Analyzing Foreign Policy Crises in Turkey

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Conceptual, Theoretical and Practical Discussions

Edited by

Fuat Aksu and Helin Sarı Ertem

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This book is dedicated to:

NURETTİN AKSU,
missing you, your curious questions and encouraging comments…

and

MELİH MURAT ERTEM,
thank you for your inspiring ideas and generous support…

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In alphabetical order.

PREFACE

This book resulted from a three-year long TÜBİTAK (The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey) Project, examining the Turkish foreign policy crises and crisis management strategies in the Republican Era. The project, which received remarkable interest in Turkish academia, allowed us to examine 34 foreign policy crises in the last 92 years since the foundation of the Republic of Turkey. It is worth underlining here that the brainstorming in our "Coercive Diplomacy and Crisis Management in Turkish Foreign Policy" course made a valuable contribution to the embodiment of this project. Colleagues and students, who encouraged us for a more comprehensive study of this critical issue, believed in the necessity of making it a book and gave their kind support by writing the chapters of it.

This book requires us to thank not only these esteemed contributors, but many other names and institutions. Among them, TÜBİTAK and Yıldız Technical University, Scientific Research Projects Coordinatorship (YTU - BAPK), deserve our special thanks for the academic and financial assistance they gave to this project. We would also like to thank the participants/staff officers of the Turkish War Colleges, The Armed Forces Higher Command and Management College, which made eye-opening contributions during our discussions there especially on the military decision making processes of the Turkish crisis management.

Prof. Dr. Klaus Brummer, our Section Chair in the 2014 ECPR General Conference in Glasgow, where the first findings of this project were shared with the academia, and a leading name in crisis studies, Prof. Dr. Charles F. Hermann also deserve our thanks due to their comments and questions that improved our researches. We also have to thank the Deans of the Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences at Yıldız Technical University, Prof. Dr. Güler Aras and Prof. Dr. Kenan Aydın, and Cambridge Scholars Publishing for their kind support during the research and publishing processes of this book.

Finally, our special thanks goes to our family members, especially our spouses and children, without whose love and patience this book would not be finished. We would also like to commemorate dear Nurettin Aksu,

whom we lost during the preparation of this book. His loving-kindness and support for his children and grandchildren will never be forgotten.

We hope this book can inspire further academic studies in the area of foreign policy crises.

Fuat Aksu and Helin Sarı Ertem
Istanbul, November 2016

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DP	Democrat Party *(Demokrat Parti)*
FP	Felicity Party *(Saadet Partisi)*
FIR	Flight Information Region
EOKA	Ethniki Organosis Kyrion Agoniston or National Organization of Greek Cypriot Fighters
FSA	Free Syrian Army
GCA	Greek Cypriot Administration
GUP	Great Union Party
ICBP	International Crisis Behavior Project
IHH	The Foundation for Human Rights and Freedoms and Humanitarian Relief
ISIS	Al-Dawla al-Islamiya al-Iraq al-Sham or Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
JDP	Justice and Development Party *(Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi)*
KRG	Kurdistan Regional Government
MB	Muslim Brotherhood
MIT	Turkish National Intelligence *(Milli İstihbarat Teşkilatı)*
MP	Motherland Pary *(Anavatan Partisi)*
NMP	Nationalist Movement Party *(Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi)*
PKK	Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan or Kurdistan Workers' Party
PYD	Partiya Yekîtiya Demokrat or Democratic Union Party
RPP	Republican People's Party *(Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi)*
SNC	Syrian National Council
TFPC	Turkish Foreign Policy Crises
THY	Turkish Airlines
TMT	Turkish Resistance Organization *(Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı)*
TPAO	Turkish Petroleum Corporation *(Türkiye Petrolleri Anonim Ortaklığı)*
TRNC	Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus
TUBITAK	Technological Research Council of Turkey
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
YPG	Yekitina Parastine Gel or People's Protection Units

Introduction

Assessing the Turkish Foreign Policy Crises and Crisis Management in the Republican Era[*]

Fuat Aksu and Helin Sarı Ertem

Considering the currently marked rise that takes place both in the number and variety of actors the international community is made up of, a decision on an important matter is made almost at any moment by those in charge who have the authority to make decisions in the name of the state. For the sake of making the best possible decision for the country's interests, the political decision-maker should often take multiple options and possibilities into consideration. In a democratic state, a decision made by a political decision-maker is supposed to have a political consequence. Therefore, with the decision that he/she makes, the political decision-maker shapes his/her political fate as well.

If the decisions that are made are directly concerned with the internal/domestic affairs of the state, they may not be considered as being as "important" as those concerned with "foreign" affairs. The government has a relatively greater number of options while making regulations within the territorial borders. In the 'foreign' affairs, however, there is no realm for the decision-maker as easily controllable as in domestic affairs. The decisions made within the scope of foreign affairs are open to the challenges of a number of actors/states in the international community. Therefore, decision-makers try to implement in the international arena the decisions they make at the national level with their sovereign authority. The input of the international system is made up of each decision the decision-makers make and try to implement.

The developing and implementing of foreign policy patterns that are relatively ordinary and routine for a state may not always require an urgent decision-making process. Quite naturally, in the course of the decision-making process, the decision-maker makes the final decision by considering as many possibilities and options as possible and obtaining all information and briefing needed. In line with his/her priorities, the decision-maker can even reconsider or reverse a decision that he/she is not content with, as long as this decision is not a part of a significant change in the international system.

Nevertheless, for the actors and units, which have the authority of decision-making on behalf of the state, making decisions becomes much more difficult and complicated in the case of "crisis" compared to the "normal" situations. At a time of crisis, the decision-maker should by nature overcome multiple obstacles while making a decision on an ongoing situation. First and foremost, even describing a development as a crisis is an important matter. The decision-maker either reacts based on predefined scenarios of risk, danger, threat and attack or makes these assessments at the time of the incident. In some cases, labeling a foreign policy behavior as a "crisis" without any preparation may even lead to an unwanted escalation between the states.

The decision-maker, who has the responsibility and authority to make a decision in the name of the state, conducting a reactive policy after considering a discourse, action, behavior or situation as the trigger of the crisis adds many actors within the decision-making unit to the process. Even though the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that shapes foreign policy decisions is seen as comprising those naturally responsible for this job, various institutions within the public bureaucracy, too, take part in the process to the extent that they are concerned. Depending on the character of the conflict, there are a wide range of options from the political/diplomatic to the military while making decisions.

Within the framework shaped by the political regime and the legal structure, the decision-maker, as the politically responsible one, expects to be fully informed about all the options before making the final decision. For this purpose, he/she might utilize advisors and experts as well as the public bureaucracy. In some cases, the leading decision-maker might even delegate part of his/her authority to an ad hoc unit that is supposed to make the decision. Nevertheless, it is mostly the politically responsible chief executive who is supposed to make the final decision. He/she bears the responsibility of the decision made and implemented on behalf of the state in case of a crisis. In many ways, crisis situations include developments that are difficult and complicated to manage. In the case of a crisis, the

first priority of the decision-maker is to resolve the conflict, before it turns into hot war; and this is not an easy task whatsoever.

In International Relations literature, it is hard to find a definition of "crisis" that everyone agrees on. In general, a crisis is defined as a development, which takes place all of a sudden between the states and is often extraordinary/unexpected at least for one of the parties. In such a case, the political decision-maker both tries to make all the decisions that will shape the possible outcomes of the crisis and strives not to increase the probability of the militarization of the conflict. It is the kind of triggering of an incident that determines which decisions are difficult to make in the course of the crisis management process. Thus, the meaning that the decision-maker ascribes to the triggering incident in his/her perception shapes the fate of the crisis.

In the disputes, conflicts and crises concerning the existential/vital priorities like territorial integrity and national security, the process of escalation is usually faster and the probability of resorting to crisis management strategies that include military violence is remarkably bigger. The states are highly sensitive about matters like national/territorial integrity and sovereignty rights and, thus, the conflicts arising from such matters can easily lead to a crisis, clash and even to war, if they are not resolved in a way that would satisfy all parties. On the other hand, the crises between states do not only arise from security related matters but can be about almost anything. In the crises that have relatively lesser priorities, however, resolution is easier and the resort to military means is less probable.

In terms of the crisis management, crises can be studied at four main levels: local, national, regional and systemic/international. Depending on its content, effect and the parties involved, a local crisis can trigger an international one and an international crisis can trigger a local one. In this book the crises between the states are being studied. Such crises, where actors and crisis management processes are prominent, are called decision-making or foreign policy crises. Depending on its subject and context, foreign policy crises can be classified as sudden, projected, developing, accidental and unintentional crises.

The crisis definition, which our book is predicated on, is a relatively flexible one, reflecting the combination of the definitions of Charles F. Hermann[1] and Michael Brecher[2]. According to these definitions, a

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[1] See: Charles F. Hermann, "International Crisis as a Situational Variable" in James N. Rosenau (Ed.), *International Politics and Foreign Policy,* revised edition, (New York, N.Y.: Free Press 1969):409-421; Charles F. Hermann, "Threat, Time and Surprise: A Simulation of International Crises" in Charles F.

situational change that can be defined as a crisis can arise in the mind of the decision-maker in any matter. As a matter of course, this change can force the decision-maker to work over his basic attitudes and actions, while being perceived as a risk, danger, threat or attack against his main values and priorities. In such a case, if the decision-maker is forced to make a preference and/or decision, he/she may consider this situation as a "crisis". Therefore, the crisis situations are not always surprising or unexpected and do not necessarily have to increase the risk of militarization/enmity among the parties, more than expected. Undoubtedly, a surprise situational change, whose militarization is highly probable, can give an idea to the decision-maker about how quickly the crisis may be escalated regarding its density. In the relations between the states, such crises are perceived relatively much easily.

While classifying the foreign policy crises according to the actors and decision-makers, the need for a more flexible definition of crisis becomes much clearer as foreign policy crises do not always arise independent from the decision-makers. In other words, the decision-makers are neither always defensive nor always use defensive crisis management strategies as Alexander George suggests in his definition.[3] Although there are at least two parties in a crisis, the decision-maker himself/herself can project a crisis either for offensive or defensive purposes. In such a case, the crisis is not a surprise for the party who projects the crisis. The actor, who projects the crisis, keeps the probability of determining/affecting the military violence level of the crisis by using the threshold strategy. If the actor who projects the crisis is experienced and the conditions are appropriate, his/her expectations can be met to the extent that the level of violence is kept under control. However, one should never forget that the uniqueness of each crisis makes it difficult to keep the progress of the crisis under control. The interaction of many multiple uncontrollable parameters during the crisis management process can make it impossible for a projected crisis to proceed according to a pre-determined scenario.

By definition, a foreign policy crisis takes place between nation states. However, currently the international society is not any longer made up of

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Hermann (Ed.), *International Crises: Insights from Behavior Research*, (New York: Free Press, 1972):187-212.
[2] See: Michael Brecher, *International Political Earthquakes,* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008); Michael Brecher and Jonathan Wilkenfeld, *A Study of Crisis,* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000).
[3] For details see: Alexander L. George "Strategies for Crisis Management", in Alexander. L. George (Ed.), *Avoiding War: Problems of Crisis Management*, (Westview Press, 1991): 379-393.

merely the nation states but transnational corporations, terrorist organizations and even individuals can play significant roles as non-state actors in the international arena. That is why, non-state actors, too, can play a role in foreign policy crises, though not as much as the nation states. Non-state actors are taken into consideration in the crisis management process, either as the trigger or the sufferer of a crisis between two states. For the crises with non-state actors, the decision-makers might need novel and unique crisis management strategies, methods and means that are different from conventional ones used in the inter-state crises. The war on international terrorism provides a striking example for this.

The question of ethics and legitimacy in the issues concerning human rights violations and the sovereignty rights of states has currently become more of an issue. In the humanitarian crises, state intervention with a wide range of means from the political/diplomatic to the military vis-á-vis the aggressor state may lead to an international foreign policy "crisis". And this both diversifies the actors involved and makes it difficult to keep the crisis under control.

The crises of Arab Spring and Syria, for example, provide bitter examples of this particular situation. As Alexander George emphasizes while reflecting on coercive diplomacy, the fine line between the use of defensive and offensive power has been remarkably eroded in many recent crises.[4] Even in the cases where using violence and threatening to use it is not legitimate, the states may resort to these strategies.

The exogenous pressures started by outside and supported by some local forces to overthrow authoritarian leaders and governments, and making military interventions claiming for protecting human rights easily turn into initiatives that destabilize not only these countries but also the region. As the examples of the Arab Spring and Syria illustrate, the crisis process may lead to mass migrations and deeper human rights violations. Such crises do not cause social, economic and political conflicts/crises only in between the states, but also in the internal/local affairs of the states that either directly or indirectly engage in the crisis.

In fact, the essential thing for civil-military relations is to prevent the triggering of crisis from escalating to a war. When the disputes between states cannot be resolved by peaceful means, the verbal challenges between the parties are replaced by action-based initiatives. This stage is indeed the next to the last stage for a peaceful resolution. The increase in the density of the clash and the increase in the perception of the military

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[4] A. L. George, "Coercive Diplomacy: Definition and Characteristics" in Alexander L. George and William E. Simons (Eds.), *The Limits of Coercive Diplomacy*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994): 7-11.

hostility trigger the crisis on the one hand, and decreases the number of available options and makes the resolution of the crises difficult on the other hand. Therefore, in order for the parties not to experience an escalation process that undermine the bilateral relations, communication channels should always be held open.

In what cases do the crises need to be managed? What does crisis management / 'good' or 'bad' crisis management mean? The intuitional, perceptual, judicatory capabilities, the capacity, to use A. George's conception, the operational codes of the decision-maker, who is going to call a discourse, an act or a situational change as a 'crisis', can suddenly cause significant changes that will deeply affect the daily life of the society. If a crisis is defined as a reaction of the states against the situational changes perceived as risk, danger, threat or a concrete attack in terms of their foreign policy goals, values and priorities, then there should also be a legitimate ground, where these goals, values and priorities are to be set. The claim that the decisions of the decision-maker in the case of a crisis establish the common "national interest" is quite questionable.

As discussed also by the neoclassical realism, in case local/internal structure as an intervening variable is not strong enough to specify the boundaries of the leaders' scope of actions, political decision-makers tend to flex their own boundaries as much as they can, place their own understanding of national interest in their decisions and implement them.[5] If there is a strong internal structure, however, the political decision-maker is obliged to act within the constraints of this internal structure while making the foreign policy decisions and determining the national interest. In such a case, the political decision-maker strives to harmonize his/her own understandings of national interest with the limits specified by the internal structure. Nevertheless, depending on how a crisis develops and proceeds, it is not always possible for the political decision-maker to abide by these predefined limits. The fact that the decision-making process is dynamic and crisis-specific may enforce the decision-maker to make the decision fast, to push the limits of his/her authority and even exceed them. Therefore, though the crisis management processes are conducted through a collective decision-making structure, particularly in the democratic regimes it is the decision-maker who indeed takes over the responsibility. Therefore, the cognitive features, perception capabilities and leadership skills of the decision-maker work differently during the extraordinarily speedy character of the crisis management. In such cases, the crisis

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[5] Gideon Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy", *World Politics*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (1998): 144-172.

management ability of the decision-maker and the consistency of foreign policy decisions become much more prominent.

The Background of the Research

This book is composed of ten complementary articles that reflect a limited part of the research called "Analysis of Decision Making and Crisis Management Processes during Turkish Foreign Policy Crises", which was conducted between 2012 and 2015 by the researchers from various universities in Istanbul. The study of crisis, which extends back a long time under the discipline of International Relations, is pretty novel for Turkish academia. Topics like foreign policy analysis, crisis management, conflict resolution and peace researches have recently begun to be an interesting arena for the new generation of researchers in Turkey. International crises in general and foreign policy crises in particular are being studied especially if they are in direct concern of Turkey. Therefore, it is relatively easy to find publications on a significant issue within the history of Turkish foreign policy. However studies that approach crisis management, foreign policy crises or international crises within the context of theory, concept and methodology can rarely be found.

The above mentioned research/project that we conducted analyzes the foreign policy crises that Turkey has been a direct party of since the foundation of the republic. In the period 1923-2015, we have determined and analyzed 34 foreign policy crises. [6] This number is greater than that of Turkish foreign policy crises, which International Crisis Behavior Project (ICBP) – a project that has dealt with the international and foreign policy crises since 1975 – analyzed regarding Turkey.[7] Some of the examples used by our TFPC [Turkish Foreign Policy Crises] project and ICBP are the same, while some are not. For instance, because they took place during the pre-republican era, the TFPC Project excluded the crises in the 1919-1924 period that were analyzed by the ICBP. Furthermore, ICBP's research deals with the crises until 2007 and thus does not include the ones that took place later.

There is also a diversification in the character of foreign policy crises that these projects dealt with. Some of the crises listed in the TFPC Project (Struma, September 6-7, Western Thrace, Iraqi Refugees, Forced Migration of Bulgarian Turks) are humanitarian crises, whereas some are

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[6] The tables and outcomes of the foreign policy crises, which were analysed within the TFPC Project, can be achieved through our project web site: www.tfpcrises.org
[7] For the details on the ICBP and its crisis summaries, see:
http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/icb/dataviewer/

legal ones (Bozkurt-Lotus). Yet, the crises analyzed in the ICBP are only political-military crises. Furthermore, because the analysis of foreign policy crises within the scope of our project is based on a definition centred on the perception and reality of the decision-makers, some crisis examples are presented in the TFPC Project with their *sui generis* characteristics.

When we examine Turkish foreign policy crises, we see that the 7 of them appeared before 1945, in the Classical Balance of Power era. 15 of them, however, were experienced in the Cold War era. Since the end of the Cold War till today, the number of the crises, which Turkey has been one of the parties directly involved, is 12. In terms of the parties involved, it is quite strikingly seen that Greece comes first. Regarding the Aegean Sea and Cyprus issues, Greece is one of the addressees in 14 crises directly and/or indirectly (4 with Cyprus and 1 with Syria). After Greece, the countries, with whom the crises occurred, are the USA and Syria, having 4 crises each. Bulgaria, France and Iraq follow them with 2 crises each. Armenia, the UK, Iran, Israel, SSCB all had 1 crisis each. In 1 crisis (Struma), Turkey had no addressee and in another one (Turkey's Mosul Consulate Hostages), it had been an (armed) non-state actor (ISIS – Islamic State of Iraq and Syria). Therefore, while Turkey's addressee in 32 foreign policy crises were the states, which are the classical actors of the international system, it was a non-state (armed) actor in one of the recent crises (Mosul Consulate Hostages), showing a changing route in the character of the international disputes.

Looking at the current international atmosphere and the existence of failed states in the Middle East, one can claim that the impact and roles of especially the armed non-state actors have an increasing potential to cause crises. Among the samples studied by the TFPC Project, it is seen that the non-state actors, as well as the states, played important roles with their various characteristics. The crises, in which the non-state actors played roles either as an addressee or as a triggering element of the crisis, or just as the subject which the crisis is built on (for example the humanitarian crises related to the refugees), can be ranged as below:

- 1926 Bozkurt-Lotus Crisis
- 1929-1930 Küçük Ağrı Crisis
- 1942 MV Struma Crisis
- 1955 September 6-7 Crisis
- 1989-1990 Western Thrace Crisis
- 1989 Bulgaria Migration Crisis

- 1991 Iraqi Refugees Crisis
- 2010 Mavi Marmara Crisis
- 2014 ISIS –Turkey's Mosul Consulate Hostages Crisis

Regarding the actors triggered the crises, it is seen that 6 of the 34 foreign policy crises examined are caused by Turkey. In addition, 27 of these 34 crises were ended, 3 of them were slept/frozen and 4 of them are still going on. Among the crises examines, the ones with Greece have the character of "protracted conflicts", in Brecher's definition.[8] These crises reflect the characteristics of those which appeared within long-term disputes and conflicts and caused by mutual challenges between the two countries regarding the sovereignty rights and interests.

In this volume, there are ten chapters prepared by our TFPC Project Group. The first chapter is prepared by Aydın Şıhmantepe who proposes an integrated model proposal to analyse the Turkish foreign policy crises. In this chapter, Şıhmantepe explains the basic framework of the project that this volume is based on and what kind of a crisis analysis model we designed to conduct the necessary research for this project. In this context, he first deals with the foreign policy crisis concept and literature and then defines what kind of a modelling can be much more explanatory regarding the analysis unit, analysis level and crisis management processes/strategies of the Turkish foreign policy crises. In this modelling, which is shaped on the basis of Neo-Classical Realist methodology, he focuses on how the international system and regional sub-systems affect the decision-maker's preference regarding each crisis during the crisis management process. In accordance with that, the chapter discusses how the international system, the internal/domestic structure where the decision-maker takes place and the decision-maker himself/herself who manages this crisis directly, shape the decisions about the crisis within an interactive process.

The second chapter, prepared by Ümran Gürses gets into further methodological/theoretical details and reflects the pros and cons of the Neo-Classical Realism, briefly mentioned by the previous chapter. As our research benefitted a lot from Neo-Classical Realism, this chapter explains how the modelling advised by this approach defines the foreign policy decision-making processes at times of the crises. According to Gürses, the decision-maker's approach to the international system, as well as his/her obligation to harmonize with this system the internal/domestic structure that he/she relies on and his/her characteristics of management are all influential in the foreign policy decision-making processes at times of a

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[8] See: Brecher, *International Political…,*

crisis. Neo-Classical Realism, offered by the scholars such as Gideon Rose, Randall Schweller and Fareed Zakaria, claims that the above mentioned systemic, local and personal factors altogether have specific roles in determining the foreign policy decisions at times of a crisis.[9] They both affect pursuing of the basic value, priority and targets in the crises and determine whether a defensive or offensive strategy will be preferred as a crisis management strategy. As a matter of fact, if the decision-maker faced a crisis when there was a weak national structure, his/her preferences are generally shaped by his/her own subjective capacity. However, this is not the only element. The decision-maker produces a foreign policy output also by determining the state's material power capacity. Therefore, the situational change, which causes triggering of the foreign policy crises, appears for the decision-maker together with the concerns on national security, territorial integrity and survival. They can also arise from psychological/normative motives. As this chapter also mentions, Neo-Classical Realism also has some limits as well as its stimulating presumptions on how to make foreign policy analysis at times of crises. Gürses well defines the pros and cons of this theoretical/methodological approach for further studies on this subject.

The third chapter, written by Fuat Aksu and Süleyman Güder, examines two significant foreign policy crises of Turkey, the Cyprus and the Aegean Crises, which take place among the protracted conflicts of Turkey and experienced against Greece, the leading addressee of Turkish foreign policy crises. As Brecher adopts from Edward Azar's works, the historical background of the disputes in between the states provide us significant information in the analysis of current crises. In accordance with that, the crises between Turkey and Greece too have a strong background. The historical relations between the two countries date back hundreds of years and their struggles to each become a nation-state were conducted against each other, agreeing on a certain neighbourhood status after their wars of liberation. Although the 1923 Lausanne Peace Treaty is one of the basic international documents, which protects its validity up until today, it can stay insufficient regarding some current technical, political and legal disputes between the two countries. Aksu and Güder claim that the Greek attempts to change the Lausanne status unilaterally despite Turkey's determination to protect it brings out new foreign policy crises in between the two sides. The issues, such as the status of the minorities, status of

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[9] For more on Neo-Classical Realism, see: Gideon Rose, "Neoclassical Realism…; Fareed Zakaria, "Realism and Domestic Politics", International Security, Volume 17, No. 1 (Summer 1992), p. 177-198 and Fareed Zakaria, *From Wealth to Power*, (Princeton: University Press, 1999).

Cyprus, territorial waters in the Aegean, continental shelf, air space - FIR (Flight Information Region) and the violation of the demilitarized status of the islands, continue to carry their crisis-producing potential. In this respect, this chapter underlines the 1996 Kardak/Imia Islets crisis as one of the most significant crises between the two countries which brought the parties to the brink of a war. This crisis re-flamed a forgotten crisis between Turkey and Greece as the status of the Aegean islands and islets, which have not yet been handed over to any of the parties, can any time cause a problem between the two sides regarding the issues such as the territorial integrity and sovereignty rights and interests, while carrying the potential of being militarized as foreign policy crises.

