. Indeed, Turkey needs to prioritise the intelligence together with military intelligence in order to ensure security. Based on these,

military intelligence holds great significance. Moreover, in order to deal with probable events that might occur in Turkey's frontier and to take measures against such probable conflicts, military intelligence is of vital importance.
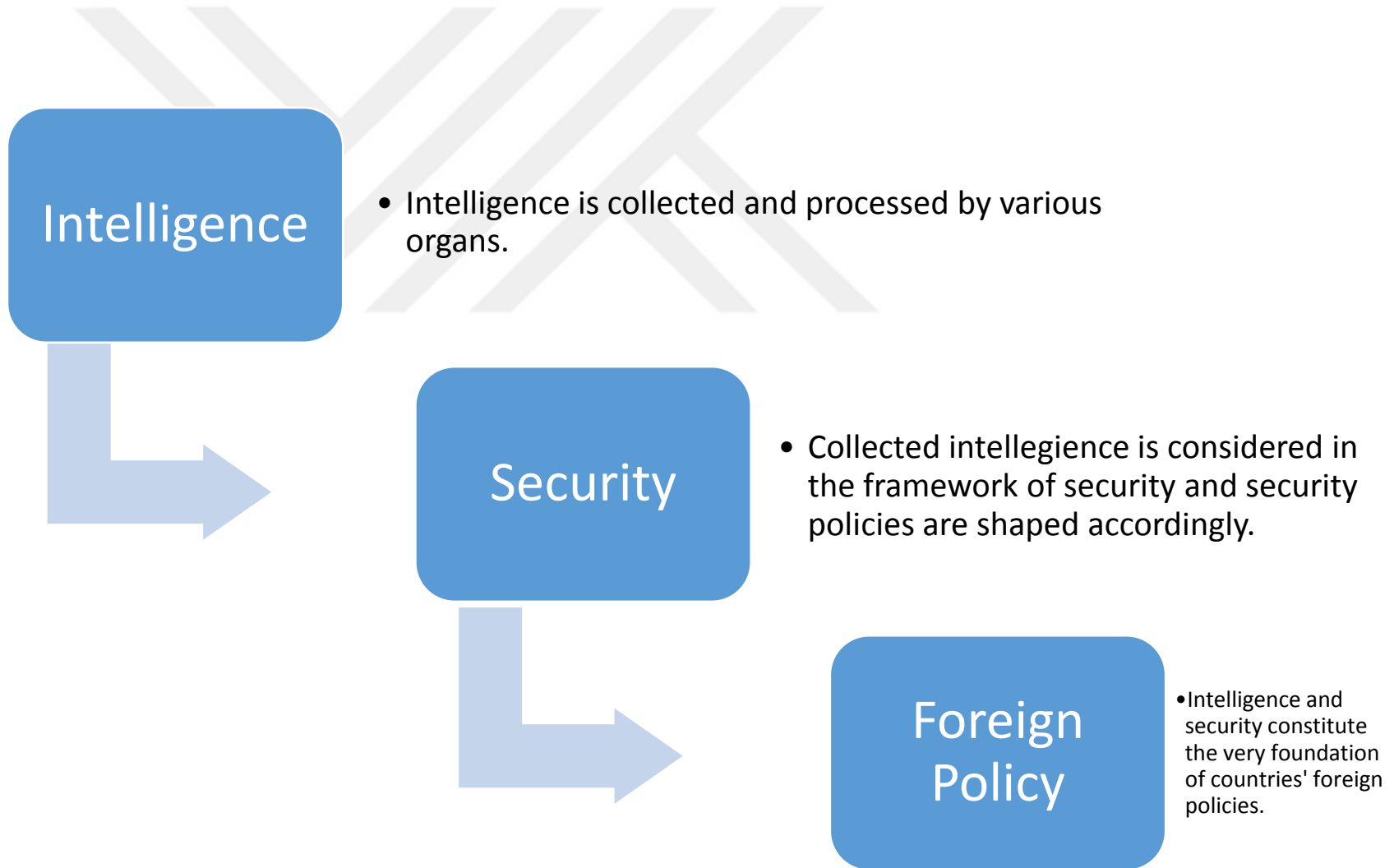
The Foreign Ministry is another important aspect in the field of intelligence. In addition, the foreign ministry divided informative activities into two. Policy planning in the domestic realm is limited to matters such as cooperation in the preparation of intelligence documents. The staff of intelligence in abroad work at the embassies connected to the foreign ministry, as military attache and work in positions within other international institutions. Therefore, external affairs pose great importance in terms of obtaining information and informative activities in foreign countries. The Turkish Foreign Affairs which has agencies in almost every country posses the opportunity to examine the intelligence collected by the personnel in the framework of security and the intelligence factor is a must to be considered with regards to security. There are two directorates within the Ministry of Internal Affairs concerning security which are The Directorate Department of Smuggling, Operation and Information and The Directorate of Smuggling, Intelligence and Coordination Board. General Directorate of Security carries out intelligence activities through the Department of Intelligence which is within the GDS. The basics of the exercises that are followed by this department stem from an article that was added to the Law of Enforcement Agency in 1985. This article that was added to the law suggests that the Police takes measures in order to protect the Constitutional order, to protect the indivisible unity of the state and the nation. In addition to that, the Police also is responsible for maintaining the public order and safety, thus the Police collect information and intelligence at the national level and evaluate the information gathered.

Together with this collected intelligence, Turkey enhance Turkish internal security as a result of informative activities.

In international relations, security constitutes the backbones of domestic and foreign policies of states as well as the relations among states. Since the modern state was established, security, which was the field that states gave importance the most, divided into several areas and became complicated.

Nowadays, intelligence constitutes the foundation of security. In the 21st Century, security means ensuring security before incidents happen rather than intervening after events take place. Considering that threats stem from several spheres, security no longer meant that something can be done at the time of the event or security is no longer considered as intervening to the situation after it occurs.

Countries give importance to intelligence and attempt to ensure their security in accordance with informative activities. In addition to the fact that each country attaches importance to intelligence with regards to ensuring security, geopolitical locations of countries increase the significance and necessity of these informative activities. To put it in another way, countries collect intelligence in order to utilize those for their security. Hence, this notion of security constitutes foreign policy. Foreign policy is formed as a result of the sequence of intelligence and security.

Intelligence

- Intelligence is collected and processed by various organs.

Security

- Collected intellegience is considered in the framework of security and security policies are shaped accordingly.

Foreign Policy

- Intelligence and security constitute the very foundation of countries' foreign policies.

Turkey is a neighbour to several problematic regions at the same time due to the geopolitical basin that Turkey is based. Several regions with congealed conflicts which are labelled as the frozen conflicts in the literature are located around Turkey and near its basin. Considering the perspective of Europe, Caucasus and Caspian Sea Region, Turkey is a neighbour to seven regions that have conflicts both in overland and by the sea.

The Syrian issue is another case that Turkey has to form the triangle of intelligence, security and foreign policy.

In Syria where divergent ethnic groups, different countries and terror exist, Turkey has to build up a security policy that is supported by the intelligence.

In other words, in conflicting areas to which Turkey is directly the neighbour or has a sea border, Turkey has direct interests and security concerns. That's why Turkey has to provide intelligence that is depicted in the figure above and formulate its security policies in line with this intelligence as well as carrying out its foreign policy through including both intelligence and security policies.

In the 21st Century, intelligence constitutes the foundation for many policies. In a dynamic world that is improving and changing fast, without a doubt, intelligence is a must for countries for their securities and has importance in international relations as a guiding term for countries to formulate their foreign policies.

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