The fourth chapter is written by Tuğçe Kafdağli Koru and deals with the Gaza Flotilla crisis, known as the Mavi Marmara Confrontation, which has shaped the relations between Turkey and Israel fundamentally. As Koru underlines, this crisis is unique in many aspects. As well as being a Turkish foreign policy crisis that arose from the action of a non-governmental organization, it has a special place also because of having dragged Turkey and Israel to the edge of a military clash. Koru believes that, looking at the Turkish decision-makers' crisis management skills, Turkey could prevent this crisis before it occurred. However, as seen, the parties did not show the sufficient effort to do that. In the following period, Turkey's internationalizing the crisis by carrying it to the UN and turning it into a bargaining tool in its relations with the US caused a tense era in the Turkey-US-Israel triangle. As Koru underlines, although the US efforts to "normalize" the Israel-Turkey relations has decreased the level of tension, the continuation of the court cases opened by the Mavi Marmara sufferers against Israel hardens the crisis to have an end soon. The reconcialiation between Ankara and Tel Aviv in June 2016 after Israel's acceptance to pay 20 million dollars to the sufferers have not yet totally removed the crisis atmosphere as some of the personal legal cases opened by the families of the victims are still going on.

In the fifth chapter, Helin Sarı Ertem deals with the "individual side" of the Turkish crisis management regarding the Syrian civil war. Relying on the main assumptions of Political Psychology, she claims that the beliefs and worldviews of the current Turkish ruling elite have been highly influential on the way they perceive the Syria crisis. According to Ertem, the reformist "liberal internationalist" (and interventionist) ideas of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and former PM Ahmet Davutoğlu were one of the strongest bases underneath their approach towards the Syria crisis and the Bashar al-Assad regime as well as the rest of the word. The two leaders' worldviews, which overlap with each other in many respects,

often prioritized "idealpolitik" rather than "realpolitik" and tended to defend values even if they might overshadow interests. For that reason, similar to some other "liberal internationalists", who turned into "liberal interventionists" at least in some cases, the Turkish ruling elite too faces the risks of being excessively involved in a foreign policy crisis, such as Syria. While tracing Turkey's Syria policy through "leaders' footprints", Ertem also makes a conceptual analysis of Davutoğlu's Syria rhetoric. By examining Davutoğlu's speeches from his foreign ministerial and prime ministerial eras, the author finds out the most frequent words used by him in the texts containing the word "Syria". Through this way, she tries to figure out the possible links between these most frequently used words and Davutoğlu's worldview in general. It is interesting to see that, in his speech texts containing the word "Syria" between 2009 and 2014, "human", "Turkey", "history", "city", "culture", "Islam", brother", "civilisation" and "Jerusalem" are among the most frequent words that were used by Davutoğlu. Ertem claims that this is a basic sign of his emotional and intellectual attachment to Syria, as well as many other countries in Turkey's close environment, which continue to have a significant meaning in Davutoğlu's worldview and the role that is attributed to Turkey in it with a strong nostalgia for Pax-Ottomanica.

The sixth chapter of the volume, which is written by Zehra Gürsoy, focuses on another highly significant case of its own time, the "humanitarian crisis" of the Bulgarian Turks who had to flee from Bulgaria in 1989. This crisis, which reflects the characteristics of the era ending the Cold War, is significant in terms of pointing out Turkey's then relations with one of its Eastern Block-member Balkan neighbours. As Gürsoy underlines, Turkish Bulgarians' forced migration and being made a subject of a systematic assimilation brought Turkey against Bulgaria. The crisis was considered a 'humanitarian' one, as the subject was directly in concern of the rights and freedoms of the minorities, supported by certain agreements. In her article, Gürsoy explains in detail how the decision-makers in Turkey defined and managed this crisis. In this context, the readers can find the impact of the then Prime Minister, Turgut Özal's decision-making characteristics on the management process of this crisis.

The subject of the seventh chapter is border security, which caused many of the crises between Turkey and the neighboring countries. In this chapter, İdil Laçin Öztığ covers some of the unique examples of Turkish foreign policy crises, with regard to the discussions on border and border security. In this context, the relations with Iran, for example, are discussed while analysing the 1929 Küçük Ağrı crisis. As the author underlines, the Kurdish rebelling forces' escape to Iran and their leakage back to Turkey

for further activities caused a serious border security dispute between the two neighbouring countries. Solving of this dispute could only be possible after reaching an agreement on the exchange of territories to reset the border between the two countries with the help of direct negotiations. The other crisis, which is examined by Öztığ, is the Nakhchivan Crisis, where Turkey acted to end the occupation of a country, whose territorial integrity was guaranteed by Ankara. As this chapter points out, Armenia's attack against Nakhchivan and its occupation of this disputed region have turned Turkey into an indirect party in this crisis, and Ankara stated that it was going to apply military means if Armenia did not end its occupation. Armenian withdrawal from the region by ending the occupation allowed the parties to overcome this crisis. Other two significant examples, where Turkey had been a part of, in terms of border security issues, are seen in the Iraq and Syria crisis. In the 1991 Iraq and 2010 Syria crises, the mass migration and the refugee flow to Turkey suddenly turned this country into a party of a humanitarian crisis and caused new tensions with its neighbors. As the chapter underlines, especially the security problems caused by the Syrian refugees have begun threatening not only Turkey but also the EU; while internationalizing the issue quite rapidly.

In the eighth chapter, Gencer Özcan approaches the continuing crisis with Syria in quite a critical way, examining the "construction" of Turkey's foreign policy preferences, which caused an extreme shift in the relations with Syria. Setting out the role of the political decision-makers in turning this tension into a crisis, Özcan also discusses the impact of the Turkish government's preference to support the opponents of the Assad regime on the traditional foreign policy priorities of Turkey. The author defends that the insufficiencies, even mistakes of Turkey's Syria policy not only affected the relations between the two countries quite negatively, but also triggered a gradually deepening and expanding regional instability.

The ninth chapter, which is written by Ayşe Küçük, on the other hand, deals with the route of the foreign policy crises which are caused by actors other than states. Focusing on the role of these actors specifically in Turkish foreign policy crises, Küçük examines the shift from a "state to state" crisis management to a "state to non-state actors" crisis management. When the foreign policy crises which Turkey is directly a part of are assessed, it is seen that the non-state actors can be the trigger, the subject or the addressee of the crisis. The cases examined by Küçük are from various historical periods, presenting the different roles that non-state actors can play in foreign policy crises. Among them, the Struma crisis comes forward with a strong humanitarian aspect. The chapter has a

detailed analysis of this foreign policy crisis caused by the Struma Ship, which carried Jews escaping from Hitler's brutality and looking for a refugee, but sadly sank in 1942 after being refused by the Turkish authorities in the highly critical atmosphere of the Second World War. Another case the author focuses in this chapter is the IHH's (The Foundation for Human Rights and Freedoms and Humanitarian Relief) attempt to bring humanitarian aid to the Gaza region under the Israeli siege, which caused a highly critical crisis between Turkey and Israel. And finally, the chapter examines the seizure of Turkey's Mosul Consulate by ISIS in June 2014, which caused the kidnapping of 49 diplomatic staff and made a terrorist organization turn into a direct addressee of a foreign policy crisis with the Turkish state. As the author underlines, in all these three cases, the crisis management strategies, the means and methods used by Turkish decision-makers were diverse, while shedding a light on the new possible routes of the Turkish decision-makers' ability to manage the crises.

Table 1. Turkey's Crises in ICB Project and TFPC Project

	In the TFPC Project, the Foreign Policy Crises, which Turkey Engaged as a Direct Party	In the ICBP, the Foreign Policy Crises, which Turkey Engaged as a Direct Party		
Foreign Policy Crises				
Years	Name in the TFPC	Name in the ICBP	TFPC	ICBP
1919	-	Cilician War (1919)	-	✓
1920	-	Greece-Turkey War I (1920)	-	✓
1921	-	Greece-Turkey War II (1921)	-	✓
1922	-	Chanak (1922)	-	✓
1924	Mosul Land Crisis	Mosul Land Dispute (1924)	✓	✓
1926	The Case of SS Bozkurt-Lotus	-	✓	-
1929	Little Ararat (Küçük Ağrı) Crisis	-	✓	-
1935	Bulgaria-Turkey Crisis	Bulgaria-Turkey (1935)	✓	✓
1936	Hatay / Sandjak Crisis	Alexandretta (1936)	✓	✓
1940	-	Balkan Invasion (1940)	-	✓
1942	MV Struma Crisis	-	✓	-
1945	Turkish Straits and Kars Ardahan Crisis	Kars-Ardahan (1945)*	✓	✓
1946	-	Turkish Straits (1946)*	-	✓
1947	-	Truman Doctrine (1947)	-	✓
1955	6-7 September Case	-	✓	-
1957	Turkey - Syria Confrontation	Syria-Turkey Confrontation (1957)	✓	✓
1958	Iraq Upheaval	-	✓	-

1963-64	Cyprus Crisis-I	Cyprus I (1963)	✓	✓
1964	Johnson Letter Crisis	-	✓	-
1967	Cyprus Crisis-II	Cyprus II (1967)	✓	✓
1972-73	Poppy Cultivation Regulation Crisis	-	✓	-
1974	Cyprus Crisis-III	Cyprus III (1974)	✓	✓
1974-1980	NOTAM-FIR Crisis	-	✓	-
1974-1976	Aegean Sea Continental Shelf Crisis	Aegean Sea I (1976)	✓	✓
1981	Militarisation of Lemnos Crisis	-	✓	-
1984	-	Aegean Sea II (1984)	-	✓
1984-1990	Western Thrace Crisis	-	✓	
1987	Aegean Sea Continental Shelf Crisis-II	Aegean Sea III (1987)	✓	✓
1988-1991	Iraqi Refugee Crisis	-	✓	-
1989	Assimilation and Emigration Crisis of Bulgarian Turks	-	✓	-
1991	Turkey-Armenia Nakhchivan Crisis	-	✓	-
1992	TCG Muavenet Crisis	-	✓	-
1994	Aegean Sea casus belli Crisis	-	✓	-
1996	Kardak / Imia Crisis	Aegean Sea IV (1996)	✓	✓
1997	S-300 Missile Crisis	Cyprus-Turkey Missile Crisis (1998)	✓	✓
1998	Syria (Öcalan) Crisis	Syria-Turkey (1998)	✓	✓
2003	Sulaymaniyah "Hood" Crisis	-	✓	-
2003-	Eastern Mediterranean Maritime Jurisdiction Areas Crisis	-	✓	-
2010-	MV Mavi Marmara (Gaza Filotilla) Crisis	-	✓	-
2011-	Turkey-Syria Crisis	-	✓	-
2014	ISIS Hostage Crisis	-	✓	-
2014 - 2015	Tomb of Suleyman Shah	-	✓	-

* The Kars-Ardahan and Turkish Straits crises are being examined in the TFPC as one single crisis. As the Soviet Union evaluated both of its demands simultaneously within the same context, we think that these crises should essentially be examined as a whole.

Source: The data on the ICBP have been collected from the icb2v10 database and the ICB Data Viewer. See: http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/icb/dataviewer/

As the chapters of this volume also underline, Turkey's official approach to the foreign policy crises has been changing since the beginning of the 2000s. Although this was nourished by the government changeover and the JDP governments' new approach to the traditional perceptions of national identity, interest and security as well as foreign policy means and methods, it also reflects a pragmatic functioning of a leader-driven era in Turkish foreign policy. However, this pragmatism, which certainly saves time with less bureaucratic details, also causes some disadvantages regarding Turkey's traditional foreign policy priorities in a highly unstable Middle East, which is going through a traumatic era. As a result, the foreign policy crises, which occurred in this era, caused concerns about the sustainability of Turkey's new foreign policy. With its wide range of samples from the political/diplomatic history of Turkey, this volume provides readers with a unique opportunity to observe not only the various foreign policy crises and crisis management strategies of Turkey, but also the changing route of Turkish foreign policy culture in the 2000s under the impact of individual, regional and systemic elements.

CHAPTER ONE

AN INTEGRATED MODEL PROPOSAL
FOR ANALYSING TURKISH FOREIGN
POLICY CRISES[*]

AYDIN ŞIHMANTEPE

Introduction

This chapter is based on a research project aiming to collect, classify, and further to analyze Turkish Foreign Policy Crises (TFPC) during the Republican era. The three-year long research project was supported by the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TUBITAK). The scope of the project was set to accommodate the existing knowledge on the Turkish foreign policy crises, classifying them in accordance with the theoretical framework chosen and analyzing them within the aspect of foreign policy analysis. One other goal throughout the project was to lead discussions with scholars and subject matter specialists through national/international panels and conferences to share, discuss and disseminate the gathered knowledge. The project team has set up an official project website[1], where the accumulated information, lists of TFPC, findings on each specific crisis, crises analysis tables as well as a list of references are presented to users. The website has also a forum section to enable online exchange of information and lead discussions on the selected topics.

The project group aimed to collect and classify Turkish foreign policy crises as well as researching individual crisis experienced during the Republican era. The project, within its conceptual and theoretical methodology, also aimed to determine Turkey's foreign policy crises management culture. This chapter intends to discuss research methodology together with the findings of the project so as to figure out the benefits of the approach it suggests for the studies on foreign policy crisis.

Neoclassical Realism forms the theoretical background of the project. However in order to understand the core elements of analysis and management process of a unique crisis, deconstruction and reconstruction methodologies are also utilized. The project group chose to include unique humanitarian crises as well as the political-military ones, within the study of foreign policy crisis. Depending on the structures and actors involved in the crises, by using available authentic data, the research attempted to determine what the dependent and independent variables are, as well as how and to what extent they influence the overall crises management processes.

Producing the study model for the project has involved gathering, incorporating and extracting the necessary information from the existing sources. Works of scholars such as Charles F. Hermann[2], Michael Brecher[3] and Alexander L. George[4] have paved the way when defining foreign policy crises and assigning management strategies, as well as analyzing and explaining variables of foreign policy crises. The project group attempted to define a set of variables for full scale analysis of individual crisis. After crises analyses have completed, in order to further investigate the Turkish crisis management culture, variables are chosen to include a variety of parameters ranging from government type, which managed the crisis, to the outcome of an individual crisis.

Within the whole project study the general properties of crises, the structure of decision making mechanism, phases of crisis analysis, offensive/defensive crisis management strategies, effects of international system on the crisis management practices, effects of crisis on the foreign policy behavior of the involved parties, as well as reflections on the future relations of the parties, have been investigated.

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[2] Charles F. Hermann, *Crisis in Foreign Policy a Simulation Analysis*, (NJ: Princeton University, 1969).
[3] Michael Brecher and Jonathan Wilkenfeld, *A Study of Crisis*, (MI: University of Michigan, 1997).
[4] Alexander L. George (Ed.), *Avoiding War: Problems of Crisis Management,* (Oxford: Westview Press, 1991).

The research group started their study in 2013 with the scholars and PhD candidates from Yıldız Technical University together with supporting scholars from other universities in Istanbul.[5] The group initially proposed neoclassical realism as their theoretical study base and commenced studies to form common definitions of concepts used within the research. The main objective of the project was set as the *Analysis of Decision Making and Crisis Management Processes during Turkish Foreign Policy Crises*. The approach for analysis required a definition of foreign policy crisis as the first step. However, initial studies showed that there is no generally accepted meaning of the concept of crisis.

In the following section, the project study will be explained in more detail. The sections below will discuss how the definition of foreign policy crisis was optimized, what the rationale for choosing neoclassical realism was, the research methodology used as well as the foreign policy crises included within the research.

Definitions and Framework

The research initiated by focusing on the definition of a *foreign policy crisis*. The research group investigated different approaches and definitions of foreign policy crises. Surely various formulations of crisis definition can be associated with different approaches to international relations. And surely those crisis definitions may differ in perspective and scope as well as the relevance to the theoretical framework chosen. Thus to establish a solid base, contending approaches of *foreign policy analysis* together with their assumptions were reviewed.[6] This study approach placed decision making and crisis management process in the center within a neoclassical realist perspective. Hence definition and characteristics of a foreign policy crisis were adopted accordingly.

Foreign Policy Crisis and Crisis Management

According to Glenn H. Snyder and Paul Diesing, "crisis is sequence of interactions between the governments of two or more sovereign states in

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[5] The research project is directed by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Fuat Aksu from Yıldız Technical University in Istanbul, Turkey. Other scholars supporting the research project contributed from Istanbul Bilgi University, Kadir Has University, Istanbul Medeniyet University, Piri Reis University and Istanbul University.
[6] Among these are the approaches which focus on group decision making, bureaucratic and organizational processes, rational choice, poliheuristic theory, game theoric models…

severe conflict, short of actual war, but involving the perception of a
dangerously high probability of war."[7]

The meaning Oran R. Young attributes to an acute international crisis
covers "*decision makers' perception of high intensity in the flow of events
which is basically characterized by a sharp break from ordinary politics, a
rise in the perceived prospects of violence and considerable implications
for the stability of some system and subsystem politics.*"[8]

Hermann on the other hand, defines a crisis with three basic
characteristics; high threat, short time and surprise. He points out that a
crisis is a situation that (1) threatens high priority goals of the decision
making unit; (2) restricts the amount of time available for response before
the situation is transformed and (3) surprises the members of the decision
making unit when it occurs.[9]

Brecher and Jonathan Wilkenfeld, using almost the same variables as
Hermann, introduce a definition which again basically refers to the
decision makers. They define crisis as a threat to one or more basic values,
along with an awareness of finite time for response to the value threat and
a heightened probability of involvement of military hostilities.

However, the definition proposed by Brecher, though it builds upon
Hermann's definition, differs from that on five points.[10] His study suggests
(1) omission of "surprise" as a necessary condition; (2) the replacement of
"short" time by "finite" time for response; (3) the recognition that a crisis
may originate in the internal, as well as the external environment of the
crisis actor; (4) the concept of "basic values", rather than "high priority
goals" as the object of the perceived threats; (5) the addition of "higher-
than-normal" probability of involvement in military hostilities.

The questions posited and the problems examined will surely define
how the concept of crisis is formed. As the analysis focus of this study
involves mainly decision making process, systemic and combined
definitions of crisis[11] are referred only when necessary. This research is
mainly concerned with decision making; hence the definition of crisis,

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[7] For further information see: Glenn H. Snyder and Paul Diesing, *Conflict among
Nations: Bargaining, Decision Making, and Systems Structure in International
Crises*, (NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977).
[8] Oran R. Young, *The Intermediaries: Third Parties in International Crisis*, (NJ:
Princeton University Press, 1967): 10.
[9] Hermann, Crisis in Foreign…, 29.
[10] Brecher, *A Study of…,* 3.
[11] For some other definitions see: Phil Williams, *Crisis Management:
Confrontation and Diplomacy in the Nuclear Age*, (NY: Halsted Press, John Wiley,
1976): 25; Graham Evans, and Jefrey Newham, *The Dictionary of International
Relations*, (London: Penguin,1998).

formulated for the research purposes, involves situations which produce effects on foreign policy decision making process. By doing so, the research attempts to analyze the characteristics of an individual crisis, who the prime decision makers and what the individual policy maker's perceptions are. The attention for the analysis is also directed toward the situations which affect the decision making process. Therefore the ongoing research project formulated its own definition of foreign policy crisis. This effort, rather than introducing a new aspect to the subject, is an attempt to integrate the existing ones, by softening and making humble additions to the existing variations to meet needs of foreign policy decision making process.

The research group defines a foreign policy crisis as a situation which:

- may break out on any subject to occupy the foreign policy agenda of the decision maker,
- may develop instantly on very short notice or it can develop over a period of time,
- forces the decision maker to alter his priorities and basic values,
- causes the decision maker to perceive risk, danger or threat,
- obliges the decision maker to choose from the existing limited courses of action and make a decision, which in return, may cause a probability of military conflict with the adversary, but not necessarily on all occasions.

This definition as pointed out above is an attempt to enhance and soften the existing definitions in terms of *time constrains*, *perceived threats (high/basic values)* and more importantly *probability of military hostilities*. The study made so far has proved that this definition is appropriate for defining what a foreign policy crisis can contain in terms of *content*, *threat* and *outcome*. Initial findings of the research have shown that within studied Turkish foreign policy cases, there have been crises in which the perception was a threat against country's international prestige and sovereignty -high threat- but still, the probability of military conflict or war was next to none.[12] Though the threat to basic/high priority values was perceived to be very high, the probability of an armed conflict was not present. Another study showed that the "short" or "finite" time constraint

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[12] The project group has gathered 34 foreign policy crises which have kept the Turkish decision-makers occupied throughout the Republican era. The case of SS Lotus (1926) can set a good example for this statement. For legal case details see http://www.worldcourts.com/pcij/eng/decisions/1927.09.07_lotus.htm

was not always an urgent issue. A military-security crisis[13] was managed over a long period of time, though the demand which triggered the crisis was vital for the country. The enhanced definition of foreign policy crisis helps to include important Turkish foreign policy cases - which with the conventional definitions would hang in the air - within the research study and analysis as concrete foreign policy crises. Besides, the enhanced definition gives space for including *non-violent* crises as well as *military-security* crises in the analysis.

Having defined the foreign policy crisis, the second step of the research progression dealt with crisis management literature. The project group has reviewed and discussed various approaches to maintain the integrity and the consistency of the theoretical framework chosen. Having in mind that crisis may have international, regional, domestic and local dimensions or can involve a mixture of those; the research study has focused mainly on the interstate relations: "*Crisis management is the practice of attempting to avoid an outcome in interstate relations that leads to violence or war, without abandoning at the same time one's position.*"[14] This general definition was utilized as a basis for the research study. Within the decision making approach, this definition requires the decision makers to pursue a crisis management strategy in order to preserve the interests of the nation which in most occasions presents sharp conflict with the interest of other nations. Actually here lies the known basic dilemma of crisis management. The basic dilemma in crisis management is that there would be no crisis if parties were willing to abandon their objectives, but this can involve unacceptable costs to nation and/or their leaders. Alexander L. George defines this situation as the basic paradox and policy dilemma of crisis management. He points out that: *confrontations between adversaries can be easily managed and terminated – indeed avoided altogether- if either side is willing to back away from a confrontation and accept damage to its interests. This is the basic paradox of crisis management*: *There need be no crisis if only one side backs down. Indeed, in many situations it requires a deliberate policy decision to transform a conflict of interest between two into crisis.*[15] This calls for a need to have appropriate ways and strategies to resolve conflicts and crisis.

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[13] The Turkish Straits and Kars-Ardahan case is another example in which the terms *short* or *finite time* proved to be void.

[14] Gilbert R. Winham (Ed), *New Issues in International Crisis Management*, (NY: Westview Press,1988):1-5.

[15] George, *Avoiding War: Problems…*, 22.

For research purposes, a basic approach for crisis management is used as a benchmark to facilitate analysis. This involves the investigation of how well the crisis itself is managed – i.e. all aspects of the management process- and the outcome of the crisis for the parties involved - outcomes. A well-managed crisis will stand out by *de-escalation,* as a decline in the perceived threat, time pressure and war likelihood, in the direction of non-crisis norm. As such, it denotes the end-crisis period and is characterized by decreasing stress for the decision makers.[16] However the research study, rather than dealing with the outcome of each individual crisis in Turkish foreign policy, aims to analyze the decision making process and the structure of decision making mechanism as well as the variables that play role on the way. Success of a crisis management strategy for each involved party may later be assessed in terms of gains and losses.

For managing a crisis, George suggests a set of crisis management strategies in both the defensive and offensive sense. Those strategies incorporate relative military powers and intentions of the opponents as well as the difficulties posed in following individual strategy.[17] He also suggests a *Provisional Theory of Crisis Management* where he extends a list of political and operational requirements of crisis management.[18] On the other hand, in his study of crises, Brecher while analyzing international and foreign policy crisis, utilizes a methodology for classification of crises, determining and naming the phases of a crisis and variables functioning as internal, external and intervening agents. Throughout the study, Brecher's works on crises together with George's crisis management strategies have been used as guidelines to formulate the analysis methodology for the research project.

Neoclassical Realism as Theoretical Framework

As mentioned before, the theoretical foundation of the research framework is based on neoclassical realism. This approach examines the central role of the state in order to explain which aspects of the internal characteristics of states intervene between their leaders' assessment of threats, opportunities and policies those leaders are likely to follow. Neoclassical realism identifies elite calculations and perceptions of relative power and domestic constrains as intervening variables between

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[16] Micheal Brecher, *International Political Earthquakes*, (University of Michigan, 2008):11.

[17] George, Avoiding *War…,* 377-395.

[18] George, Avoiding *War…,* 25.

international pressures and states' foreign policies.[19] Methodologically, neoclassical realism calls for an emphasis on descriptions that trace how relative material power is translated into behavior of actual political decision makers.[20] Bureaucracies and states do not think or feel - the individuals within them do. A government, as a collective entity, does not calculate and make rational choices – policy makers do.[21]

   Neoclassical realism combines neorealism's emphasis on the survival motivation of states, with classical realism's focus on the dependence of political leaders on domestic society for material resources and support for foreign and defence goals. In a way, not the states but the statesmen are the key actors for the decisions made. The theory argues that in the long run, states will seek to maximize their international influence, power and security according to their material power resources and the constraints and opportunities presented by the international system. However state power still forms the central intervening unit-level variable explaining short-medium term temporal divergence from the dictates of international structure.[22] This temporal divergence can be said to have elements of characteristics of decision makers when attempts made to analyze foreign policy in times of crisis. The project study adopts the idea that useful foreign policy analysis should deal with the details of the perceptions of the decision makers.[23] Though neoclassical realism is not a single universal theory of international politics, still as a subschool within realism which seeks to rectify the imbalance between the general and the particular, is appropriate for foreign policy analysis.[24] After all, foreign

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[19] Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, Steven E. Lobell, Norrin M. Ripsman, "Introduction: Neoclassical Realism, the State and Foreign Policy" in Steven E. Lobell, Norrin M. Ripsman, and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro (Eds.), *Neoclassical Realism, the State and Foreign Policy*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009): 28.

[20] Gideon Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy", *World Politics*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (1998): 168.

[21] Janice Gross Stein, "Foreign Policy Decision Making: Rational, Psychological and Neurological Models", in Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield, Tim Dunne (Eds.), *Foreign Policy*, *Theories/Actors/Cases,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 143.

[22] Tom Dyson, *Neoclassical Realism and Defense Reform in Post Cold War Europe*, (UK: Palgrave Mcmillan, 2010):120.

[23] For a discussion on capabilities, distribution of power and statesmen's perceptions, see William C. Wohlforth, *The Elusive Balance*, *Power and Perceptions during the Cold War*, (USA: Cornell University Press, 1993):5-6.

[24] William C. Wohlforth, "Realism and Foreign Policy", in Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield, Tim Dunne (Eds.), *Foreign Policy, Theories/Actors/Cases*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 39-40.

policy analysis notion is essentially that the *object of foreign policy analysis is a question of what foreign policy decision makers are thinking and doing.* [25]

The research on the Turkish foreign policy crises and their management processes aims to cover the Republican era.[26] Hence the focused period includes the balance of power era as well as the Cold War, and the Post-Cold War period. The changes took place over the time, have had influences and impacts on the individual state in terms of their structures, borders, alliances they make, threat perceptions as well as on the populations and worldviews of the statesmen. As the decision makers changed, naturally the views and perceptions of the decision makers have changed over this period of time. One other reason to use the neoclassical realist framework is the fact that it offers a convenient ground for incorporating psychological factors like belief systems of decision makers as well as domestic and international constraints into the analysis of foreign policy behavior.[27] Thus neoclassical realism aims to analyze the workings of systematic pressures and unit level variables such as domestic political structures and decision makers' perceptions as key influences on a nation's foreign policy.[28]

Though neoclassical realism forms the theoretical basis of the research, to overcome the difficulties in determining threat assessment, strategy and resource extraction, domestic mobilization and policy implementation during individual crisis, guidance is obtained from other methodologies as well. In order to understand the core elements of the analysis and management process of a unique crisis, deconstruction and reconstruction methodologies are also utilized.

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[25] Walter Carlsnaes, "Actors, Structures and Foreign Policy Analysis" in Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield and Tim Dunne (Eds.), *Foreign Policy, Theories/Actors/ Cases*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 116.

[26] The research focuses on the time frame which covers the period from 1923 to 2015.

[27] For an example utilisation of the neoclassical realist approach of foreign policy analysis, see Balkan Devlen, *Renegade* Regimes *and Foreign Policy Crises*, (Germany: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller Aktiengesellshaft & Co. KG, 2008).

[28] Balkan Devlen, Özgür Özdamar. "Neoclassical Realism and Foreign Policy Crises", in *Rethinking Realism in International Relations*, (Eds) Annette Freyberg, Inan Ewan Harrison, Patrick James, (Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009): 136-164.

Methodology of the Research and Preliminary Findings

The research methodology firstly required defining the limits of the study both in historical perspective and crisis evaluation aspect. The group study necessitated clear-cut boundaries to keep the research meaningful and consistent within the goals of the study. The aims of the project described in the proposal involved:

- Collating and classifying Turkish foreign policy crises within the Republican era,
- Generating an archive of TFP crisis as well as the crises management policies utilized by different decision makers over the Republican era,
- Surveying and systematically analyzing the decided crises in terms of type, parties involved, resolution and management methods,
- Determining the dependent and independent variables and their influences on the crises management process.
- Discovering the Turkish foreign policy crisis management patterns

Setting the goals as such has led the research study to exclude the crises before the year 1923 as this year marks the foundation of the Turkish Republic. Since the aim calls for analysis of foreign policy crises, the international crises in which Turkey involved indirectly and/or remotely are not included. As stated above, the collated crises present a variety of time frames to include periods before, during and after the Cold War period. The enhanced crisis definition has availed the project group to study *political-diplomatic* crises, *interstate military-security* crises as well as *humanitarian* ones.

A thorough literature review has formed the first step of the research studies. In order to make sure that all foreign policy behaviors of the country which could be classified as a foreign policy crisis are included, available national and international sources have been carefully scanned. This process favors inclusion of some foreign policy events which are not listed by any other sources as foreign policy crises. Exclusion of any foreign policy event is meticulously carried out to make sure that no important event is left out. The guidelines for inclusion and exclusion are derived from the enhanced definition of foreign policy crisis produced by the research group. Parliamentary debates as well as public statements and interviews given by the politicians have been scanned to see what importance each case has been assigned. Minutes of the past sessions of

Turkish Grand National Assembly[29] and policy documents presented on the official website of Ministry of Foreign Affairs[30] have formed the official sources of information.

Listing Turkish Foreign Policy Crises (TFPC)

In order to collate, classify and discuss the findings of the research three workshops have been organized. After discussions within the project group as well as with other scholars working on the subject matter, a provisional list of Turkish foreign policy crises is produced to include 34 crises.

Though some of them could have been classified as protracted or simply recurring crises, the research group has decided to list them as separate crises. The reason behind this is the fact that each crisis is considered to be unique and requires different initiatives to resolve or manage. Moreover, the factors affecting foreign policy analysis during individual crisis has to be taken into account. As the political leaders change over time, so does the group of decision makers involved in a crisis. If the records of the past crises and the lessons learned from them are not readily available to the key players who are new to their jobs, they may have to start from scratch to reach a decision. In return, even a protracted crisis then may become a new crisis for the existing decision makers at the time of crisis. Besides, no matter how familiar the triggering dispute/conflict is, change in regional balances and change and transformation in the international system may dictate different and new courses of action.

When the list has been completed and agreed upon, each member of the research group is assigned two/three unique crises depending on the area of interest of the individual. This way each crisis is investigated in detail and the parameters affecting the decision making process are identified more clearly. The researchers have utilized deconstruction and reconstruction methodologies when and if necessary to contribute to the crisis analysis parameters which were produced parallel to their individual studies.

This table reflects the provisional list of Turkish foreign policy crises. The four crises listed in *italics* on the right column, at the time this chapter is produced, are classified as ongoing foreign policy crises which have not yet reached definite outcomes.

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[29] https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/tutanak_sd.sorgu_baslangic
[30] http://www.mfa.gov.tr/default.en.mfa

Table 1.1. Turkish Foreign Policy Crises (1923-2015)

| Pre-Cold War	Cold-War	Post-Cold War
1924 Mosul Land Crisis	1955 6-7 September Case	1991 Turkey-Armenia Nakhchivan Crisis
1926-27 The Case of SS Bozkurt-Lotus	1957 Turkey - Syria Confrontation	1992 TCG Muavenet Crisis
1929 Little Ararat (Küçük Ağrı) Crisis	1958 Iraq Upheaval Crisis	1994 Aegean Sea *casus belli* Crisis
1935 Bulgaria-Turkey Crisis	1964 Johnson Letter Crisis	1996 Kardak / Imia Crisis
1936 Hatay / Sandjak Crisis	1963-64 Cyprus Crisis-I	1997 S-300 Missile Crisis
1942 MV Struma Crisis	1967 CyprusCrisis-II	1998 Syria (Öcalan) Crisis
1945 Turkish Straits and Kars Ardahan Crisis	1972-73 Poppy Cultivation Regulation Crisis	2003 Sulaymaniyah "Hood" Crisis
	1974 CyprusCrisis-III	*2003- Eastern Mediterranean Maritime Jurisdiction Areas Crisis*
	1974-80 NOTAM-FIR Crisis	*2010 – MV Mavi Marmara (Gaza Filotilla) Crisis*
	1974-76 Aegean Sea Continental Shelf Crisis-I	*2011 - Turkey-Syria Crisis*
	1981 Militarisation of Lemnos Crisis	2014 ISIS Hostage Crisis
	1984-1990 Western Thrace Crisis	*2015- Tomb of Suleyman Shah*
	1987 Aegean Sea Continental Shelf Crisis-II	
	1989 Assimilation and Emigration Crisis of Bulgarian Turks	
	1988-91 Iraqi Refugee Crisis	

The names and attributes to the crises are mostly derived from the events that caused the problem. The ones which have already been included in the international studies and given generic names mostly coincide with the names given by the research team. Some of the crises

listed above may have been given different attributions or named differently elsewhere depending on the nationality or may not even be counted as crises at all.

However, an enhanced definition of a foreign policy crisis presents a well-established ground to include them as they are listed. As a matter of fact, as the whole research methodology suggests, *perception* plays a great role in attributing "crisis" label to a foreign policy event as well as naming the crisis itself. The provisional Turkish foreign policy crises list produced by the research group is as the Table 1.1.

The list includes some crises which seemed to re-occur and thus named accordingly.[31] They are listed separately in order to observe shifts of policy implementation as decision makers and international system change over the time. An important distinction was observed when attributing the "crisis" label to a foreign policy event. The research team utilized a hierarchy of severity of the problem or demands brought forward which cause a foreign policy crisis. Though the terms "dispute" and "conflict" are used interchangeably by some scholars, the research team placed the terms in an ascending order in terms of seriousness of the problem and the means used by the actors involved.

Figure 1.1. Dispute, Conflict and Crisis Flow

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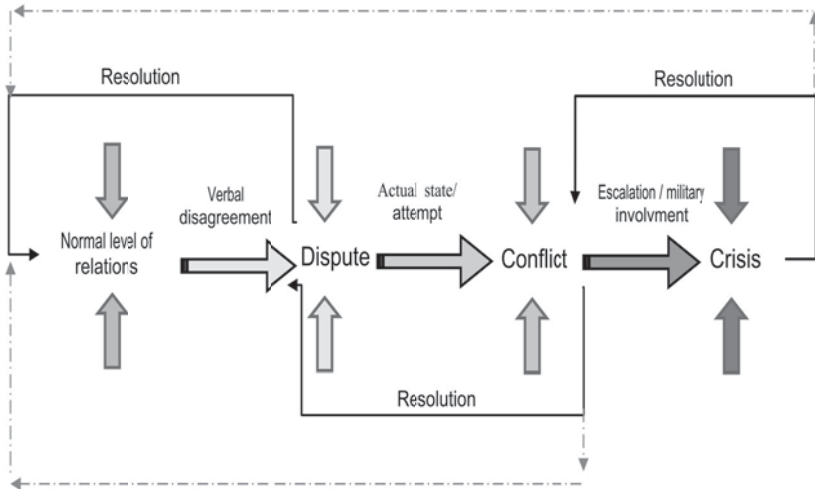
[31] Crises related to Cyprus (1964, 1967, 1974, 1997 S-300) and Aegean Seacontinental shelf (1974-1976, 1987) can also be categorized as protracted crises.

The figure above illustrates the hierarchy proposed by the project work. The above arrangement requires, against all existing difficulties in classification of a foreign policy event, that a *dispute* involves the verbal claims of the parties on a specific matter which cannot easily be solved mutually. In a persisting dispute, political, legal or diplomatic means are not sufficiently utilized or the proposed resolution advisory is dragged out by one or all of the parties. When one party transforms its actions to actuality, then the situation may be said to become a *conflict*. In both cases, correct initiatives and solution advisories can diminish the tension one step back or even to normal relation levels. According to above model, while the dispute and/or conflict endures, the situation can become a foreign policy crisis if one party escalates the situation and the other party follows the same manner by action.[32]

This phase is evaluated as the *peak* of the crisis. It is presumed that generally when one of the parties in political/diplomatic conflict phase adds military means and methods to the actions it takes, the other party reciprocates in the same manner which in turn escalates the existing level of crisis.

Analysis Parameters and Variables

Once the crisis list is produced and crises are assigned names within the aspect set forth by the guidelines of the project framework, parameters and variables to be used in the analysis have been determined. Since the framework of the study follows a neoclassical realist approach which defines systematic pressures as independent variables and internal factors as intervening variables, the research group as produced crisis analysis tables accordingly to cover both areas. Third party involvement, existing military alliances and the nature of international system are utilized as independent variables. As the systematic pressures must be translated through unit-level variables, such as, decision makers' perceptions[33] and

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[32] This is the reason why in figure-1 the foreign policy crises related to Aegean Sea are listed separately, rather than naming them as *Aegean dispute* in general. For detailed analysis of the Aegean crisis see: Fuat Aksu, *Türk Dış Politikasında Zorlayıcı Diplomasi* (*Coercive Diplomacy in Turkish Foreign Policy* - printed in Turkish), (Istanbul: Baglam Yayıncılık, 2008).

[33] See Alexander L. George, "The Causal Nexus Between Cognitive Beliefs and Decision Making Behavior: The 'Operational Code' Belief System", in L. Falkowski (Ed.), *Psychological Models in International Politics*, (CO: Westview Press, 1979): 95-124. Also see Margaret Hermann, "Explaining Foreign Policy

state structures, parameters like government types, identity of the leaders[34] and domestic organizations/agents are included within the analysis tables to form intervening variables. The crisis analysis tables are currently being improved by the inputs from the researchers as well as the theoretical studies covered so far.

Sample research parameters included in the integrated TFPC base analysis tables are given below:

Table 1.2. Decision-Making Structure and Government Types

Name of The Crisis	Decision Makers	Foreign Policy Crisis Actors	Type of Crisis	Government Types
	Turkey and Opponent			
	• President • Prime Minister • Minister of Foreign Affairs • Minister of Defence • Chief of General Staff • Ambassador 1 • Ambassador 2	As Per Individual Crisis	• Unexpected / instantaneous • Protracted • Pre-mediated • Indirect • Accidental • Inadvertent • Humanitarian	• One-Party • Coalition • Military • Supra-Parties • Minority Government • Temporary Coalition • Temporary Minority

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Behavior Using the Personal Characteristics of Political Leaders", *International Studies Quarterly,* 24 (1980): 7-46.

[34] Leaders as important decision makers should be well understood to reach a complete behavior analysis. For a sample study, see: Thomas C. Wiegele et al**.** *Leaders under Stress: A Psychophysiological Analysis of International Crises*, (NC: Duke University Press, 1985).

Table 1.3. Triggers in the Crises

Name of the Crisis	Duration of the Crisis		Event Triggering the Crisis		
	Start	**End**	**Category of the event**	**Nature of the event**	**First reaction**
	•Date crisis triggered •Date crisis ended		•Political •Economic •External change •Other non-violent •Internal challenge to Regime •Non-violent military •Violent •Humanitarian	•Protest •Threat •Accusation •Subversive Activity •Co-operation with adversary •Abandoning diplomatic relations •Breach of agreement •Attrition •Embargo •Nationalization	•No response-inaction •Verbal Act •Political Act •Economic Act •Violent Military Act

Table 1.4. Characteristics of Crisis and Crisis Management

Name of the Crisis	Triggering unit	Gravity of the crisis	Crisis Management Strategies			Level of Violence
			Defensive	Offensive	Management Technique	
	• State • Non-State	• Limited • Political • Economic • Territorial Integrity • Influence • Grave Damage • Existence	• Blackmail • Limited Reversible Response • Controlled Pressure • Fait Accompli • Attrition	• Coercive Diplomacy • Limited Escalation • Tit For Tat • Test of Capacities • Drawing Line • Conveying Commitment And Resolve	• Negotiation • Jurisdiction/ Arbitration • Mediation • Non-Violent • Non-Military Pressure • Non-Violent Military • Violent • Third Party Support	• None • Offensive Use of Force • Exemplary Use of Force • Minor Battle

Table 1.5. Third Party Involvement in Crises

Name of the Crisis	Organization	Intervention	State
	• UN • NATO • EU • League of Nations • Council of Europe • PCIJ • Baghdad Pact • ICJ	• None • Inconclusive Negotiations • Investigation • Good Offices • Condemnation • Call For Action • Mediation • Arbitration • Sanction • Observer	• As Per Individual Crisis

Table 1.6. Outcome of the Crisis

Name of the Crisis	Characteristic	Form	Status
	• Victory • Reconciliation • Stalemate • Ambiguous • Defeat • Tacit agreement	• Official Agreement • Semi Official Agreement	• Status quo ante • Status quo ante plus • New Status On Agreement • Tacit New Status • Ambiguous

The actual base analysis table has more detailed information. Due to space constraints it would not be practical to display the whole analysis table. However the parts which are not displayed here contain information on the variables suggested by the theoretical framework. The study in that context gives a comprehensive list of variables and then investigates and evaluates the influence of the variables as main factors which shape the decision making process.

Those parts cover the fields of interest for a thorough analysis:

- Political leader's discourse, belief system and cognitive features,
- Structure and composition of the decision-making group,

- The legislation of the state (constitution),
- Financial and economic status of the parties during an individual crisis,
- Relative power and alliances of the involved states,
- Impact of the crisis on the third parties and alliances if involved,
- Regional and international agenda during the crisis period,
- Duration of the crisis,
- Relative military capacities and legal status of the governments,
- Regional dominant actors, if any,
- Prevailing national internal and external agendas of the parties involved,
- Prevalent mass media and the popular tendency,
- The main opposition and its influence on the decision making process.

After investigating each crisis, the research group has been discussing the findings and filling out the integrated TFPC base table for each crisis listed above. By making use of the table, researchers seek answers to the following questions:

- Who were/are the decision makers and relevant actors during each crisis?
- How do they assess the threats and opportunities?
- How do they resolve any disagreement on the decision making during crisis management?
- What was/is the role of the leader as decision maker? Who decides the management technique?
- What is the influence of domestic factors on the decision making process?
- If the leader changes during a foreign policy crisis how does the decision making process and approach change?

After finding answers to these questions, the researchers will deal with another set of overarching questions on the leader behavior during the foreign policy crisis:

- If the same leader faces two or more diverse foreign policy crises during the office period, as a highly influential person in foreign policy crisis management, does he/she present the same pattern of behavior during different crisis? Can we make any reference to a

consistent behavior pattern or does the pattern change according to
the context of the crisis? If so what are the influencing factors?

If the same leader displays similar/diverse behavior during
similar/different crises, how can this similarity/diversity be categorized?

Conclusion

The research project on the TFPC has been conducted based on the
collating, classifying and analyzing of foreign policy crises experienced
during the Republican era. Following the foreign policy analysis methods,
a thorough political history investigation and literature review enabled the
research group to produce a list of crises. The outcomes of the research has
put forward 34 substantial foreign policy events which are categorized as
Turkey's foreign policy crises since the foundation of the Republic of
Turkey. Utilizing neoclassical realist approach as the theoretical base of
the studies, the research team produced an enhanced definition of foreign
policy crisis. The enhanced definition, rather than introducing completely
new set of parameters, tries to soften the sharp edges of the existing
definitions and attempts to make modest additions. By doing so, the study
basically eliminates the *finite/short* time constraint and the *probability of
military conflict* as the essential conditions of a crisis. It also reduces the
level of perceived threat from high/basic values plane down to any
substantial event which heavily occupies the decision makers' agenda. The
preliminary findings of the research on Turkish foreign policy crises
justify and support this approach at least over two separate foreign policy
crises.

As the theoretical frame suggests, effects of leader perceptions together
with other intervening variables are included in the decision making
process. This is mainly accomplished by deconstructing and reconstructing
the past and present foreign policy crisis when necessary. The main
approach to investigate leaders' characteristics is based on the assumption
that a leader's foreign policy behavior can most easily be observed during
a foreign policy crisis as it calls for concrete and sound decisions to make.

Answers to the research questions posited on the outset of the research
project were meticulously produced to reach a thorough completion of the
study. By the conclusion of the research work, besides an extensive list of
TFP crises, comprehensive analysis of each individual crisis was made
available. This will make it possible for other researchers to further extend
the study. The analyses developed by the results of the project can form a
solid basis for researchers to find answers to overarching questions that

seek a foreign policy crisis management pattern as far as the leaders are concerned. Political leaders, through their perceptions, are the prime actors to decide if a foreign policy event is a crisis. A further study may also facilitate better understanding of the divergence of foreign policy behaviours -if any- between the leaders and the general view of the political parties they belong.

The main objective of the study - producing an extensive list of Turkish foreign policy crises together with their analysis - was acquired as targeted. However there still seems to be space for future research on the different aspects of the findings made available. The results can set a convenient ground for more detailed and into depth research of Turkish foreign policy decision making process over the time to produce a model peculiar to Turkey. Investigating the unique characteristics and the priorities of the leaders, together with identifying the means and methods they use, may help us to better understand the foundations of the Turkish foreign policy dynamics. It may also be possible to probe whether there is a specific understanding of crisis management culture and also to evaluate how crisis management processes have functioned in different periods by different governments. The findings and the final outcome of the whole research project will separately be published as a detailed study to include all 34 foreign policy crises (at the time of writing this chapter) together with individual case studies.

CHAPTER TWO

NEOCLASSICAL REALISM, THE LIMITS OF ANALYSIS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORY[*]

ÜMRAN GÜRSES

Introduction

In this chapter I will assess the neoclassical realist research agenda by critically focusing on the promises and limits of its basic claims, insights and explanations. Before looking at its contributions to IR theory and specifically foreign policy analysis and its limits, I will briefly touch upon neorealism from which neoclassical realism draws its basic premises and on the basis of that it develops the conceptual framework for foreign policy analysis. Then I will elaborate on the basic assumptions, arguments and concepts through which neoclassical realism develops its theoretical and conceptual horizon regarding international politics, the state and foreign policy. The chapter will then go on to identify the limits and problems embedded in neoclassical realism by critically engaging with its basic premises and assumptions which to a large extent come from the realist tradition.

Neorealism, Neoclassical Realism, the Structure and the State

It is often claimed that the neorealist premises and assumptions of the international politics have dominated the theoretical, conceptual and methodological landscape of IR for the last few decades. By taking issues with the neorealist research program in their own peculiar ways, the

critical interpretations/approaches of IR have demonstrated, in addition to other crucial dimension, this hegemonic position in the discipline. The critiques have targeted at the fundamental assumptions and underlying presuppositions of neorealism the most important of which are the anarchical nature of international system and struggle to survive and maintain state autonomy.[1]

On the basis of these premises, neorealism develops an argument that the primary purpose of the state is to ensure its own survival in an anarchical and conflicting international system, using the resources available to it. Moreover, a state's national interest and capabilities are determined by the distribution of power and its position in international system.[2] Neorealism focuses on explaining common patterns of international behavior over time. Since neorealism is about explaining the overall outcomes of state interactions, it is a theory of international politics. It includes some general assumptions about actions of individual states but does not explain states' behavior in detail or in all cases.[3]

According to neorealists, then, in order to understand foreign policy of a state we need to look at system level by examining relative position of a state in that systemic level. In particular, neorealists present big and structural questions of international politics, such as: Why do wars occur? Why do states tend to balance against powerful states? Why is cooperation difficult between states? They accept the structure of the international system and its anarchic character as given, which compels states to follow similar behaviors in order to secure themselves. Neorealist scholars explain behaviors of great powers and systemic outcomes by utilizing the most important independent variable; distribution of capabilities and the balance of power.[4] This theory focuses directly on the international system, its components and their interactions, as well as the continuities and the patterns in the system. Neorealism thus primarily focuses on the influence of the structure of the international system; that is why it is called "structural realism". It prioritizes structure over agency, which is why its main concern is to define outcomes in international politics and not specific state behavior. The structure or the international system has

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[1] Derek Beach, *Analyzing Foreign Policy*, (Palgrave Macmillan 2012): 17-18.
[2] Beach, *Analyzing Foreign…*, 34-35
[3] Gideon Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy", *World Politics,* Vol. 51, No. 1 (1998): 145.
[4] Steven E. Lobell, Norrin M. Ripsman and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, "Introduction: Neoclassical Realism, the State and Foreign Policy", in Steven E. Lobell, Norrin M. Ripsman and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro (Eds.), *Neoclassical Realism, the State and Foreign Policy,* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2009):16-17.

two distinctive concepts. First, the ordering principle of the international system is *anarchy,* which means that there is no higher authority above states, which are the main and rational actors of the international system. In the anarchical order, there is no world government to regulate order or solve conflicts. This condition creates a self-help system, which contains undifferentiated actors, who behave in the same way and are always prepared to fend for themselves.[5] That is why states cannot trust each other. They are solely responsible for their own security. In this respect, neorealism emphasizes security as a distinctive element for a state, which it seeks to maximize.

Distribution of capabilities or power as a second concept of neorealism indicates how a state's behavior is shaped by its capabilities. A state faces structural constraints and motivations and its response is differentiated according to how much power it has.[6] These capabilities consist of the size of territory and population, resource endowment, economic capability, military strength, political stability and competence of a state.[7] Therefore, in order to understand a state's foreign policy it is necessary to know the structural imperatives created by the relative power of the state and its position in the international system. Thus, it could be conducive to understand important elements, which determine a state's foreign policy by looking at the relative position of state in the system.

Waltz's most important contribution and the core argument of neorealism is the balance of power theory. He contends that "a balance-of-power theory begins with assumptions about states: They are unitary actors who, at minimum, seek their own preservation, and at maximum, drive for universal domination."[8] He uses balance of power theory to explain recurrent patterns of international outcomes and anarchic international system across history. He establishes a single independent variable; the systemic distribution of power as measured by the number of great powers. The international system imposes constraints on all states disregarding the domestic characteristics.[9] Each state is considered a "black box" and they behave similarly in the same international system. The regime type or domestic characteristics of states are not included in the analysis. Dismissing 'ideology, form of government, peacefulness,

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[5] Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, (Waveland Press, Long Grove, 1979): 88.
[6] Waltz, *Theory of International…,* 96.
[7] Waltz, *Theory of International…,* 113.
[8] Waltz, *Theory of International…,* 118.
[9] Lobell, Ripsman and Taliaferro, "Introduction: Neoclassical Realism…", 17.

bellicosity or whatever', what makes international relations tick is nothing more than the 'distribution of capabilities'.[10]

Regardless of domestic differences, all states have to secure themselves and survive in an anarchical order. Thus they share the same motivation: to survive under the same pressures of the system which makes them similar. Balance of power theory makes two predictions; that across different international systems, a balance of power tends to form, and that states tend to emulate the successful practices of others.[11]

Therefore neorealism, or balance of power theory argues that the international system compels states to adopt similar strategies. States generally balance against powerful states or coalitions by building alliances with weaker states or by arms racing. States will tend to emulate the military, technological, and governing practices of the most successful states in the system.[12] As a system level theory, neorealism aims to explain broad systemic outcomes or the recurrence of the balances of power and the anarchical international systems across history. However it does not define why and how states choose a specific foreign policy behavior or different strategies such as emulation, innovation, or the continuation of existing strategies which do not always reflect its relative power or its place in international system.[13]

As has been clear, neorealism does not offer a theory of a state nor develops a theory of foreign policy. The state and foreign policy or individual states' external relations are not the primary focus for neorealism. It is not surprising that neorealist assumption on foreign policy turns out to be insufficient in explaining of, for example, why and how individual states choose different foreign policy behaviors and strategies. For this reason neoclassical realists call for opening "the black box of the state". We could have a sound, comprehensive and rational explanation of foreign policy only if state-level variables are included into the analysis. For example, as Jennifer Sterling Folker has noted, "anarchy does not dictate how states should arrange their domestic processes in order to achieve that end. States are free to experiment, to emulate one another's practices, or to do nothing. Nonetheless, domestic processes act as the final arbiter for state survival within the anarchic environment."[14] Moreover,

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[10] Waltz, *Theory of International…,* 98.

[11] Waltz, *Theory of International…,* 124.

[12] Waltz, *Theory of International…,*

[13] Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, "State Building for Future Wars: Neoclassical Realism and the Resource-Extractive State", *Security Studies,* Vol.15, No. 3, (2006): 466.

[14] Jennifer Sterling-Folker, "Realist Environment, Liberal Process, and Domestic-Level Variables", *International Studies Quarterly,* Vol.41, No. 1 (March 1997): 7.

state responses are affected by domestic political and decision-making factors including perceptions, states' motives, political traditions and identities, domestic institutions and coalition building, and perceived lessons of the past.[15]

Since the 1980s, the most prominent international relations theory, neorealism has been challenged and critiqued by a variety of new schools of thought, including constructivism, critical theory and post-modernism. Exchange of ideas is much rare, between traditional and critical/reflectivist approaches and they have huge differences on epistemology, ontology, and methodology. For that reason, intellectual debate and an exchange of ideas within the realist tradition has emerged and created new interpretations and types of realist thought.[16] State-level realism was reborn as 'neoclassical realism' in the 1990s after some books and articles published by scholars who were dissatisfied with existing neorealist theory. Gideon Rose entitled this foreign policy theory as 'neoclassical realism in his 1998 article, "*Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy*". In the article, Rose presented the new approach of neoclassical realism that was designed specifically to explain foreign policy behavior. According to Rose, some scholars such as Randall Schweller, Fareed Zakaria, William C. Wohlforth and Thomas J. Christensen conduct their research within this type of realism. These scholars explain the foreign policy behaviour of particular states by introducing certain concepts such as grand strategy, military policy, international economic policy, trends in alliances and crisis management. Neoclassical realists argue that neorealism extensively focuses on system level factors and could not explain major historical events and differentiation in individual states' foreign relations. Furthermore, its theoretical model prioritizes parsimony and consistency over explanatory power and this in turn explains why the outcomes in world politics do not occur and function as it predicts.[17]

The structure of neoclassical realism is made up of three steps: the independent variable (state's relative power in the international system), the intervening variable (domestic level "transmission belt", through which systemic pressures are filtered) and the dependent variable or the foreign policy outcome. Neoclassical realism carries eclectic features which host different theories within its formation. Some part of the theory is mixed and matched in order to reach a useful outcome. For some

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[15] Juliet Kaarbo, "A Foreign Policy Analysis Perspective on the Domestic Politics Turn in IR Theory", *International Studies Review*, Vol.17 (2015): 203.

[16] Liu Feng and Zhang Ruizhuang, "The Typologies of Realism", *Chinese Journal of International Politics,* Vol. 1, (2006): 109.

[17] Beach, *Analyzing Foreign…,* 64.

writers, neoclassical realist theory could be seen as the best example to use concepts from constructivist, liberal, and cognitive theories.[18] As Rose argues "neoclassical realists occupy a middle ground between pure structural theorists and constructivist. The former implicitly accept a clear and direct link between systemic contraints and unit level behavior. The latter deny that any objective systemic constraints exist at all, arguing instead that international reality is socially constructed."[19] For example, Schweller combines a structural factor as an independent variable with state-level intervening variables such as the autonomy of leaders. The intervening -domestic-level- variables which "channel, mediate and (re)direct" systemic pressures present one of the important innovation of neoclassical realism.[20] With roots in classical realism, liberalism, and constructivism, neoclassical scholars have identified three common assumptions in their approaches: a) collectivity and groups are key actor in (world) politics; b) power is the fundamental feature of (international) politics; c) the essential nature of (international) politics is conflictual.[21]

Neoclassical Foreign Policy:
An Outline of a Comprehensive Framework

There has been an ongoing debate over the material and ideational explanations of foreign policy behavior and foreign policy making process. Power, capability, security, national interest, perceptions, ideas, identity, ideology etc. have been used in foreign policy analysis. Some theories prioritize material factors, such as economic-military capabilities, for their explanation while other use ideational ones such as identity manifest as a socially constructed idea. As we have seen, neoclassical realism argues for foreign policy that is an outcome of the international structure, domestic factors, and the complex interaction between them. More specifically, both state power and the placement of states in the international system are the important factors that shape foreign policy. According to neoclassical realists, not only structural and material factors, but also ideational and domestic level variables have to be included in the explanation and making of foreign policy. Neoclassical realists also

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[18] Beach, *Analyzing Foreign…,* 11.
[19] Rose, "Neoclassical Realism…", 152.
[20] Randall L Schweller, "Unanswered Threats: A Neoclassical Realist Theory of Underbalancing", *International Security,* Vol. 29, (2004): 164.
[21] Randall L. Schweller, "The Progressiveness of Neoclassical Realism", in Colin Elman and Miriam Fendius Elman (Eds.), *Progress in International Relations Theory: Appraising the Field*, (Cambridge: MIT. Press, 2003): 327.

address the concept of power but in a different perspective. Because for realists, power is defined as being material (i.e. geography, natural resources, population, trade and industrial capacity, technology, etc.) and military power (i.e. expenditure, size and quality of military, training, etc.). However, neoclassical realists claim that power cannot be calculated solely on material factors. Other elements of power should be included such as individual leadership, the quality of government, the competence of its administrators, and a government's reputation or track record in world politics.[22]

Neoclassical realism shares the argument with neorealism that the scope and ambition of a state's foreign policy goals are determined by its placement in the international system and its relative material power. The effect of such power capabilities, however, is indirect and complex and how they are translated into foreign policies or security strategies may depend on various intervening factors within the state itself. In order to understand how states respond to the shaping of their external environment, it should be analyzed how system pressures are translated through intervening unit-level variables.[23] That means the material capacity of a state does not transform itself in a specific foreign policy behavior directly. Instead this relative power is mediated by the political leaders and elites' perceptions and assessment of this power which may be more important than the actual power of a state. That is why, domestic state structure, internal characteristics, leaders and their perceptions become determinant factors in shaping foreign policy decisions.

Intervening variables such as perceptions of leaders and state structure are positioned between foreign policy and the international system. Further these intervening variables have the effect of strengthening or weakening the influence of structural factors on unit behaviors. Each neoclassical realist may prioritize different variables; Dueck, Lobell, and Taliaferro, for example, focus on domestic politics and state–society relations, putting the national security executive at the center, with the ability to define the national interest. Whereas other neoclassical researchers like Schweller and Sterling-Folker focus more on ideational elements at the domestic level, such as nationalism and ideology, as the leaders may use and invoke nationalist sentiment in order to gain public support.[24]

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[22] Lobell, Ripsman and Taliaferro, "Introduction: Neoclassical Realism…", 297
[23] Nicholas Kitchen, "Systemic Pressures and Domestic Ideas: A Neoclassical Realist Model of Grand Strategy Formation", *Review of International Studies,* Vol.36, No.1 (2010): 118.
[24] For details see: Juliet Kaarbo, "A Foreign Policy Analysis...", 204.

Ideational Factors and Individuals in Foreign Policy Making Process

The ideas, beliefs or the ideology of decision makers play a role to formulate states' interests and shape their foreign policy behavior. Leaders may use foreign policy as a tool to transform a nation's political culture according to their worldview. Furthermore, ideas may become "as sources of legitimacy for some actions and the guide interpretations of the behavior of others."[25] Neoclassical realism places the impact of ideas alongside the imperatives of material power in the making of foreign policy. Nicholas Kitchen categorizes ideas into three groups, demonstrating how ideas and states' behavior are related and how a state's response to systemic factors does not actually reflect its position in the international system. According to him, the three groups of ideas are:

1) The scientific ideas, which establish the boundaries of possibility for state strategies by describing and interpreting the relations of empirical realities in the international system.
2) The intentional ideas, which are normative suggestions that seek to establish goals for foreign policy.
3) The operational ideas which help us explain the differing approaches of states towards similar threat as much as differing coercive capabilities.[26]

Kitchen also describes how ideas intervene at the unit level: through the specific individuals that hold them; through institutions in which they may become embedded; and through the broader culture of the state.[27] In this respect, neoclassical realism presents a "top-down" conception of the state by unveiling it in order to predict foreign policy behavior. For this conception, the state is made up of individuals and these individuals construct systems, institutions and bureaucracies. Thus individuals make judgements, take decisions and implement them. Neoclassical realists argue that the state is governed by a national security executive comprised of the head of government, the ministers and officials who are together charged with making foreign and security policy. The members of government or decision-makers as top officials of the foreign policy

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[25] Ahmet K. Han, "Paradise Lost: A Neoclassical Realist Analysis of Turkish Foreign Policy and the Case of Turkish-Syrian Relations" in *Turkey-Syria Relations: Between Enmity and Amity,* (Eds.) Raymond Hinnebusch and Ozlem Tur, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013): 59.

[26] Kitchen, "Systemic Pressures…, 129-130.

[27] Kitchen, "Systemic Pressures…, 129-130.

executive are positioned between the state and the international system, whereby systemic constraints are perceived and national interests are determined. Moreover, Zakaria notes that "state power is that portion of national power that the government can extract for its purpose and reflects the ease with which central decision-makers can achieve their ends."[28] As Taliaferro et al. have stated, "leaders define the 'national interests' and conduct foreign policy based upon their assessment of relative power and other states' intentions, but always subject to domestic constraints."[29]

Decision makers are not only constrained by external threats but also by the domestic institutional structure.[30] Even though top policy officials have privileged information on security issues in comparison to other domestic groups, they are not autonomous from society or domestic constraints such as the legislature, nationalism and the public. As Taliaferro notes "material capabilities can influence states' external behavior only through the medium of central decision makers' perceptions, calculations, and estimates. Purely quantitative indicators of capabilities simply cannot capture decision makers' assessments."[31] In that sense, *perceptions* may become crucial during crisis or noncrisis periods and radical changes or stable periods in international structure. He also argues that "politicians, military leaders, and bureaucrats make foreign policy choices based on their perceptions and calculations of relative power and other states' intentions. This means that, over the short and medium terms, different states' foreign policies may not be objectively "efficient" or predictable based on an objective assessment of relative power."[32]

Neoclassical realists contend with the more descriptive and specified *security* policy of states by incorporating both the domestic and international level.[33] Therefore, neoclassical realism presents a more coherent approach to the security policy choices than neorealist theory or Innenpolitik model. As Norrin Ripsman maintains, if security is scarce in the international system, domestic actors have limited roles in which to influence foreign policy. However, when the security environment is more

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[28] Fareed Zakaria, *From Wealth to Power*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999): 9.

[29] Lobell, Ripsman and Taliaferro, "Introduction: Neoclassical Realism…", 26.

[30] Rose, "Neoclassical Realism …", 153.

[31] Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, "Security Seeking under Anarchy, Defensive Realism Revisited", *International Security,* Vol. 25, No. 3 (Winter 2000/01):141-143.

[32] Taliaferro, "State Building for…", 485

[33] Colin Dueck, "Neoclassical Realism And The National Interest: Presidents, Domestic Politics, And Major Military Interventions", in *Neoclassical Realism, the State and Foreign Policy,* (Eds.), Steven E. Lobell and Norrin M. Ripsman and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2009):139.

stable, domestic actors have a greater role in shaping foreign policy choices.[34] When political leaders feel that their governing position is at stake, they may be more responsive to domestic preferences and may choose riskier security policies in order to secure themselves domestically.[35] Thus, neoclassical realism rejects the assumption that the fundamental actors in international politics are risk-averse. For example, leaders' perceptions or misperceptions play an important role to respond to systemic changes and therefore leaders may take high risk strategies in decision making processes.

In addition to the perceptions of leaders, domestic factors such as civil society, organizational politics and civil-military relations can impose a limit on the efficiency of leaders' responses to systemic imperatives. Furthermore neoclassical realism indicates the specific conditions under which domestic politics matter in foreign policy. During periods of imminent external threat, the calculations of central decision makers become crucial. Over the longer term or in the absence of an immediate external threat, national leaders will have more difficulty in mobilizing domestic resources for foreign policy. Leaders' mobilization efforts may later restrict their ability to readjust their foreign policies in response to changes in the external environment.[36] Hence leaders always use certain principles for their actions in the uncertain and anarchic world of the international system. They also develop identities and postures for their nations in often violent competition with others.[37] In that sense neoclassical realism aims at explaining national foreign policy behavior by utilizing classical realism's focus on statesmen and neorealism's main argument about the relative material power of states to explore a few systemic mechanisms – e.g. balancing, bandwagoning. Therefore, neoclassical realism could be seen as a functional supplement to its predecessor realist approaches by blending both systemic and sub systemic factors such as state governance structure and individual perceptions.[38]

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[34] Norrin M. Ripsman, "Neoclassical Realism And Domestic Interest Groups", in Steven E. Lobell, Norrin M. Ripsman and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro (eds.), *Neoclassical Realism, the State and Foreign Policy,* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2009): 186.

[35] Ripsman, "Neoclassical Realism…", 173.

[36] Taliaferro, "Security Seeking under…", 143.

[37] Kitchen, "Systemic Pressures and…", 119.

[38] Sebastian Harnisch and Magdalena Kirchner, "Neoclassical Realism and State-Sponsorship of Terrorism: The Case of Syria": 2, http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/md/politik/harnisch/person/publikationen/harnisch-kirchner_ncr_paper.pdf [20.12.2015]

Neoclassical realists also seek to explain how leaders shape the *national interest* in a particular state at a particular time by looking at leaders' capacity to construct national interests according to their own assessment and related to their autonomy in national system. As Colin Dueck has stated "the process of identifying national interests and then mobilizing resources to pursue those interests is not a given, and cannot even be usefully taken as such…"[39] If there are weak domestic constraints, leaders pursue their own conception of the national interest. However if they are constrained by strong domestic limits, they have to follow the concept of the national interest defined by domestic structure and actors.[40] Moreover, decision makers' national interest conception could be crucial while they face potential external threats. In some cases, these conceptions could be excessive or misguided but, anarchic international system forces states to focus on their security and necessary tools to make secure foreign policy. The process of defining national interests and tools is not given as the domestic political factors (interest groups, public opinion, normative considerations, and electoral pressures) and systemic constraints influence this dynamic process. Neoclassical realism demonstrates that in this process, elites may adopt their own concept of national interest which does not always reflect systemic imperatives.[41]

In neorealist analysis, state-level variables become determinant factors at the intersection between the international system and foreign policy preferences. In this sense Schweller describes four domestic variables which indicates the ability of a state to respond to systemic threats; (1) elite consensus about the systemic challenges facing the state, (2) the level of elite cohesion, (3) the level of social cohesion and (4) regime vulnerability to being removed from office.[42] He also proposes another intervening variable, namely "state interests and motivations".[43] States are

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[39] Dueck, "Neoclassical Realism…", 146.

[40] Dueck, "Neoclassical Realism…", 149.

[41] As Rathbun underlines, neoclassical realism explains when states cannot properly adapt to systemic constraints and there are serious consequences of that. For details see: Brian Rathbun, "A Rose by Any Other Name: Neoclassical Realism as the Logical and Necessary Extension of Structural Realism", *Security Studies,* Vol.17 No.2, (2008): 296. Although the systemic structure is believed to shape the long term foreign policy behavior, "in the short term, states may miscalculate their power positions or defy systemic pressures –particularly at the regional level" because of the intervening variables. See: Han, "Paradise Lost: A Neoclassical Realist…", 56.

[42] Schweller, "Unanswered Threats…", 169.

[43] Randall L. Schweller, *Political Constraints on the Balance of Power*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006): 128.

therefore able to extract or mobilize resources as determined by their institutions as well as nationalism and ideology.[44] Concurring with Schweller, Taliaferro identifies "the relative strength of existing state institutions, levels of nationalism, and existence of state-sponsored or anti-statist ideology"[45] which impact on state's response to international system. By utilizing some immaterial ideational variables, neoclassical realism seeks to explain why and how an individual state chooses a specific foreign policy behavior at a specific time and in a particular condition.

The notions of national interest and security are associated with foreign policy making. They have a huge impact on the determination of the external behavior of state. However, national interest is an ambivalent concept in realism, which has no single or systematic definition. It is often considered to be highly related to survival and security of a state in general. As Waltz clearly states it in his structural realist framework, "a country acts in its national interest means that, having examined its security requirement, it tries to meet them". Neoclassical realists goes further by linking it with idea of national identity, which is regarded to determine state's interest, foreign policy preferences and its role in the world.[46] In the investigation of this concept, neoclassical realists claim to utilize constructivist theoretical insights by focusing on the process of identity formation. For example, Sterling-Folker combines structural realism with constructivist intervening variables such as *identity* and ideas. In constructivist theory, national interest is not just shaped by material security interests but also by a state's identity. Identity shapes perceptions of interest and security. National identity differentiation plays an enduring role in both domestic politics and foreign policies of nation states. Moreover, in line with structural realist insights, states compete with one another over the allocation of scarce resources at the international level and within each state, different groups also compete with one another over the allocation of resources. Those who have access to resources also get the ability and legitimacy to make decisions for the state. These interstate and intra-state competitions cannot be isolated from each other and they interact and take shape in this interaction [47]

In her study, Sterling-Folker integrates the main realist and constructivists concepts such as anarchy and security and group identity factors in order to explain Chinese-Taiwanese relations. She contends that

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[44] Rose, "Neoclassical Realism …", 149.
[45] Taliaferro, "State Building…", 495.
[46] Beach, *Analyzing Foreign…,* 65.
[47] Lobell, Ripsman and Taliaferro, "Introduction: Neoclassical Realism…", 35.

humans are social beings who construct their own identity differentiating themselves from other groups. In this process, groups form their identity in competition with other groups and this is best analyzed using constructivist theory. The construction of identity provides domestic elites to form and strength their own identity by being different from other entity such as foreign countries.[48]

Balance of Interest Theory and Four Different Types of States

Each state demonstrates different characteristics because of their relation to domestic society. Schweller differentiates states on the basis of differing motivations. Different types of states engage in different types of actions such as balancing, band-wagoning or coalition. He contends that all states in the anarchic international system are forced to maximize their influence and improve their position within the system. The systemic structure presents possibilities and fears for states. Even though all states face similar systemic pressures, their foreign policy preferences may be different based on their motivation and unit level variables. According to the balance of interest theory, state interest refers to the costs a state is willing to pay to defend its values (status quo), and the costs it is willing to pay to extend its values (revisionist). Thus there are two main categories among states and four sub groups which define state behaviors; *lions* (strong status quo state), *lambs* (weak status quo state), *jackals* (weak revisionist state) and *wolves* (strong revisionist state), based on their interests and according to their relative power. In short, not only the distribution of power in the system, but also characteristics of the state that make them revisionist or status quo are influential.[49] Therefore he predicts different foreign policy responses to given systemic political conditions based on these different characteristics of domestic politics. His balance of interest theory challenges Walt's balance of threat theory by utilizing new

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[48] Sterling-Folker contends that states can perceive each other as security threats despite increased economic interdependence between them, because nationalism and capitalism are not behavioral, analytical, or practical contradictions. See: Jennifer Sterling-Folker, "Neoclassical Realism and Identity: Peril Despite Profit Across the Taiwan Strait" in Steven E. Lobell, Norrin M. Ripsman and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro (eds.), *Neoclassical Realism, the State and Foreign Policy*, (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2009): 103-104.

[49] Randall L. Schweller, "Bandwagoning for Profit: Bringing the Revisionist State Back In", *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Summer, 1994): 90.

concepts.[50] Because Schweller argues that alliances are motivated for gain as well as by danger and fear. Balance of interest theory explains alliances motivated by profit not the threat of punishment. He states that the fundamental difference between bandwagoning and balancing is that "balancing is an extremely costly activity that most states would rather not engage in, but sometimes must to survive and protect their values. Bandwagoning rarely involves cost and is typically done in the expectation of gain. This is why bandwagoning is more common…than Walt and Waltz suggest."[51]

The primary concern of neoclassical realist theory is to construct a foreign policy theory which explains foreign policy behavior of a particular state over time or different states facing similar external constraints. It does not have the aim of explaining broad patterns of systemic or recurring outcomes. Thus, a neoclassical realist hypothesis tries to explicate diplomatic, economic, and military responses of particular states to systemic imperatives, but it does not specifically focus on the systemic consequences of those responses.[52] Unlike the structural theories, neoclassical realism unveils behavior patterns by combining domestic and individual level into the analysis without sacrificing material capabilities or position of the state in the system. Moreover, neoclassical realism draws useful foreign policy analysis focusing on micro level by looking at the individual political leader's behavior and domestic constraints.[53] Neoclassical realists believe that leaders' perceptions on a state's relative power must be taken into account because "statesmen, not states, are the primary actors in international affairs."[54] The leaders' assessment on the distribution of power should be taken into consideration in order to reach a well-articulated foreign policy theory. Furthermore,

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[50] Walt argues that states tend to balance against threats and not against power. Balancing is defined as allying with the others against a prevailing threat, bandwagoning refers to alignment with the source of danger. Walt asserts that states usually balance and rarely bandwagon. Weak states can be expected to balance when threatened by states with roughly equal capabilities, and in fact this is the more common tactic, but are inclined to bandwagon when threatened by a great power, Stephen M. Walt, *The Origins of Alliances* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987): 180.

[51] Schweller, "Bandwagoning for Profit: Bringing…, 93.

[52] Lobell, Ripsman and Taliaferro, "Introduction: Neoclassical Realism…", 21

[53] Balkan Devlen and Özgür Özdamar, "Neoclassical Realism and Foreign Policy Crises", in Annette Freyberg-Inan, Ewan Harrison and Patrick James (Eds.), *Rethinking Realism in International Relations*, (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009): 136.

[54] Zakaria, *From Wealth…*, 42.

foreign policy analysis must combine leaders' perceptions of the state position in the international system and domestic factors such as identity, political survival or ideology with structural factors. Therefore, in order to understand the whole process of external behavior of a state it should be combined different levels and factors. As Zakaria stated, "a good account of a nation's foreign policy should include systemic, domestic and other influences, specifying what aspects of a policy can be explained by what factors."[55] Moreover neoclassical realists assume that states do not seek security, instead states respond to the uncertainties of international anarchy by seeking control and shape their external environment.[56] As Zakaria notes "states are not resource-maximizers; they are influence-maximizers."[57]

Neoclassical Realism, Region and Foreign Policy Crisis

The individualistic structure of neoclassical realism also presents a coherent frame for foreign policy crisis analysis. States' relative power and structural theories cannot predict or explain short-term foreign policy behavior, particularly during crisis. The analysis of foreign policy behavior during a crisis is a matter of short time analysis; therefore micro-level variables carry a crucial role. In order to analyze policy preferences during a crisis, micro level factors which impact on process should be taken into account. These variables include personal/cognitive characteristics of leaders, efficient actors on decision-making process (the president, prime minister, chief of general staff, minister of foreign affairs, intelligence service), opposing parties and their leaders, interest or pressure groups.[58] Furthermore, leaders often face ambiguous, incomplete, and contradictory information about changes in relative power, especially during crises and periods of rapid change. In this situation, leaders make mistakes in estimates of material capabilities, or have misperceptions of the distribution of power, thus state leaders miscalculate shifts in net power.[59]

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[55] Fareed Zakaria, "Realism and Domestic Politics: A Review Essay", *International Security,* Vol 17, (1992):198.

[56] Rose, "Neoclassical Realism …", 152.

[57] Zakaria, *From Wealth…,* 19.

[58] In addition, other essential variables including domestic political factors; national structures, regime type, ideological perspectives/discourses, financial, political and military capacities, societal structure and its features, culture-identity elements, government type and its characteristics, administrative- legal features of a state have impact on foreign policy decisions.

[59] Lobell, Ripsman and Taliaferro, "Introduction: Neoclassical Realism…", 63.

As another domestic variable, the government type could be decisive in these periods. For example, Susan Peterson posits that crisis bargaining outcomes depend not only on relative power considerations, but also on the nature of the governments involved. She argues that the institutional structures of a state and the strategic beliefs of key actors in the domestic theater play the principal role in determining whether crises end in war or not.[60]

Miriam Fendius Elman improves this model and operationalizes institutional structure by subdividing the category of democracy into majoritarian parliamentary democracies, coalitional parliamentary democracies, and presidential democracies. Moreover she examines the relative hawkishness or dovishness of the executive and the legislature. She argues that in majoritarian parliamentary democracies, executive preferences dominate legislative preferences; thus a hawkish executive will pursue belligerent policies and a dovish cabinet will behave peacefully. In coalitional parliamentary democracies and presidential democracies, however, the executive is non-autonomous and public preferences trump executive preferences.[61]

During crisis, it becomes difficult to make rational foreign policy decisions. Time constraint and psychological pressure have huge effect in this process. That's why decision making at times of crisis is harder to understand and predict than normal foreign policy making. Time limitation prevents an appropriate communication between adversaries and decision makers have not enough time to consider about best decision/best option. In addition, psychological stress cause decision makers to overestimate the hostility of adversaries and to underestimate their own hostility toward those adversaries. Individuals indicate exaggerated feelings; such as "dislike" which easily turns to hatred, and anxiety to fear.[62] That's why it becomes crucial for decision makers to protect their cognitive balance during these periods. Moreover physical exhaustion has similar impact on decision making process. Sleep deprivation, pills that leaders use and even individual relations of leaders may change foreign policy decisions.

Furthermore during the crisis, leaders' belief system about international structure and domestic constraints shape foreign policy preferences. Devlen and Özdamar particularly argue that there are three important variables which effect foreign policy behavior during an international crisis; leaders' perception of the international system which

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[60] Lobell, Ripsman and Taliaferro, "Introduction: Neoclassical Realism…", 177.
[61] Lobell, Ripsman and Taliaferro, "Introduction: Neoclassical Realism…", 177.
[62] Joshua S. Goldstein and Jon C. Pevehouse, *International Relations, 2013-2014 Update,* (Pearson, 2013): 134.

is captured by their operational code; political survival which leaders calculate the expected cost of militarized conflict for the leader and support base compared to the other possible outcomes of the crisis; and large group identity, which means the experience of oneself as a member of an ethnic, racial, national, or religious group.[63]

In addition, neoclassical realism yields a suitable ground to include regional dynamics as independent variables. Region may also be a crucial factor that affects the foreign policy behavior of a state, which exists in it. Both states and political actors can be constrained and influenced by their regional factors. Moreover regional agenda could be different from international one which affect the states heavily. Therefore, interactivity of both sides shapes foreign policy behavior that decision maker must take into consideration of regional developments for choosing behaviour; and the outcomes of this behavior reshape region effectively. It could be a good contribution to add regional dynamics for foreign policy analysis of states. Figure-I shows variables, their interactions and decision making process in neoclassical realist model.

Figure 2.1. Variables and Decision Making Process in Neoclassical Realist Model
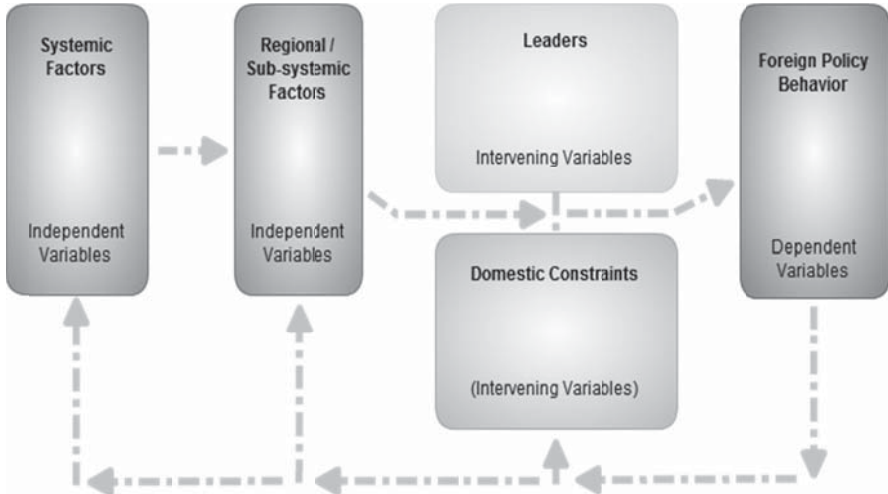
Source: Created by author using diagram in Gideon Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy", *World Politics,* Vol 51, N. 1, October 1998, p.154

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[63] Devlen and Özdamar, "Neoclassical Realism…",145-146.

Last but not least there have been critiques over this new emerging research method. Wivel argues that neoclassical realism's explanation of how material factors, such as power, are perceived by decision makers is not sufficient and the relationship between materialist and idealist variables should become more precise. In order to overcome this problem he contends that neoclassical realism should utilize psychology to explain perceptions, interpretations, and motivations.[64]

Kaarbo suggests that "foreign policy analysis [FPA] presents a more contingent view of the relationship between domestic and international politics than neoclassical realism. Leaders' responses to domestic and international pressures are conditioned by a number of factors, including their own beliefs and perceptions".[65] Therefore FPA challenges neoclassical realism's arguments of how domestic politics influences executives. Furthermore she claims "the psychological approach in foreign policy analysis includes a focus on personality traits, leadership styles and beliefs, images, analogies, framing effects, consistency-based and schema-based information processing, attribution biases, threat perception, problem representations and problem solving, and the psychology of small group social influence dynamics."[66] Therefore she notes that neoclassical realism looks very similar to many studies in contemporary FPA, and she argues that some scholars build directly on FPA research. According to her, FPA perspective is more advanced for explaining domestic political and decision-making factors than neoclassical realism. Lastly the neoclassical assumption that domestic and international pressures are easily separable and identifiable is also found *problematic*. As Fordham argues, the nature of international threats is determined to a great extent by the interests of the domestic coalition that governs the state, and domestic political and economic interests are affected by international circumstances...."[67]

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[64] Anders Wivel, "Explaining Why State X Made a Certain Move Last Tuesday: The Promise and Limitations of Realist Foreign Policy Analysis", *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Vol. 8, (2005): 367-368.

[65] Kaarbo, "A Foreign Policy Analysis…", 204.

[66] Kaarbo, "A Foreign Policy Analysis…", 205.

[67] Benjamin O. Fordham, "*The Limits of Neoclassical Realism: Additive and Interactive Approaches to Explaining Foreign Policy Preferences*" in Steven E. Lobell, Norrin M. Ripsman, and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro (Eds.), Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009): 251.

Conclusion

In the beginning of this study, it is argued that there are two contemporary realist schools. Realism is a philosophical tradition such as Marxism and liberalism, and it resulted in the birth of two new branches, neorealism and neoclassical realism, which have similarities and differences. Both schools begin with the assumptions about the conflictual nature of politics, the centrality of conflict groups, and the importance of relative power distributions. Both research programs utilize same independent variables; the systemic level factors. They both generate testable and probabilistic hypotheses. The biggest difference they have is on the dependent variable, which is explained by them differently. Neoclassical realism is a theory of foreign policy, which aims to explain security and foreign policy behavior of a particular state by utilizing domestic intervening variables. On the other hand the dependent variable of neorealism is the recurrent patterns of international political outcomes.

Neorealism perceives states as unitary rational actors while neoclassical realism defines states as an entity consist of different actors which are related to society in many ways. For example within the state, actors may hold different ideas about which tools should be used to address particular threats. Some actors may consider using economic sanctions and military "sticks", whereas other actors prefer to utilize the "carrots" of trade and softer elements of power.[68] Neorealism's definition of state behavior is also capabilities-centered, while neoclassical realism is multi-layered and includes both material and ideational factors. Moreover the conceptual framework of neorealism is constraining, rather than determining. However the insights of neoclassical realism are plural, hosting systemic imperatives and ideational factors at unit level.

Aim of neoclassical realism is not explaining deviations from neorealism but is to create a useful approach for understanding foreign policy in general. That is why neoclassical realists ask "not only why states occasionally fail to balance against hostile powers, but also why they select particular balancing strategies from a range of acceptable alternatives (e.g. alliance versus rearmament) and the timing and style of their foreign policy."[69] Neoclassical realism provides a rich understanding of the determinants of foreign policy and the way that states respond to international challenges. Moreover, neoclassical realism thus indicates how and why states may choose a specific foreign policy behavior resulted

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[68] Kitchen, "Systemic Pressures and…", 135
[69] Lobell, Ripsman and Taliaferro, "Introduction: Neoclassical Realism…", 282.

from systemic reasons or domestic factors. Even though neoclassical realism has its limits, proponents believe that "neoclassical realism will continue to flourish as a research program precisely because its proponents have not lost sight of the 'political' in the study of international politics, foreign policy, and grand strategy."[70]

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[70] Lobell, Ripsman and Taliaferro, "Introduction: Neoclassical Realism…", 299.

CHAPTER THREE

TURKEY'S PROTRACTED FOREIGN POLICY CONFLICTS: CYPRUS AND AEGEAN CRISES[*]

FUAT AKSU AND SÜLEYMAN GÜDER

Introduction

This chapter claims that the concept of a "dispute" refers to a verbal disagreement among different parties on a certain issue. Conflict, on the other hand, refers to the phase in which any of the parties of a dispute carries the verbal dispute to such a level that involves action. In other words, a phase of conflict refers to a situation where at least one of the parties defends its views with action with the aim of changing the conditions to its own advantage.

A crisis usually emerges at a perceptual level when the phases of dispute and conflict prove unmanageable. In the process of escalation from a conflict to a crisis, one or all of the parties may take into consideration the options of military violence. Thus appears a process of mutual challenge between the parties. A crisis could, therefore, be defined as a situation that emerges among two parties, includes the risk of the use of military power and compels the decision makers to choose among a limited range of options. For any situation to be considered as a "crisis", at least one of the parties should have identified it as such. A situation identified as a crisis by one decision-maker bears meaning only for that single state/actor, and such cases are coined as "unilateral crisis". A foreign policy crisis may be unilateral, as well as bilateral or multilateral.

A variety of definitions of crisis are offered in the academic literature. In Charles F. Hermann's definition of the concept, the points that need to

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be considered in order to define a situation as a crisis include whether it occurs as a surprise for the decision-maker, whether one or more of the significant goals and targets are threatened, and whether the decision-maker has sufficient time to decide and react to the situation. In other words, whether a situation constitutes a crisis or not is to be decided by considering the features of the threat, time and surprise.[1] Improving on Hermann's definition, Michael Brecher offers another definition in which Brecher's conceptualization differs in five aspects:

1) Brecher ignores the surprise character of the situation,
2) posits that the decision-maker has limited time, instead of short time,
3) admits that the situation inducing the crisis could originate in the internal environment of the decision-maker, as well as the external environment,
4) defines the target of the perceived threat as the "basic values" of the decision-maker, rather than the "high priority" goals,
5) requires that the level of military enmity in the relations among the parties should be observed to have escalated during the crisis.[2]

The flexibility that Brecher introduced to the definition of crisis facilitates our explanation of the consideration regarding the perception-based actions of the decision-makers in foreign policy crises. Indeed, when we set out with numerous empirical data in the analyses of crisis, whether the situation occurs as a surprise seems to lose its importance in the definition of the crisis. Particularly with the consideration that crises can also be pre-designed, the element of surprise disappears at least for the designing party. In many cases, furthermore, warnings pointing at the crisis are already present in the phase preceding the crisis –if we are not talking about a sudden crisis due to a real accident or escalation of crisis. A definition including the element of surprise would, therefore, make a narrowing impact in classifying crises. The contemporary intensity, advancement and depth of communication, intelligence and information flow among the actors, moreover, make it very difficult for any event to remain secret.

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[1] Charles F. Hermann, "Threat, Time and Surprise: A Simulation of International Crises", in Charles F. Hermann (Ed.), *International Crises: Insights from Behavior Research,* (New York: Free Press, 1972): 187.
[2] Michael Brecher ve Jonathan Wilkenfeld*, A Study of Crisis,* (University of Michigan Press, 1997): 3.

On the other hand, due to its perceptual nature, it is possible for the decision-maker to perceive a crisis when perception of the threat is towards *basic values and priorities*, instead of *high-priority goals*. Yet, this definition still requires elaboration. The definition of crisis should be improved, particularly with regard to the existence of an abnormal increase in the level of military enmity. In foreign policy crises, the action that triggers a crisis may have been supported by instruments and methods that do not include military violence. The crisis may be seen by the decision-makers as a concrete attack towards basic values and priorities, and still there may be no military challenge. In such a case, even when a military challenge is not observed, a political challenge may exist.[3] A higher than normal increase in the level of military enmity constitutes, therefore, a significant indicator that decision-makers should consider in military-security crises.

If the decision-makers are compelled to make a choice among existent alternatives at a moment they did not desire or were not prepared for, with regard to considering the internal/external impact of the decision they would make, they may define the situation as a crisis.

Accordingly, the event considered as the trigger of the crisis:

- May arise in any issue that would occupy the foreign policy agenda of the decision-maker;
- May arise suddenly as well as developing over a certain time period;
- May force the decision-makers for a change in their perception and/or reality, or in basic values and priorities;
- May be perceived by the decision-makers as risk, danger, threat or attack;
- Due to this perceptual situation, the decision-makers must make a decision or choose among a limited range of options available;
- The decision made has the potential to lead to a military collision or war with the actor(s) directly addressed, although such situations do not always end up in war.

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[3] The 1926-1927 Bozkurt-Lotus crisis, one of the foreign policy crises of Turkey, is such an example. As a newly established state sensitive on the issue of legal capitulations, Turkey considered the questioning of its jurisdiction as a threat to its basic values and priorities, and defined the situation that emerged in its relations with France as a crisis. This was not accompanied, however, with an increase in the level of military hostility in the bilateral relations. As the mandatory to Syria, France was a neighbor of Turkey and the two countries were parties to an unresolved border issue related to Hatay (The Sanjak of Alexandretta).

Crises may also be examined at different levels, as is done by Charles F. Hermann and Michael Brecher. With an actor-based classification, they may be divided into *foreign policy crises* and *international crises*. In crisis management studies, the level of crisis is also considered as a significant component of analysis. Analyzing crises on two different levels, a classification based on the parties of crises may produce two categories: The first includes actor-level foreign policy crises emerging among states; while the second includes system-level crises, also coined as international crises.

In foreign policy crises, at least one of the parties is a state. In international crises however, even though at least one of the parties is a state, the crisis is more complicated as it impacts directly or indirectly on a host of states and organizations. It is always possible, on the other hand, for a foreign policy crisis to evolve into an international one, although this is a relatively small possibility. Whether foreign policy or international, in *temporal* terms crises may erupt and subside suddenly, yet they may be re-triggered by a speech or action. This latter type of crisis bears the signs of a long-lasting dispute or conflict, which we call as a protracted conflict.

Protracted conflicts spread over long periods of time, escalating as well as halting occasionally in terms of tension and violence. This kind of conflicts, therefore, constitutes a process rather than specific, irregularly arising and repeating events. Besides, long-lasting and protracted conflicts carry the potential to include military violence, and develop into crises and, ultimately, war. Still, protracted conflicts do not necessarily involve violence in each case.[4]

According to Brecher, the following features are observed in crises emerging within protracted conflicts:[5]

- The statement, action or situation triggering the crisis has the potential for high level of violence;
- There is high possibility of threat towards high-priority values;
- There is high possibility for violence in crisis management.

In non-protracted conflicts, on the other hand, there is lower possibility for these features to be observed.

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[4] Michael Brecher, *International Political Earthquakes,* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2008): 7.
[5] Brecher, International Political …, 29.

Figure 3.1. Crises within Protracted Conflicts
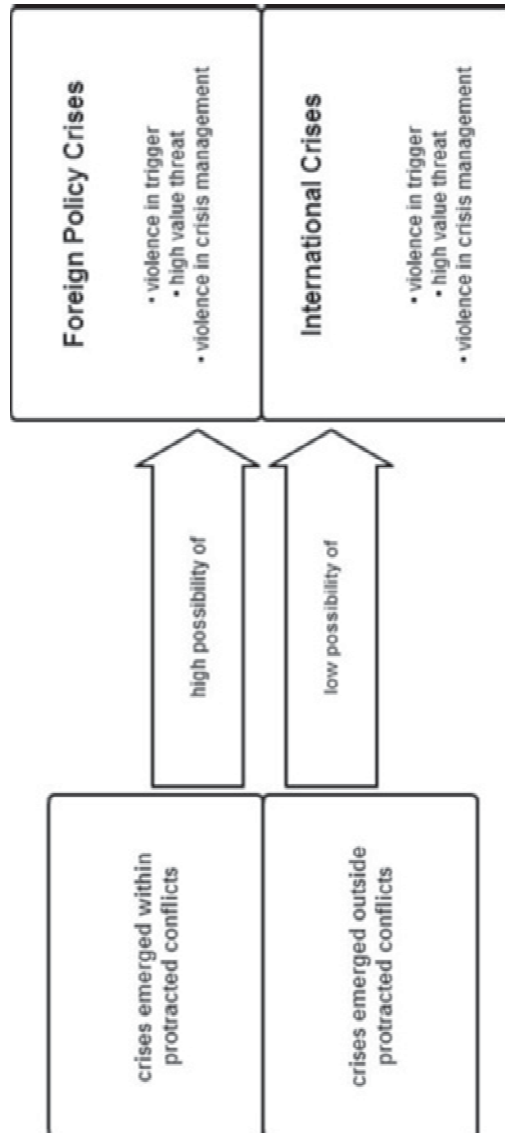
Source: Michael Brecher, *International Political Earthquakes*, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2008): 29.

The relations between Turkey and Greece are among the cases Brecher examines in his comprehensive work on protracted conflicts.[6] In his analysis of the conflictual issues between Turkey and Greece, Brecher traces the roots of the "conflictual" character of the relationship back to the 19th century when Greece gained its independence, or even to the conquest of Istanbul by the Ottomans in 1453. He emphasizes the aftermath of the establishment of the Greek state following the struggle for independence against the Ottoman State, since when the two parties have confronted each other and made wars over and over. Through the general course of the relations in the period of 1821-2015, the Republic of Turkey replaced the Ottoman State as of 1923. A change of course was observed in Turkey-Greece relations starting with the Lausanne Peace Treaty signed in 1923. The treaty is a political document that "establishes a status quo and balance" among the parties. The Lausanne Peace Treaty was signed at the end of the First World War and is still in force. Yet it could not prevent the emergence of new areas of dispute in bilateral relations, while there have also been differences of opinion or breaches in the interpretation of the status that the treaty established.

When speaking of "parties" throughout the chapter, the relations between the two nation-states will be taken into consideration, and the imperial era preceding the Republic will be left out. The focus will be, therefore, on the conflicts-crises that emerged out of the disputes related to the breach and/or insufficiency of the status defined by the 1923 Lausanne Treaty. These disputes can be classified into three main categories: disputes related to the minorities; disputes regarding the Aegean Sea; and Cyprus. Throughout the history of Turkish-Greek relations, each dispute category has served, at different times, as the source of a conflictual relationship and produced crises. The analysis of Turkey-Greece relationship has been the subject of numerous studies.[7] This chapter will discuss how these disputes evolve into crises, within the framework of the concept of protracted conflicts. The cases of foreign policy crises to be discussed are based on the data we have acquired in our project on foreign policy crisis in which Turkey has taken part.[8] A total of 34 foreign policy

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[6] For a detailed study on crises, see Brecher ve Wilkenfeld, *A Study of Crisis…,* 7, 361-374; Brecher, *International Political …,* 17, 29.

[7] Among these studies, see Fuat Aksu, *Türk – Yunan İlişkileri: İlişkilerin Yönelimini Etkileyen Faktörler Üzerine Bir İnceleme,* (Ankara: SAEMK Yay., 2001); Alexis Heraclides, *Yunanistan ve "Doğudan Gelen Tehlike", Türkiye,* (İstanbul: İletişim Yay., 2003).

[8] For detailed information about the project, see "Türkiye'de Dış Politika Krizlerinde Karar Verme ve Kriz Yönetimi Süreç Analizi" (Analysis of Decision

crises have been found, that Turkey has been a part of throughout the Republican era until 2015. In 14 of these crises, Greece and Cyprus were directly and/or indirectly involved.[9]

Three of the crises listed by Brecher occurred in the 1920-1922 period, thus they precede the Republic. Considering the post-1923 period, Brecher examines 3 crises related to the Aegean Sea, and 3 crises related to Cyprus. We consider that the other Turkey-Greek crises we studied in the project should also be considered within the framework of protracted conflicts. In accordance with our definition of crisis, it appears that it is not only the Aegean and Cyprus disputes that produce crisis, but also the disputes related to the minorities. In the light of this, we observe that – from the 1923 Lausanne Peace Treaty until today- practices and claims related to the status of minorities have provided a source of dispute-conflict between Turkey and Greece, with the exception of short intervals. The minorities issue between the two countries is considered within the context of protracted conflicts. Even though the speech or action triggering the crisis during the 6-7 September 1955 events or the 1984-1990 Western Thrace events included non-military violence, the parties did not consider the situation in these crises as a threat towards their high-priority values, and they did not include the option of violence or military violence in their crisis management strategies. Looking at the crises between Turkey and Greece in the light of Brecher's evaluation, the parties apparently detect a low level of threat in the crises emerging as part of the conflicts related to the status of minorities. That is why the possibility of use of military violence has always been low in these crises, as the parties preferred to manage them through political strategies.

Considering the evolution of the Cyprus dispute, on the other hand, the 1997 S-300 Missiles Crisis should be included in the list, as a development that could unilaterally alter the balance of military power on the island in the post-1974 period and disrupt the terms of the ceasefire. During that crisis, Turkey prevented the disruption of the status quo by employing the
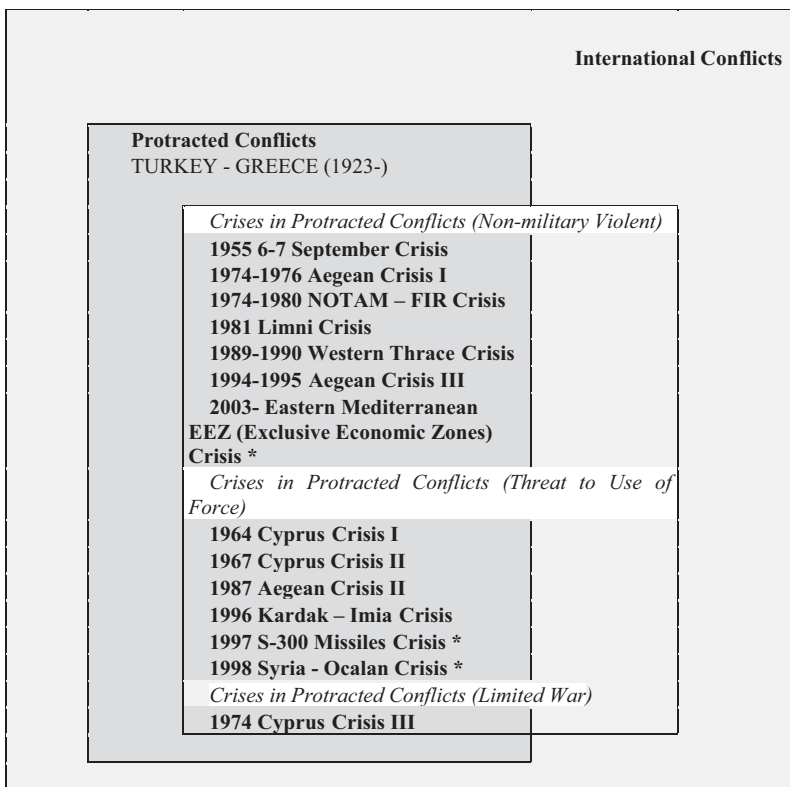

Making and Crisis Management Processes during Turkish Foreign Policy Crises), www.tfpcrises.org.

[9] In the period covered by the ICB project, Brecher detects 9 foreign policy crises between Turkey and Greece. The crises of the 1919-1922 period of war are also included among these. Brecher considers the landing of Greek troops in Izmir as the trigger of the first crisis, the spread of the invasion into Anatolia as the trigger of the second, and the recapture of Izmir by the Turks as the trigger of the third. On this issue, see Brecher and Wilkenfeld, *A Study of Crisis…,* 361-366. Greece is also an indirect party in the 1997 S-300 Missiles Crisis, the 1998 Syria-Ocalan Crisis and the 2010 East Mediterranean EEZ Crisis.

strategy of coercive diplomacy. Due to the establishment of military cooperation and the Common Defence Doctrine between Greece and the Greek Cypriot administration, Greece has been indirectly involved as a party to the crisis. Greece is also a signatory to the 1959-1960 founding treaties and has the status of guarantor state.

Figure 3.2. Turkey-Greece Foreign Policy Crises in Protracted Conflicts (1923-2014)

International Conflicts

Protracted Conflicts
TURKEY - GREECE (1923-)

Crises in Protracted Conflicts (Non-military Violent)
1955 6-7 September Crisis
1974-1976 Aegean Crisis I
1974-1980 NOTAM – FIR Crisis
1981 Limni Crisis
1989-1990 Western Thrace Crisis
1994-1995 Aegean Crisis III
2003- Eastern Mediterranean EEZ (Exclusive Economic Zones) Crisis *
Crises in Protracted Conflicts (Threat to Use of Force)
1964 Cyprus Crisis I
1967 Cyprus Crisis II
1987 Aegean Crisis II
1996 Kardak – Imia Crisis
1997 S-300 Missiles Crisis *
1998 Syria - Ocalan Crisis *
Crises in Protracted Conflicts (Limited War)
1974 Cyprus Crisis III

Source: Prepared by the authors based on Brecher, *International Political Earthquakes…,* p. 38.
*The cases with * denote those crises in which Greece was indirectly involved.*

Greece was also involved –albeit for a short period- in the (PKK-
Partiya Karkerén Kurdistan or Kurdistan Workers' Party- leader Abdullah)
Öcalan crisis between Turkey and Syria in 1998. In the period following
the extradition of Ocalan from Syria, the relations between the two
countries became tense as a result of the asylum granted by Greece to
Ocalan, and his capture while hiding in the Greek embassy in Kenya. In
the process of Ocalan's trial, the military and political support given to the
PKK and Ocalan by Greece reinforced the perception in Turkey that
Greece aided secessionist terror.

The level of threat perception has always been high, in contrast,
regarding the crisis-triggering statements, actions and/or situations related
to the Cyprus and Aegean disputes. As can be seen in the Figure 2 that
Turkey employed military use of force or threatened to use military force
(coercive diplomacy) in some of these crises, reflecting the perception of
high level threat.[10] The resistance to military intervention in the 1974
Cyprus crisis had led to a limited war.

With regard to the foreign policy crises emerging in protracted
conflicts, Greece/Cyprus appears to be the party triggering the crisis in
most of the cases between Turkey and Greece. There are also cases where
Turkey is the triggering state, for instance, in the case of the continental
shelf crisis in 1973-74, which was designed by Turkey through creating a
de facto situation in the Aegean Sea. In order to impose on Greece the
belief it is a rightful party in the sharing of the continental shelf, Turkey
engaged in actions by using peaceful-political instruments –such as issuing
licenses and sending research vessels to the controversial areas. As the aim
was to force the opponent to concede the presence of the issue and to
initiate a process of negotiations, the strategy employed was defensive and
not aggressive. Thus Turkey acted on a legitimate basis with regard to
international law. Indeed, upon Greece's application to the UN Security
Council complaining of Turkey and requesting a temporary injunction, the
Council decided on August 24, 1976 that the scientific activities conducted
by Turkey did not cause harm for the rights and interests of the coastal
countries, and invited the parties to direct negotiations.

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[10] For detailed accounts of coercive diplomacy strategies, see Alexander L.
George, "Coercive Diplomacy: Definition and Characteristics", in Alexander L.
George and William E. Simons (Eds.), *The Limits of Coercive Diplomacy,*
(Boulder: Westview Press, 1994): 7; Alexander L.. George, *Forceful Persuasion:
Coercive Diplomacy as an Alternative to War,* (Washington: United States
Institute of Peace, 1997). For its applications in Turkish foreign policy, see Aksu,
Türk Dış Politikasında…, 2008.

The crisis that erupted in 1955, caused by the attacks on non-Muslim minorities in Istanbul while tripartite negotiations on Cyprus were being conducted in London, was technically an "inadvertent crisis".[11] It could easily be argued that the support given by the DP (Democrat Party) government in Turkey did not intend to start a crisis. In managing the diplomatic/political process regarding the Cyprus dispute, the decision-makers apparently failed to take all the parameters into consideration and mismanaged the process, in line with Alexander George's concept of "inadvertent war". The parades organized by the government to provide popular support for the negotiators went out of control, turning into attacks on minorities and ultimately stranding the government.

Two of the crises within Turkish-Greek relations are "indirect crises". The immediate party designing the crisis is the Greek Cypriot Government. In describing how and why they designed this crisis, Glafkos Klerides emphasizes the decrease of attention in the international community regarding Cyprus.[12] The S-300 Missile Crisis in 1997 was similarly a crisis between Turkey and the Greek Cypriot Government, yet Greece was also engaged due to its common defence doctrine/alliance with Greek Cypriots. Turkey's warning that the missiles in question would be destroyed if they were brought to the island was, for its opponents, a serious challenge that would be highly risky to test. Turkey's demand was finally met as Greece and Greek Cypriot Government, agreed to deploy the missiles in Crete instead of Cyprus. Turkey's determination to consider the missiles as a threat to its security and interests had created a deterring effect. The crisis, moreover, should be considered within the protracted conflict framework as defined by Brecher, since it is a part of the Cyprus dispute.

Another case of indirect crisis is the Ocalan-Syria crisis that erupted in 1998 between Turkey and Syria. Turkey's use of coercive diplomacy strategy, including its threat to use force based on its right to self-defence, made the anticipated effect and Syria expedited Ocalan and other PKK elements. Upon leaving Syria, Ocalan sought refuge and protection in Greece, which led to a confrontation between Turkey and Greece. Turkey's declaration that it would apply measures similar to those used against Syria in case Greece granted asylum to Ocalan, and that it would

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[11] With regard to the classification of crises, Alexander L. George's definition for "inadvertent war" provides an explanatory basis here. On this topic, see Alexander L. George, "Introduction to Part Two", in Alexander L. George (Ed), *Avoiding War: Problems of Crisis Management,* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991): 31-35.
[12] For a detailed account on this, see Niyazi Kızılyürek, *Glafkos Klerides: Tarihten Güncelliğe Bir Kıbrıs Yolculuğu,* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007).

list the country as a supporter of terrorism, indicated a sudden escalation. In response, Greece focused on finding a solution to prevent an actual combat with Turkey, while trying to get rid of Ocalan. When it was finally revealed that Ocalan was given shelter in Greek Embassy in Kenya, the United States intervened and secured Ocalan's delivery to Turkey with an operation. A military confrontation between the two countries was thus prevented by the US mediation.

During the crisis, severe accusations were raised in the debates among the government, opposition and the bureaucracy in Greece, and the Prime Minister Costas Simitis purged some politicians and bureaucrats on the grounds that they had dragged the country into a hot conflict with Turkey. In the wake of the crisis, Greece engaged in an effort to improve relations with Turkey, as exemplified in the exchange of letters between the ministers of foreign affairs.[13] From the perspective of crisis analysis, the Ocalan-Syria crisis can be considered as a "reflection crisis" with regard to Turkey-Greece relations. The Greek policy towards Turkey over the whole period since the 1980s was characterized by its explicit or implicit support to anti-Turkey terrorist organizations. Turkey documented this support given by Greece with concrete evidence, while Greece preferred to deny this in each case. Ironically, it was openly expressed by Ocalan himself, in his testimony during the trial in Turkish courts.[14] This demonstrates that a dispute with regard to Greece's support for secessionist terrorism was also present in this crisis.

The Cyprus Dispute in Turkey-Greece Relations

Throughout the general course of the bilateral relations, the period 1919-1923 is characterized by a state of war. The Lausanne Peace Treaty is a basic document establishing the regime and *status quo* that observes the balance between the two countries. The period from 1923 to 1950 was relatively calm, in which friendship and cooperation prevailed. The Cyprus issue has a longer history in bilateral relations, compared to the disputes on the Aegean Sea. In that sense, the Cyprus dispute emerged from a unilateral attempt to alter the status quo initially agreed upon by both sides.[15] Therefore, it involves a challenge to the status quo.

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[13] For details, see İsmail Cem, *Türkiye Avrupa Avrasya,* Cilt I, (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniv. Yay, 2004).

[14] For details, see Atilla Uğur, *Abdullah Öcalan'ı Nasıl Sorguladım: İşte Gerçekler,* (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2011); Savaş Kalenderidis, *Öcalan'ın Teslimi,* (İstanbul: Pencere Yay., 2011).

[15] For details, see:

The Lausanne Peace Treaty is the basic document establishing border issues in the post-World War I Ottoman geography, defining the national borders of modern Turkey. It is not only the borders with Greece, but also with Italy and Britain that were settled by the Lausanne Peace Treaty. The Dodecanese Islands were ceded to Italy, while the British sovereignty over the island of Cyprus was recognized by the signatory states.

The mutual recognition of the borders of sovereignty among the signatory states had created a balance, which was respected until the end of the Second World War. Unilateral attempts to alter this balance in that period were observed in the case of Cyprus. The insurgence in 1931, arising out of opposition to the British sovereignty over the island and demands for union with Greece, was suppressed by the harsh measures of the British administration. The aspiration for *enosis* (union with Greece) was violently suppressed during the insurgence, only to revive in 1950s.

The transfer of sovereignty over the Dodecanese Islands from Italy to Greece in the aftermath of the Second World War led to the arousal of the demand for *enosis* in Cyprus. It is in the same period that Cyprus became an issue in the bilateral relations of Turkey and Greece. The propagation of *enosis* that started in the early 1950s was initially considered as part of the domestic affairs of Britain, and Turkey remained relatively silent. In a time when Greece had recently survived a civil war and was healing its wounds, Turkey preferred not to create a new point of contention with Britain, whose support it was seeking for security reasons. It was when Greece, under the pressure from the Orthodox Churches of Cyprus and Greece and *enosis* supporters, sought to "internationalize" the demands for Cyprus that Turkey started to pay attention to the issue. The associations of Turkish Cypriots living in Turkey and the coverage by the national press were also effective in forming this attention.

As the British sovereignty over Cyprus was already recognized, Turkey did not have any claim over Cyprus. At this stage, Cyprus did not constitute a dispute to be negotiated between Turkey and Greece. Upon realizing the negative impact that coming developments could have on the bilateral relations, the Turkish side warned the Greeks. The then Minister of Foreign Affairs Fatin Rüştü Zorlu warned his Greek counterpart, saying that Greece's policy of the union with Cyprus would damage Turkish-Greek relations.

The search for a solution to the Cyprus dispute that started with the London Conferences in 1955 evolved into a process in which the countries in question determined their arguments and expectations, becoming parties

http://tdpkrizleri.org/index.php?option=com_seoglossary&view=glossary&catid=1&id=138&Itemid=188&lang=tr.

to a long-standing conflict.[16] In the end, the Cyprus dispute has become a part of Turkey-Greece relations with a history of 65 years. The negotiations that started in 1950 ended in 1960, with the foundation of a new state based on the political equality of the two communities living on the island; and giving up on their claims, the parties guaranteed the status of this state. The newly established state acquired UN membership and became a part of the international community. This entity based on the political equality of the two communities living on the island, however, failed to survive. The unilateral attempt led by Archbishop Makarios III to amend the constitution in 1963, and the subsequent attacks on the Turkish community, carried the dispute to a new level. This time, Turkey started to face the "Republic of Cyprus" as a party to the dispute beside Greece. The curious point was that it had eventually become impossible for the representatives of the Turkish Cypriot community in the government of the "Republic of Cyprus" to use their rights and authority. In other words, although the Republic of Cyprus was founded as a partnership regime, one of the partners was not represented in the crisis processes. This situation caused both the communities and the guaranteeing states to become involved in political conflicts, which quickly turned into a crisis.

If we start the period of crises in Turkey-Greece relations with the "Bloody Christmas" attacks in 1963, the course of the crises in the Cyprus dispute should be examined over a 50 year time span. As mentioned before, since 1950, 14 foreign policy crises have erupted between Turkey and Greece. Five of them are directly related to Cyprus. Yet among these crises specific to Cyprus, the Cold War era crises of 1963-1964, 1967 and 1974 have different characteristics compared with the 1997 S-300 Missiles crisis and the 2003 East Mediterranean Maritime Jurisdiction crisis. The attempts to create a *fait accompli* or to impose a new status, however, can be observed in the post-1990 crises as well. From a different perspective, the Cyprus crises could be considered as "protracted crises" within the general course of Turkish-Greek relations. Indeed, the dispute emerged in

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[16] The 1950-1960 interval was also a period in which both the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities were engaged in military organization. In response to the attacks by EOKA (*Ethniki Organosis Kyrion Agoniston* or The Organization for the National Struggle of Cypriots) that was established in early 1950s under the leadership of George Grivas, the Turkish community was initially in disarray until the foundation of the TMT (*Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı* or Turkish Resistance Organization) in 1957. For detailed accounts of the foundation of the two organizations, see Ulvi Keser, *Kıbrıs'ta Yeraltı Faaliyetleri ve Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı,* (İstanbul: IQ Yay., 2007); Makarios Druşotis, *Karanlık Yön: EOKA,* (Lefkoşa: Galeri Kültür Yay., 2007).

early 1950s and provided a stage for conflictual relations throughout the 1960s, yet turned into crises at three separate periods, with almost identical features in the years between 1960 and 1974. Although each instance of crisis ended with a return to the conflict, the *status quo ante* that the parties returned to was characterized with erosion and high level of tension, mostly because it was not the *status quo* anticipated by the founding documents. Moreover, the crisis management and resolution processes or initiatives in each of the 1964-1967, 1967-1974 or post-1974 periods fell short of removing the differences of opinion and interest among the parties.

In the Cyprus related crises that erupted in the post-1990 period, on the other hand, the verbal or physical actions that triggered the crises point at crisis management strategies designed by the Greek Cypriot Administration (GCA). In the S-300 Missiles Crisis over the 1997-1999 period, as declared by the then GCA leader Glafkos Klerides, the Greek Cypriot administration had pursued a strategy of *fait accompli*, designed intentionally at a time when the Cyprus issue was out of the international agenda. When Turkey reacted to the purchase of missiles and declared that those weapons would be destroyed in case they were transported to the Island, the crisis stirred the international/regional affairs agenda, prompting regional and international organizations -such as the UN, NATO and the EU- to pay closer attention to the issue. Turkey succeeded to prevent the transportation of the weapons to the Island through threat of use of force, yet failed to prevent the Cyprus issue to enter once again into the international agenda. The missiles were stored in the island of Crete, while the UN Secretary General's call for the restart of bi-communal negotiations carried the Cyprus issue to a new stage. These negotiations resulted in the "Annan Plan" that was put to referendum in 2004. Negotiations were occasionally disrupted during the process, with new proposals aiming to continue it.

The 2004 Annan Plan

The Annan Plan, entitled "The Comprehensive Settlement of the Cyprus Problem", which was put to referendum simultaneously in both parts of the Island in 2004, is definitely one of the most significant turning points in the course of the Cyprus problem since the 1950s. The settlement plan prepared as a result of the negotiations between the representatives of the two communities, facilitated by the mediation of the then UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, was the first document presented to the vote of the people in the long history of the Cyprus dispute. The documents that founded the Republic of Cyprus were prepared without full

consent of Cypriots. Moreover they were not enforced through popular vote. For this reason the Annan Plan has a special place in the long history of dispute, conflict and crisis, as the plan was presented to a referendum after long and arduous negotiations. The Turkish Cypriots responded with 64,91% Yes, and the Greek Cypriots rejected it with a No vote of 75,38%. As a result, the plan was rejected, and a settlement of the Cyprus dispute postponed.

The failure of the Annan Plan had some intriguing consequences. The settlement of the Cyprus dispute was defined as a prerequisite for Turkey's accession to the EU, while the Greek Cypriot Administration was accepted as a full member representing the whole of the Island. By ratifying this membership, the EU caused a contradiction with its own principles of accession, as it accepted GCA's membership before the resolution of territorial disputes. The Turkish Cypriot Community and Turkey, on the other hand, said "Yes" to the plan, but this did not enable the removal of the isolation and embargo imposed on Cyprus. GCA's EU membership, moreover, introduced a new dimension of conditionality into Turkey-EU relations. The confrontations in the process of GCA's inclusion to the Turkey-EU Customs Union legislation created new obstacles in the functioning of the accession negotiation framework document, endangering the screening process.

Eastern Mediterranean EEZ Crisis

A second spiral of dispute-crisis that Turkey faced in the case of Cyprus in 2000s is related to the delimitation of maritime jurisdiction areas in the Eastern Mediterranean. As GCA started to sign treaties with other coastal countries on the Mediterranean defining the boundaries of Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZ), issuing international licensing calls in the areas it defined as its EEZ/continental shelf and announcing tenders caused confrontation between Turkey on the one side and GCA, and indirectly Greece, on the other. GCA's initiatives regarding maritime jurisdiction areas and the strategies it pursued have certain similarities with the strategy pursued by Turkey in the dispute on the delimitation of continental shelf boundaries on the Aegean Sea in 1974-1976. Against the claims on continental shelf articulated by Greece in that period, Turkey pursued a strategy of fait accompli in order to demonstrate its own sovereign rights over the Aegean Sea and to force Greece into negotiations. As part of this strategy, Turkey licensed Turkish Petroleum Corporation (*Türkiye Petrolleri Anonim Ortaklığı*-TPAO) for conducting seismic research outside its territorial waters, in controversial areas in the Aegean Sea that it claimed as part of its continental shelf. When Greece

reacted, Turkey announced that there had been no delimitation agreement on this sea and that it was ready for negotiations on the delimitation of the continental shelf. This is how the dispute on the continental shelf boundaries in the Aegean Sea had arisen. Turkey's basic approach in this process of dispute-conflict-crisis was, however, defensive with its aim being solely to impose on Greece that, as a coastal state, Turkey had sovereignty rights in the Aegean Sea. Turkey achieved the goal it pursued (creating a *fait accompli*) through its strategy.

In a similar vein, the activities that the GCA started in early 2000s were apparently directed towards the same aim of creating a *fait accompli*. While participating, on the one hand, in inter-communal negotiations for a permanent settlement of the Cyprus dispute; GCA was also signing EEZ treaties with Egypt on February 17, 2003, with Lebanon in January 2007 and with Israel on December 17, 2010.[17] Yet this is a controversial issue on many aspects –legal, political, economic and so on. Natural resources and their exploitation are under the jurisdiction of the central/federal state according to both the structure established with the 1960 Nicosia Treaties and the system anticipated by the 2004 Annan Plan.[18] The view that any behavior that would create tension and escalation should be avoided and, in this context, unilateral actions in the Eastern Mediterranean was conveyed to the UN Secretary General by the representatives of the Turkish Cypriot Community, but this failed to prevent the developments.[19] GCA's agreements with coastal states and giving licenses to international companies before the Cyprus negotiations ended created new areas of debate, while inciting the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) and Turkey to devise counter strategies. With agreements concluded between Turkey and TRNC, they underlined their continuing claims on both the disputed areas in the south of the Island (where the GCA issued licenses) as well as on the territory of the TRNC.

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[17] For a detailed account of the regulations regarding the maritime jurisdiction areas in Eastern Mediterranean, see Sertaç Hami Başeren (Ed.), *Doğu Akdeniz'de Hukuk ve Siyaset,* (Ankara: A.Ü. SBF Yay., 2013).

[18] For the relevant article (Art. 15/3) of the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus, see: http://www.presidency.gov.cy/presidency/presidency.nsf/all/1003AEDD83EE D9C7C225756F0023C6AD/$file/CY_Constitution.pdf?openelement. And for the relevant provision in the Annan Plan, see: "Part IV: The Federal Government and the Constituent States, Article 14 Competences and functions of the federal government", http://www.mfa.gov.tr/un-comprehensive-settlement-plan-of-the-cyprus-question.en.mfa.

[19] "KKTC de petrol ve doğalgaz arayacak", http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/id/25242258/; "Türkiye ve KKTC'den önemli adım!", http://www.gazetevatan.com/turkiye-ve-kktc-den-onemli-adim--401041-gundem/

Table 3.1. Turkey-Greece Foreign Policy Crises (1923-2014)

Crises	Parties (Adversaries)	The Party Triggering The Crisis
6-7 September 1955 Crisis	Turkey-Greece	Turkey
1963-1964 Cyprus Crisis	Turkey-Republic of Cyprus	Republic of Cyprus
1967 Cyprus Crisis	Turkey-Cyprus (Greek Cypriot Administration)/ Greece	Cyprus (Greek Cypriot Administration)/ Greece
1974 Cyprus Crisis	Turkey-Cyprus (Greek Cypriot Administration)/ Greece	Cyprus (Greek Cypriot Administration)/ Greece
1974 -1980 NOTAM Crisis	Turkey-Greece	Turkey
1974-1976 Aegean Crisis	Turkey-Greece	Turkey
1981 Limnos Crisis	Turkey-Greece	Greece
1984 Western Thrace Crisis	Turkey-Greece	Greece
1987 Aegean Continental Shelf Crisis	Turkey-Greece	Greece
1994-1995 UNCLOS III- Parliamentary Declarations	Turkey-Greece	Greece
1996 Kardak/Imia Crisis	Turkey-Greece	Greece
1997 S-300 Missiles Crisis*	Turkey-Cyprus (Greek Cypriot Administration)/ Greece	Cyprus (Greek Cypriot Administration)/ Greece
1998 Syria-Öcalan Crisis**	Turkey-Greece	Greece
2010 Eastern Mediterranean Maritime Jurisdiction Areas Crisis***	Turkey-Cyprus (Greek Cypriot Administration)/ Greece	Cyprus (Greek Cypriot Administration)/ Greece

* In the 1964, 1967, 1974 Cyprus crises, Greece had the status of a guarantor state. The 1997 S-300 Missiles Crisis occurred between GCA and Turkey. However, Greece became an indirect party to the crisis due to the Common Defence Doctrine signed with GCA and its status as a Guarantor state.
** In the 1998 Syria-Ocalan Crisis, the country targeted by Turkey was Syria. The support and protection offered to Ocalan by Greece, however, led Turkey to indirectly target Greece as well. Turkey declared that it could use its self-defence rights against Greece.
*** In the crisis on Eastern Mediterranean maritime jurisdiction areas, the crisis process is related to the maritime boundaries of Turkey with both Greece and the Greek Cypriot Administration.

From the perspective of crisis management, the policy that the GCA tries to implement contains risks and delicate balances on both economic and political grounds. The *fait accompli* created a new area of dispute and crisis between the GCA and Turkey, acquiring a dimension that would further escalate the tension. Upon Turkey's reaction, it declared its readiness to negotiate the disputed areas, although this carries the dispute to a different level. Since Turkey does not recognize the GCA, it stipulated for TRNC to join the negotiations as the interested party. This created an impasse, since GCA, in turn, does not want to accept TRNC as an interlocutor. In a situation where the parties do not consider the other as an interlocutor, the strategy of creating a fait accompli and the reprisal strategies of the Turkish side are implemented. These developments create obstacles with regard to the negotiations aimed at the settlement of the Cyprus dispute. The debates over the energy sources in the Eastern Mediterranean, eventually, evolved into mutual confrontations and disrupted the advancement of the negotiations.[20]

Turkish-Greek Relations in the Context of Crisis Management Strategies

The events that triggered the crises in the 50 year process are in fact directed towards the aim of *enosis* shared by both the Greek Cypriot Community and Greece. Even the foundation of the Republic of Cyprus with the 1960 Treaties was seen as a step towards this goal.[21] As a result of the escalating attacks on the Island, motivated by the decision-makers of the Greek Cypriot Community and Greece, three crises erupted in 1963-1964, 1967 and 1974 whereby Turkey was required to intervene as a guarantor state. In the 1950-1960 period, Britain was seen as the major obstacle for enosis, while the Turkish Cypriot Community and Turkey took this place since 1960s. Turkey's major priority and goal in these crises, in contrast, has been to prevent physical attacks directed at the existence of the Turkish Cypriot Community living on the Island and to protect their rights and status derived from the founding documents. During the first two crises (1963-1964 and 1967), Turkey solved the crisis

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[20] "MEB'imiz İhlal Edilirse Görüşmelerden Çekiliriz!",
http://www.yeniduzen.com/Haberler/guney/meb-imiz-ihlal-edilirse-muzakerelerden-cekiliriz/35546
[21] On the details of the debates and disagreements among the politicians of EOKA, Greece and Cyprus with regard to giving in to the settlement provided by the Zurich and London Treaties, see Druşotis, *Karanlık Yön…,*

by pursuing a strategy of coercive diplomacy, based on the international legitimacy that its guarantor state status provided.[22] The proposals for a solution in the inter-communal negotiations that started after the crises failed to resolve the disputes. Upon the 1974 coup against President Makarios and the declaration of the Cyprus Hellenic Republic, Turkey declared that it would enforce its guarantor rights. When those responsible for the coup were supported by the military junta in Athens, Greece was burdened with responsibility for the coup on the Island. Turkey contacted Britain as the third guarantor party, but could not persuade Britain for a common intervention. In the end, Turkey decided to intervene alone and conducted a military intervention in Cyprus on July 20, 1974.

Table 3.2. Protracted Conflicts, Crises and Triggers

Crises	Trigger	The Nature of the Triggering Event	The Category of the Triggering Event
6-7 September 1955 Crisis	Violent attack towards the Greek minority	Violation of Treaty	Political – Humanitarian
1963 - 1964 Cyprus Crisis	Violent physical attack towards Turkish Cypriots	Violation of Status	Political - Humanitarian – Legal
1967 Cyprus Crisis	Violent physical attack towards Turkish Cypriots	Violation of Status	Political - Humanitarian – Legal
1974 Cyprus Crisis	Coup against the government	Violation of Status	Political – Legal - Military – Humanitarian
1974 -1975 NOTAM Crisis	Military security measures	Perception of [In]security	Military - Political – Legal
1974-1976 Aegean Crisis	Issuing of licenses and seismic research	Fait Accompli	Political – Legal – Economic
1981 Limnos Crisis	Armament of the islands	Violation of Status	Military - Political – Legal
1984-1990 Western Thrace Crisis	Violent physical attacks against Turkish Minority	Violation of Status	Humanitarian - Political – Legal

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[22] On this topic, see Aksu, *Türk Dış Politikasında…,*2008.

1987 Aegean Continental Shelf Crisis	Declaration of the invalidity of the agreement and Statement on the oil exploration activities	Violation of Treaty and Status	Legal – Political
1994-1995 UNCLOS III-Parliamentary Statements	Decision of the Greek Parliament	Statement of Determination	Political
1996 Kardak Crisis	Deployment of troops on the Kardak Rocks and warning that those approaching the rocks would be fired upon	Non-violent Use of Military Power	Military – Political
1997 S-300 Missiles Crisis*	The signing of missile purchase agreement with Russia	Violation of Status, Perception of [In]security	Military – Political
1998 Syria-Ocalan Crisis**	Turkey's appeal to Syria for its demands to be met	Political Pressure	Political – Military
2010 Eastern Mediterranean Maritime Jurisdiction Areas Crisis***	GCA's bilateral EEZ agreements with its neighbors and issuing of licenses	Fait Accompli	Political - Legal

Considered in terms of crisis management, the common features in all three crises are the moves by Greek and Greek Cypriot decision-makers towards the goal of enosis. Besides, the paramilitary organization EOKA (Ethniki Organosis Kyrion Agoniston or National Organization of Greek Cypriot Fighters) / EOKA-B[23] played an active and prominent role in each of these crises.[24] Still, it is not quite possible to differentiate the actors

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[23] After 1971, EOKA was called as EOKA-B.

[24] In all three crises, EOKA and Grivas appear to have played important role in the events that triggered the crisis. Greek Cypriot leaders reconsidering the period decades later have confirmed this by confessing that they had had difficulty in controlling the activities of Grivas and the EOKA/EOKA-B organization. It appears that, following the 1967 military coup, the Greek junta had increased their activities in the Island through EOKA, Greek Cypriot National Guards, and the officers in the Greek division deployed on the Island; and tried to eliminate the influence of Makarios. In the process, besides the attacks on the Turkish Cypriot

responsible for the crises as state or non-state actors. Years later, the leaders of the Greek Cypriot Community accused the EOKA and Georgios Grivas and tried to avoid from political responsibility. While the armed attacks were organized towards Turkish Cypriots in the first two crises, in the 1974 crisis, the target of the military coup was President Makarios, whose legitimacy was also questionable. The coup was followed by internal conflict within the Greek Cypriot community, as a severe struggle emerged with the pro-enosis coup supporters on the one side and those with troubled relations with the military junta in Greece, though still pro-*enosis*, on the other.

The "Akritas Plan" implemented in early 1960s by decision-makers in both Cyprus and Greece, who acted in collision in the idea of *enosis*, aimed at the suppression and extermination of the Turkish Cypriots, unless they could be assimilated. When the *enosis* supporters who acted together in the 1964 and 1967 crises, were divided with deep differences of opinion, Present Makarios turned into an obstacle for the junta in Greece. As Makarios had acquired greater popularity and prestige compared with the junta leaders in Greece, a coup was considered necessary for the twin goals of eliminating Makarios and achieving enosis. The coup that toppled Makarios on July 15, 1974 had provoked an internal conflict among the Greek Cypriot community, and the coup plotters did not want to provoke Turkey by attacking the Turkish Cypriot community. Turkish Cypriots were, however, worried deeply by the developments. Having experienced the 1964 and 1967 events, they felt threatened by the events and attempted to secure Turkey's guarantee. Turkey's initial inactivity, making no concrete moves until July 20, 1974 other than condemning the coup, had encouraged the coup plotters. Their expectations did not materialize, however, and Turkey's military intervention on July 20, 1974 started an irreversible process in the Island.

Cyprus Crises in the Cycle of Dispute-Crisis and Turkey's Strategies of Intervention

The 1960 treaties had established a status quo in Cyprus that was agreed upon by the interested parties. Instead of the island joining either Greece or Turkey and fostering its division among the parties, a new state was founded based on the principle of political equality among the two communities. Britain, Greece and Turkey had recognized and guaranteed

community, Greek Cypriots who were not fond of EOKA activities were also targeted.

the territorial integrity of this state. At this point, decision-makers in Turkey had praised this solution as an example that would consolidate the friendship between Turkey and Greece, even arguing that this could lead to a Turkish-Greek federation. The consensus reached, however, did not last long. Inter-communal tensions were revived when Makarios attempted to amend the Constitution in 1963, excluding the Turkish community in the process.

When physical attacks on the Turkish community on the island started in December 1963, Turkey contacted the other guarantor states as well communicating directly with the leader of the Republic of Cyprus, Makarios, in an effort to solve the points of disagreement. Turkey had already called for negotiations to resolve the disagreements arising among the leaders of the communities, long before the physical attacks on the Island, during Makarios' official visit to Ankara on 22-26 November 1962.[25] Turkey had also made clear that it would not allow unilateral changes to the status quo. The disruption of negotiations in the wake of the Bloody Christmas attacks and the resumption of armed strife led Turkish decision-makers to a difficult choice. Since no improvement had been achieved in political negotiations, Turkey started to consider military options in order to stop the attacks. Taking the national conditions of the time into consideration, this included various risks and difficulties for the decision-makers.

Article 4 of the Guarantee Agreement provided a legitimate ground for Turkey to intervene militarily in the Island, yet Turkey at that time lacked the infrastructure to conduct such an intervention, in terms of military preparation and capacity.[26] Indeed, when the Turkish decision-makers of the time considered the option of military intervention, they concluded that with its limited capabilities, an intervention by the Turkish Armed Forces would have faced numerous difficulties. Moreover, although the military intervention option was supported domestically, it was not welcomed at the international level, particularly by the leaders of the communist-socialist bloc. Turkey was reminded of this bitter truth by the then President of the US Lyndon Johnson's "Letter". Until August 1964, Turkey responded to the ongoing clashes by sending its aircraft to perform low altitude flights over the Island, and directly bombing Greek Cypriot troops in early August, upon the resumption of physical assaults. Turkey's deployment of the threat of dissuasive force, in strategic terms, enabled

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[25] On Makarios' visit to Ankara and details of the meeting, see Turgut Tülümen, *Hayat Boyu Kıbrıs,* (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Yay., 1998): 49-57.
[26] On the debates related to Turkey's decision for a military intervention in the 1963-1964 and 1967 crises, see Aksu, *Türk Dış Politikasında…,* 2008.

Turkey to end the crisis while it helped reduce the level of violence
directed at the Turkish community by creating a deterrent effect.

The 1963-1964 crisis was in fact an example whereby the parties tested
each other and learned about crisis management. When inter-communal
clashes restarted in 1967, Turkish decision-makers once more encountered
the possibility of performing a military intervention in the Island. The fact
that preparations and equipment necessary for an intervention had not been
completed resurfaced. Decision-makers in Turkey decided that they could
manage the crisis by pursuing a strategy of coercive diplomacy, and they
preferred to use the threat of use of force instead of actually using force.
The US mediation apparently played a significant role in this crisis. As a
result of the shuttle diplomacy conducted by Cyrus Vance, Turkey
achieved its demands, and the assaults on the Turkish community were
stopped. Besides, the 20,000 Greek troops and heavy weaponry,
clandestinely sent to the Island by Greece in 1974 in collaboration with
Makarios, were also taken out of the Island upon Turkey's pressure.[27]

After the 1963-1964 and 1967 crises, seeing that they had limited
options in the face of the recurrent Cyprus crises, Turkish decision-makers
had focused on the military preparations required for a military
intervention. Until 1974, Turkish Armed Forces had mostly completed the
armament and training that would enable a successful amphibious
operation. These preparations facilitated Turkey's military intervention in
Cyprus in July 1974, which was conducted with many fewer casualties
compared with the previous crises.[28]

Each of these three crises had occurred with different governments in
power. But the Cyprus issue was considered to be a "national cause", and
the Cyprus policy pursued by governments were supported to a great
extent, particularly in 1967 and afterwards. With regard to crisis
management, Turkey is observed to have employed different strategies
in each case. In the first two crises, Turkey made use of coercive

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[27] Andreas Papandreu recounts in his memoirs how the decision to send arms and
troops secretly to the Island were taken after 1960. For details, see Andreas
Papandreu, *Namlunun Ucundaki Demokrasi,* (Ankara: Bilgi Yay., 1988): 164.
[28] One of the factors that impacted on the success of Turkey's military intervention
was the withdrawal from the Island of the Greek troops and weaponry, which had
been employed secretly in breach of the treaties. The heavy weaponry and
approximately 20,000 military personnel were raised as a topic in the negotiations
conducted by the US representative Vance, and a consensus was reached on the
withdrawal of these forces out of the Island. It could be contemplated that the
resistance to the military intervention in 1974 would have been much stronger had
these personnel and weaponry remained on the Island.

diplomacy.[29] In the 1974 crisis, however, a different defensive strategy was preferred. By implementing the decision for military intervention, Turkey employed "the limited escalation strategy conducted alongside the deterrence of counter-escalation and the strategy of preventing the opponent to miscalculate and compelling it comply with its commitments". When declaring its decision to intervene militarily, Turkey made clear that it was acting as a guarantor to restore the constitutional order in the Island. It declared that, in accordance with this, its forces would not open fire unless they were fired at. The target was the coup against Makarios conducted by the EOKA-B organization. But Turkey's military intervention created a contradictory situation in the Island. While Makarios' supporters unwillingly gave support to Turkey's intervention, the supporters of the EOKA-B, the officers in the Greek garrison and the Greek soldier secretly employed on the Island, together with other enosis proponents fought against the intervention. Therefore, Turkey's decision not to open fire unless being fired at did not work in practice, and Turkish forces engaged in a fight with the EOKA-B forces, the National Guard Forces of the Greek Cypriots and the Greek military division.

When the clashes began, attention was paid to keep these "limited", and to prevent them from spreading outside Cyprus to the borderlands with Greece. In that sense, the foreign policy pursued by Turkey seems to conform with both the fulfilling of obligations of guarantorship and with the strategies of crisis management. During the crisis, Turkey obviously did not have the intention to spread the war by attacking Greece. In his memoirs, Orhan Birgit who was the Minister of Tourism as well as the government spokesperson in the 37th Government, recounts how they facilitated the overthrow of the junta in Greece by informing the anti-coup officers that they had no intention of attacking Greece.[30] Prime Minister of the time, Bülent Ecevit showed his support for peace and cooperation by congratulating Karamanlis upon his return to the country and expressing his sincere wishes.[31] All these represent clues as to the willingness of Turkey to avoid spreading and extending the war.

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[29] For details on coercive diplomacy and crisis management strategies, see Alexander L. George, "Strategies for Crisis Management", in *Avoiding War: Problems of Crisis Management*, (Ed.) Alexander L. George, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991): 377-394.

[30] For details, see Orhan Birgit, *Kalbur Saman İçinde: Olaylar, Anılar, Portreler,* (İstanbul: Doğan Yay., 2012): 123-124.

[31] For details, see Kamuran Gürün, *Bükreş-Paris-Atina Büyükelçilik Hatıraları,* (İstanbul: Milliyet Yay., 1994): 330-331.

Concluding Remarks

As recurrent crises occurring within a protracted conflict, the Aegean and Cyprus crises between Turkey and Greece may have been overcome, yet the conflict and the dispute as a whole remain unsolved until now. These areas of dispute, which constitute two topics with high significance in terms of basic values and priorities for both countries, need to be settled in a satisfactory way for the parties. Throughout the history of bilateral relations, disputes that remain unresolved have enabled the eruption of conflicts and crises. Particularly in the dispute regarding the Aegean Sea and Cyprus, the parties approach the issue within the framework of sovereign rights, territorial integrity and security. This, however, provides the basis for the parties to have resort to methods including military violence in their crisis management strategies.

Despite the erosive effect of the crises, the search for solutions to the essence of issues has been futile. In the context of the Cyprus dispute, the first concrete step toward solution was taken with the foundation of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960, but this solution proved to be temporary and collapsed. The second concrete step was the Annan Plan in 2004. This attempt collapsed, however, with the refusal of the Greek Cypriot community. It is still doubtful that the inter-communal negotiations continuing since 2008 could result in a concrete and durable solution.

A similar point can be made regarding the disputes in the Aegean Sea. An unspoken moratorium that actually freezes the basic theses of the parties appears to be in effect since 1976. Although an indirect process of negotiations was started after 1999, no steps could be taken to provide an essential solution to the disputes.

As a consequence, the process of long-standing, recurrent and protracted conflict that has been characterizing the bilateral relations of Turkey and Greece since 1950 could be expected to continue in the short- and mid-term. The most concrete factor that would alter this process is Turkey's accession into the EU as a full member, yet this option is far from realization due to various factors. Currently, the confidence building measures and dialogue attempts started in 1999 have created a process whereby disputes could be negotiated. It is obvious, however, that this will not be sufficient for reaching a solution to disputes/conflicts, and should be continued with concrete steps.

CHAPTER FOUR

INSIGHTS OF THE MAVI MARMARA CONFRONTATION: ANALYSING THE TURKISH CRISIS MANAGEMENT PROCESS*

TUĞÇE KAFDAĞLI KORU

Introduction

The Foundation for Human Rights and Freedoms and Humanitarian Relief (IHH) is a non-governmental organization (NGO) founded in Istanbul, Turkey in 1995. In addition to its relief organizations to various other countries, such as Bosnia Herzegovina, the IHH planned to provide humanitarian aid in 2010 this time to the people of Gaza in Palestine despite the Israeli blockade in the region. This aid organization was to be realized by sea with the involvement of many other national and international relief organizations. The aid convoy was called *'Freedom Flotilla of Gaza'* and comprised of eight ships. However, the flotilla was attacked by the Israeli armed forces within the international waters while being under way in the Mediterranean. During the raid by the Israeli soldiers in the Mavi Marmara, nine activists were killed and many were injured.[1] The ships in the flotilla were moored in the Port of Ashdod in Israel.

Although this aid campaign organized by the IHH can be considered to be a civil and humanitarian initiative, after the raid it became a political and international matter. In other words, a humanitarian aid campaign organized by an NGO turned into a foreign policy crisis between Turkey and Israel. In this sense, Mavi Marmara Crisis is unique one among

[1] The number of casualties increased later to 10 with the death of a seriously wounded activist (Süleyman Uğur Söylemez) in 2014.

Turkey's foreign policy crises. This chapter aims to analyze how the aid campaign turned into an intergovernmental foreign policy crisis and how the crisis was managed by the decision makers.

Crisis and Foreign Policy Crisis

Amongst the many definitions of crisis in literature, the most remarkable one is that of Brecher, which he makes by posing the question 'what differentiates a crisis from a non-crisis?'[2] A foreign policy crisis, on the other hand, is a situation with three necessary and sufficient conditions that are either indigenous or exogenous.[3] In other words, whether or not a situation is to be perceived as a crisis by a top decision maker of the state is about the following three conditions[4]:

1. A threat to basic values (simultaneous or subsequent)
2. High probability of military hostility
3. Awareness of a limited time to respond to the external threat

These three conditions of Brecher are about the emergence of the crisis' triggering actor and the meaning attributed to it.[5] When we examine the definition of crisis made by the Turkish Foreign Policy Crises (TFPC) Analysis Group, we observe a relatively flexible framework:

According to that, the development considered to trigger the crisis;

- Is about any subject that may interest decision-maker's foreign policy agenda,
- May occur both all of a sudden or gradually within a certain period of time,
- Enforces (and/or is perceived to enforce) the decision-maker to make alteration in the fundamental values and priorities,
- This situation is perceived as a risk, threat, danger, attack,
- Because of this perceived situation, the decision maker has to choose one of the available options and make a decision,

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[2] Michael Brecher, *Decision in Crisis Israel, 1967 and 1973,* (London: University of California Press,1980): 1.
[3] Michael Brecher and Jonathan Wilkenfeld, *A Study of Crisis,* (USA: The University of Michigan Press, 2003): 3.
[4] Brecher, *Decisions in...*, 1.
[5] The meaning attributed to the triggering actor of the Mavi Marmara Crisis will be elaborated in the part where the crisis phase is dealt with.

- The decision taken may lead the decision maker engaging in a military clash with its direct interlocutor, though it is not always the case.[6]

In this paper, TFPC's definition of crisis will be taken as the main basis. This definition is flexible enough to include non-state actors as the actors that take the triggering action in the crises. Furthermore, within the context of the perception and reality, this definition enables to attribute meaning to not only the fundamental values but also the priorities of the decision maker. Therefore, by using Brecher's method we can analyze the Mavi Marmara Crisis in different phases. For Brecher, a crisis is analyzed in four phases: Onset, escalation, de-escalation and impact.[7] During the onset, there are initial signals for the escalation and thus a conflict breaks out in the relations. However, the stimulus, discourses and actions do not yet affect the defending party's values or interests. If the decision maker started to perceive threats against its goals and interests, then it means that the phase of escalation began. During this phase, where the aggressive party triggers the crisis, there are threat, limited time pressure and increasing probability of war.

During the phase of escalation, crisis management strategies against the perceived threat and attack are designated. In this phase, pressure and stress are high for the decision makers. Furthermore, the designated strategies are carried out in the escalation phase, where mutual challenges may break out. It is therefore the phase, where crisis management is in its clearest state. When it comes to the phase of de-escalation, it generally begins with the decrease of threat intensity that reached its peak during the escalation phase. The de-escalation of the crisis depends on the decrease in the threat perception, limited time pressure, the threat of use of force and increasing probability of war.[8] The phase of impact, last but not least, refers to the results of the crisis. The most important factor that determines the attitudes of parties in the phase of impact is the result of the crisis. In the cases where the crisis is properly managed and resolved, this phase continues without any further problem. However, if the return to *status quo ante* could not be achieved and the problem remains unresolved, the

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[6] Fuat Aksu, "Uyuşmazlık-Kriz Sarmalından Algı Değişimine Türkiye-Yunanistan İlişkileri", in Mustafa Kaymakçı ve Cihan Özgün (Eds.), *Rodos ve İstanköy Türklüğü*, (İzmir: RİOTKDD Yay., 2014): 55-90.
[7] Michael Brecher, *International Political Earthquakes,* (USA: The University of Michigan, 2011): 12.
[8] Brecher, *International Political…,* 12.

outbreak of new crises is and remains probable due to perceptions in the phase of impact.

In the light of this information, Turkey's crisis management strategy in the Mavi Marmara Crisis will be analyzed in three phases. To analyze the phase of onset, first, the developments during the organization of the aid campaign will be elaborated. Second, the escalation phase, which begins with the Israeli attack against the Mavi Marmara, will be examined. Herein, what we should pay attention to is that for Israel the crisis actually began before it launched a military operation. With the departure of the Mavi Marmara from Antalya Port on May 28, 2010, Israel perceived a threat and the process of crisis management started. Israel preferred to launch a military operation in order to manage the crisis. On May 31, 2010, Turkey perceived Israeli military operation against the flotilla as an attack, meaning that the process of crisis management started also for Turkey. In the phase of escalation, Turkey's demands and Israel's responses could keep the escalation under control. Then, with the diplomatic initiatives in the bilateral relations between Turkey and Israel, the phase of de-escalation commenced. As for the phase of de-escalation, two separate de-escalation processes should be mentioned. The first de-escalating development was the release of the victims of the attack who were detained, the return of the ships and the acceptance of Turkey's demand for the setup of an investigation commission within the UN.

The second de-escalating development was Israel's apology and suggestions on indemnity payment, both of which had been demanded by Turkey. With these de-escalating developments, the effect of the attack against fundamental values/interests decreased but did not disappear. Because it is a continuing crisis, the final phase of impact has not begun yet. In what follows, I will analyze how the Turkish government, as the decision maker, perceived and then managed the crisis within the context of crisis management literature. Furthermore, I will also deal with the question which defensive crisis management strategies, conceptualized by Alexander George, are carried out by the decision makers in the Mavi Marmara Crisis.[9] While dealing with this question, I will also evaluate to what extent the seven principles set out by Alexander George that aim at preventing the undesired escalation were abided by in Mavi Marmara Crisis.

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[9] For details see: Alexander L. George "Strategies for Crisis Management", in Alexander L. George (Ed.), *Avoiding War,* (USA: Westwiev Press, 1991).

The Freedom Flotilla of Gaza

The IHH started its voluntary activities in 1992 and institutionalized them in 1995. In the third article of its deed of foundation, the goal of the foundation is stated as follows:

> *"… to extend humanitarian aid to anyone distressed, oppressed, victimized, wounded, crippled, made homeless and subjected to famine by wars, disasters, etc. and take necessary steps to prevent any violations against their basic rights and liberties …"*[10]

After the ceasefire between Israel and Palestine had been broken in 2008, Israeli authorities declared that they would allow the passing of humanitarian aid material to Gaza.[11] With the worsening of the humanitarian situation in Gaza, the IHH that had long worked on the Palestine question came up with a new aid campaign with the slogan "Palestine Our Route" in order to break the blockade and bring aid to the people of Gaza. The aim was to break the blockade again, this time by sea after the aid convoys had entered Gaza on January 7, 2010.

IHH's aid organization initiative was joined by another NGO called "Free Gaza Movement". As an NGO registered in Cyprus, the Free Gaza Movement managed to reach Gaza by one or two small vessels five times between August and December 2008.[12] Because of the failure in the sixth try, Free Gaza Movement plunged into a quest of cooperation in order to increase the number of ships in the flotilla. Thus and so, Free Gaza Movement got in contact with the IHH, a Turkey-based NGO that had advisory status in UN Economic and Social Council. The IHH, carrying out activities in 120 countries including Gaza and organizing an own campaign for Gaza committed to join the flotilla with two cargo ships and a new 600-person passenger ship. Later on, a set of other NGOs joined in the flotilla, named Freedom Flotilla of Gaza later, including *Ship to Gaza (Sweden), Ship to Gaza (Greece), The International Committee to End the Siege on Gaza* and *European Campaign to End the Siege on Gaza.*

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[10] "Deed of Foundation, The Foundation for Human Rights and Freedoms and Humanitarian Relief",

http://www.ihh.org.tr/en/main/pages/vakif-kurulus-senedi/138

[11] "Gazze'ye İnsani Yardım İçin Kapılar Açıldı", *Cumhuriyet*, December 26, 2008.

http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/30902/Gazze_ye_insani_yardim_icin_kapilar
_acildi.html [22.11.2013]

[12] The goal of these voyages was stated to be to break the Israeli blockade. Even though the organizers declared to have been threatened by Israel, Israeli authorities did not intercept these vessels.

The goals of the flotilla, as declared by the leaders of the Free Gaza Movement and the IHH, were as follows:[13]

- To attract international community's attention about the effects of Israeli actions and blockade in Gaza,
- To break the blockade and
- To deliver humanitarian aid to Gaza

Since the commercial shipping companies did not want to rent their ships to such a flotilla, participant NGOs had to buy their own ships. The crew service for IHH's cargo ships was provided through an agency in Istanbul. At the beginning, there were eight ships and 748 people in the flotilla[14], which later had to continue with six ships due to a set of breakdowns. Because of some technical problems in the machines, Challenger II had to leave the flotilla and its passengers were taken to Challenger I and Mavi Marmara in the international waters. Corrie, on the other hand, could not join the flotilla on May 31 because its departure from Ireland had delayed. Some passengers planned to sail from Cyprus and get on board in the international waters, like in previous times. However, Cypriot authorities prevented these passengers from putting off from Cypriot coasts just in time. Despite all efforts, no permission could be obtained to put off from southern ports and thus some passengers went to the Northern Cyprus to use the port in Famagusta.

The institutions that joined the flotilla formed a flexible alliance based on a 9-article agreement. In this agreement, which they called 'points of consensus', the goals that all participants agreed on were stated, including the commitment to a non-violent resistance in case of an attack.[15] According to Free Gaza Movement, each ship had an own board of directors composed of a representative from each participant institution. In the flotilla, there were in total 748 people from 40 different countries.

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[13] "Report of The International Fact-Finding Mission to Investigate Violations of International Law, Including International Humanitarian And Human Rights Law, Resulting From The Israeli Attacks on The Flotilla of Ships Carrying Humanitarian Assistance, United Nations, September 27, 2010",
http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/docs/15session/A.HRC.15.21_en.pdf, [23.12.2015] Herein, it is worth noting that the members of the UN Investigation Commission stated that the activists, whom they talked with one on one, were sharing all these goals emphasizing upon the humanitarian aspect of the campaign.
[14] See Table 4-1
[15] "Report of the International Fact-Finding Mission", 20.

Each participant institution determined its own criteria and conducted a separate process of application and admission. There was not a protocol allowing a central registration of all participants and only some organizers preferred to carry out an individual application process.[16] For both travel expenses and material aid in cash for those who need in Gaza, the participant institutions collected donations from their own communities.

It was decided that the ships of the flotilla meet approximately 40 sea miles away from southern Cypriot coasts. The ships departed from various ports in different dates in order to meet at the specified point. The ships' routes after departure were as follows:[17]

- May 14, 2010: *Gazze I* departed from Istanbul to Iskenderun
- May 18, 2010: *Rachel Corrie* departed from Greenore, Ireland. The destination was declared to be Malta. However, in fact, this ship departed from Dundalk on May 14 and had to stop due to a breakdown.
- May 22, 2010: *Mavi Marmara* departed from Istanbul to Antalya.
- May 22, 2010: *Gazze I* departed from Iskenderun to Gaza.
- May 24, 2010: *Defne Y* departed from Istanbul.
- May 24, 2010: *Eleftheri Mesogios* departed from Piraeus, Greece.
- May 25, 2010: *Mavi Marmara* arrived in Antalya.
- May 25, 2010: *Sfendoni* departed from Piraeus, Greece and later stopped off in Rhodes.
- May 28, 2010: *Mavi Marmara* departed from Antalya.
- May 29, 2010: *Challenger I* ve *Challenger II* departed from Crete; *Rachel Corrie* arrived in Malta.
- May 30, 2010: Six ships came together at the meeting point near Cyprus; *Rachel Corrie* departed from Malta.

In the bill of lading of the ships departing from Turkish ports, the destination was indicated as Gaza. However, as Gaza was not found in the computer system of customs bureau, the destination was indicated as Lebanon in the official documents. According to what some passengers told the UN Investigation Commission members, the intention was at first to head for Egypt and then to get in Gaza's territorial waters westward.[18]

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[16] "Report of the International Fact-Finding Mission", 20.
[17] "Report of the International Fact-Finding Mission", 21-22.
[18] "Report of the International Fact-Finding Mission", 22.

The flotilla turned towards Gaza as of 15.45 on May 30 from a point 65 sea miles away from Lebanon.[19]

Table 4-1 Freedom Flotilla of Gaza

Name	Flag	Owner	# of People	Type
Mavi Marmara	Comoros	İHH	577	Passenger Ship
Defne Y	Kiribati	İHH	20	Freighter
Gazze I	Turkey	İHH	18	Freighter
Eleftheri Mesogios	Greece	Eleftheri Mesogios Marine Company	30	Freighter
Sfendoni	Togo	Sfendonh S.A.	43	Passenger Ship
Challenger 1	USA	Free Gaza Movement	20	Passenger Ship
Challenger 2	USA	Free Gaza Movement	20	Passenger Ship (Broke down, passengers were transferred to Mavi Marmara)
Rachel Corrie	Cambodia	Free Gaza Movement	20	Freighter (Broke down and departure delayed one day)

Source: "The Foundation for Human Rights and Freedoms and Humanitarian Relief", http://www.ihh.org.tr/fotograf/yayinlar/dokumanlar/134-mavi-marmara-hukuk-raporu-10-aralik-2012-mavi-marmara-hukuk-raporu.pdf

Mavi Marmara Crisis

The initiative of the IHH as an NGO to bring aid to Gaza turned into a foreign policy crisis between Israel and Turkey. What is intrinsic to the Mavi Marmara crisis is that both the actors that triggered the crisis and the beginning points of the onset are different for two parties. Basically the crisis is supposed to take place in four phases. Nevertheless, the Mavi Marmara crisis, as an example of a "developing crisis"[20] did not complete

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[19] "Report of the International Fact-Finding Mission", 22.
[20] See: http://tdpkrizleri.org/index.php?option=com_seoglossary&view=glossary&catid=1&id=10&Itemid =188&lang=tr

all the phases. The process that developed with the preparations of the flotilla makes up the onset phase. As for the phase of escalation, we observe that both parties label different events to have started and triggered the crisis. For Israel, the departure of the Mavi Marmara from Istanbul/Antalya was the triggering incident, which started the escalation. As for Turkey, on the other hand, Israeli attacks to the Mavi Marmara was the triggering incident that started the escalation. Afterwards, Israel's release of the detained activists upon Turkey's request, Israel's apology and suggestions on the issue of indemnity point out the start of the de-escalation. Nevertheless, the crisis is not over yet, which refers to the non-occurrence of the phase of impact.

The Onset

The IHH as an NGO undertook the Turkish part of the Freedom Flotilla of Gaza organization. The authorities of the foundation stated that they always consulted with influential people and institutions in Turkish politics, whenever they take an action concerning a threat to regional peace. For that purpose, IHH authorities state that they consulted with The Nationalist Movement Party (NMP), Republican People's Party (RPP), Felicity Party (FP), Great Union Party (GUP) and Justice and Development Party (JDP).[21] According to these statements, the government did not prevent the flotilla from taking this action despite thinking that it would cause a big crisis. The government's opinion was that IHH and the other participant institutions were independent NGOs and

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[21] "We consulted with all the institutions and parties in Turkey, including NMP, RPP, FP, GUP. We also consulted with the JDP. (…) FP and GUP fully supported. We consulted with Gürsel Tekin of CHP, the leader of Istanbul Organization of the Party; he had told 'I will consult with the head office but, if it was up to me I would like to participate in the flotilla.' Besides, we consulted with the NMP. They told 'we cannot say anything (supportive) but we are not against it either.' (…) To be honest, government officials were very much concerned because they thought this would create a big crisis. So they were not in favor of this campaign. But, on the other hand, they told us very openly: '… you are an independent NGO; we cannot prevent you from going to Gaza as long as you want to. However, if you ask us, we would not approve this action.' Therefore, to be honest, it is apparently not that AK Party fully supported us and we organized this campaign together. Furthermore to claim this would be a big disrespect towards ourselves because we consulted with many opinion leaders as well as various NGOs. And we did all this by our own will." in "Fethullah Hoca'nın Kalbi Bizden Yana", Mavi Marmara Freedom and Solidarity Association, http://www.mavimarmara.org/fethullah-hocanin-kalbi-bizden-yana/.[22.11.2013]

it thus would not be correct to oppose to an action carried out by them. Nevertheless, the government proclaimed that it did not approve this campaign.[22] Therefore, the IHH underlines that JDP did not support them and claiming that it did that would be a big disrespect for themselves. They particularly emphasize that they consulted with many opinion leaders and NGO representatives and carried out the entire organization by their own will.[23]

According to Israeli Defence Commandership, in February 2010 Israeli authorities found out that a new flotilla was being organized to break the Gaza blockade. Then, Israel started to develop action plans and made an effort to prevent the action through diplomatic channels. Launching the first initiatives in April to prevent the departure of the flotilla, Israel prepared its action plan on May 11 and the plan was confirmed on May 13 by the Israeli Chief of General Staff.[24] On May 13, Israeli General Staff handed in the action plan to stop the flotilla, which included also military options to the Israeli Prime Ministry and Ministry of Defence. The preparations for the operation projected in the plan were made in the Port of Ashdod. For the operation codenamed "see breeze", a special operation unit was formed out of "Shayetet 13".[25] All these point out to the start of a conflict regarding the flotilla. The crisis' stimuli were becoming apparent but the crisis was not yet escalated, which would cause the decision makers to perceive threat/risk/attack.

With the authorization of Israeli armed forces by the Ministry of Defence for launching the operation on May 26, the conflict turned into a clash. The reason of the operation that converted the conflict into a clash was that the organizers of the flotilla had not taken any step to stop their action despite the warnings of Israel. After the ships had started off, Israeli authorities made an effort to persuade that the ships anchor in the Israeli Port of Ashdod and the aid be delivered under Israeli control. Israel's the then Consul General to Istanbul Mose Kamhi stated on May 29 that Israel had made all the preparations in order for the ships to anchor and the aid to be transported to Gaza.[26] The Consul General who thought that aid campaigns had to be organized through Turkish Kizilay or UN Institutions to minimize the security risks stated: "We have always said that such

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[22] Gürkan Zengin, *Hoca: Türk Dış Politikasında Davutoğlu Etkisi,* (İstanbul: İnkılap Yayınevi, 2010): 236.

[23] "Fethullah Hoca'nın Kalbi Bizden Yana"…,

[24] "Report of the International Fact-Finding Mission", 22.

[25] A special unit within the Israeli Naval Forces.

[26] "Akdeniz'de Korkutan Restleşme", *Hürriyet*, May 29, 2010, http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/14865948.asp?gid=373 [31.7.2015]

flotillas, which we consider as political provocations are not necessary. However, now that they have already started off, we felt the need to make necessary regulations."[27] According to what the Consul stated, these regulations included an air conditioned tent city near the Port of Ashdod, where the passengers of the flotilla could stay until the completion of legal transactions. Thereafter all passengers could directly fly back through Ben Gurion Airport. For those who refuse to leave, there was the possibility of detention.[28]

On the other hand, although Turkey labelled the action of the flotilla as an NGO activity, Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs was claimed to set up a crisis desk, considering its potential of causing a crisis.[29] According to Zengin, the developments about the flotilla were followed from there. To the then Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu, Turkey was in contact with Israel at every level. He declared that Turkey had warned Israel not to use force against civilian ships and that this warning had not been a bluff.[30] In this context, Turkey considered all possible scenarios and gave necessary warnings to all parties between May 27 and May 31.[31] Davutoğlu explained these mentioned scenarios as follows:

> "After Mavi Marmara had departed, we basically worked on four different scenarios. First, when the flotilla approaches to Gaza's territorial waters, it might be confronted by Israeli ships that block and prevent the ships from entering Gaza. The flotilla might protest against it and it then end up as a peaceful demonstration. Second, Israel might come up with a technical intervention to bring the ships to the port. Third, an operational intervention might be made to the flotilla, but not a violent one. The forth and the last, Israel might militarily intervene but not in a way where killings would occur. In theory, this was also one of the options but we have never expected such an outcome." [32]

The fact that Turkey analyzed different scenarios and made crisis preparations points out that Turkey had already perceived the flotilla would cause a bilateral crisis with Israel. Nevertheless, it did not take any

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[27] "Akdeniz'de Korkutan Restleşme"…,

[28] "Akdeniz'de Korkutan Restleşme"…,

[29] Zengin, *Hoca…*, 236.

[30] *Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Tutanak Dergisi,* c.74, July 1, 2010, http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanak/donem23/yil4/bas/b127m.htm. [20.12.2013]

[31] Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Tutanak Dergisi…,

[32] "İşte İsrail Görüşmesinin Ayrıntıları", *Bugün*, July 5, 2010, http://gundem.bugun.com.tr/israil-gorusmesinin-ayrintilari-haberi/108279 [20.12.2013]

action to prevent the crisis. According to the statements of an Israeli diplomat reported by Tolga Tanış in his book *Potus ve Beyefendi*, Israel had requested Turkey that the ships anchor in a different port but the organizers of the flotilla rejected this request.[33] So it was demanded that the ships not have any arm. The Israeli diplomat stated that they were sure about the good faith of the Turkish Foreign Ministry but were never sure about the Prime Ministry and always had a doubt about its role in the organization.[34] Even though Israel was doubtful about Turkish Prime Ministry's attitude, the government did not allow any JDP member to join in the flotilla. Nevertheless, the decision maker that had the political responsibility could not prevent the escalation of the crisis. It is partly because as for Israel the triggering actor was an NGO. As for Turkey, on the other hand, Israel's attack against the flotilla was the triggering incident, after which the unstoppable crisis began for both parties.

The Escalation

The organizers who wanted to bring humanitarian aid to Gaza hoped that this action would bring about the de-escalation of the dominant atmosphere of war and chaos in the Middle East and help find new solutions to the chronical problems of the region. They claimed their goal to be to give hope to the people of Gaza, which they thought could lead to the end of the blockade and thus to contribute to the regional and global peace. However, the flotilla was attacked by Israel while under way in the Mediterranean within the international waters.

The six ships of the flotilla came together on May 30, 2010 near the southern coasts and the ships were navigating 70-80 sea miles away and parallel to the coast.[35] At 22.30, the Captain of Mavi Marmara, which was the flagship of the flotilla, started to receive harassing and threatening messages from Israel.[36] To each message that came from Israeli authorities, the captain replied that the ship had been navigating southwardly and heading to Gaza to deliver humanitarian aid. However, Israel kept on sending harassing and threatening messages to the ship that was under sail in the international waters.[37] Following this, Israel first cut off the ship's TURKSAT satellite broadcasting and communication and at

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[33] Tolga Tanış, *Potus ve Beyefendi-2002 Gün Türkiye-Amerika İlişkisinin İnişli Çıkışlı Hikayesi* (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, İstanbul): 149.
[34] Tanış, *Potus…,* 149.
[35] "Report of the International Fact-Finding Mission", 24.
[36] "Report of the International Fact-Finding Mission", 24.
[37] "Report of the International Fact-Finding Mission", 25.

around 03.00 the flotilla was besieged by some 30 zodiacs and four warships. At around 04.00, Israeli soldiers attempted to go on board to Mavi Marmara from the zodiacs.[38] While approaching, Israeli soldiers shot at the ship with non-lethal weapons such as paintball and teargas.

After it had been figured out that many were wounded, the ship board was raked through. In response, Bülent Yıldırım, IHH chairman and one of the top organizers of the flotilla, took off his white shirt and used it as a white flag to express that they surrendered. However, Israeli soldiers kept on raking through the board. According to authorities of Israeli armed forces, the active part of the operation ended at 05.17 following the release of three soldiers and the seizure of the ship's control.[39] During an operation that lasted 45-50 minutes, nine passengers were killed, more than 24 passengers were wounded with real bullets and many were injured with plastic bullets, beanbag buckshots etc.[40] The ships were brought to the Port of Ashdod by Israeli armed forces, where necessary transactions were completed for the return of the passengers. Then the passengers were put in prison to wait till the time of their return. Israeli authorities wanted all passengers to sign some official documents. The passengers later stated that the documents had been written in Hebrew and Israeli authorities told them that by signing these documents they would agree on the deportation and the 10-year ban to enter Israel. Almost all passengers refused to sign these documents. Some Israeli officials attempted to force the passengers to sign by threatening with physical violence. The Israeli authorities' efforts to convince the passengers to sign the documents lasted almost till they left the country. Following the transactions in Ashdod, most of the passengers were taken in groups to the prison in Beersheba, a city two hours away from Ashdod. The detention period of the passengers ranged from 24 to 72 hours depending on their time of departure. The citizens of Jordan and the other countries, which Israel did not have diplomatic relations with, were released earlier and sent back to Jordan by land. Other passengers were later brought to the Ben Gurion International Airport to be deported by air.

The deterioration of Turkish-Israeli relations following the raid against Mavi Marmara that carried many civilians from various countries and humanitarian aid for Gaza is one of the clear examples, where an NGO affects foreign policy. This case also showed how important an NGO may be particularly in Turkish foreign policy as a non-governmental activity caused a bilateral foreign policy crisis between two states. After the crisis

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[38] "Report of the International Fact-Finding Mission", 25.
[39] "Report of the International Fact-Finding Mission", 28.
[40] "Report of the International Fact-Finding Mission", 28.

had broken out, the decision maker took diplomatic and political measures. It came up with a number of demands from the counter party, such as apology, indemnity, abolition of the blockade.

When it comes to Turkey's crisis management strategy, it is possible to say that it carried out horizontal triggering strategy conceptualized by George. According to George, there are two types of triggering strategy. First, vertical triggering strategy is pursued by triggering the crisis within its own scope. Horizontal triggering strategy, on the other hand, is pursued in that the defensive party tries to damage the offensive one in different realms. The threat to extend the crisis to other realms could enable the defensive party to render the negotiation conditions more advantageous.[41] In this crisis, in particular, Israel attacked a ship carrying Turkish citizens, which puts forward the military dimension of the incident. Although Turkey could have legitimately responded militarily, it did not do so and preferred to highlight the legal and political/diplomatic dimension of the crisis. Thus, Turkey maintains its crisis management process in the legal and political sphere.

After the Israeli raid against the Mavi Marmara had been heard, UN Security Council convened upon Turkey's request. In the meeting, emphasizing upon the supremacy of law, Davutoğlu labelled Israel's action as piracy, barbarity and thuggery and stated that Israel had to be penalized.[42] In his speech, he came up with a detailed list of actions to be taken, which were as follows:[43]

- Israel should apologize to the international community as well as the families of those killed and injured.
- A detailed investigation should immediately be initiated.
- Legal proceedings should be immediately opened for responsible authorities and attack's perpetrators.
- UN should express its disappointment and warn. Israel should be called to respect fundamental human rights and international law.
- The return of the injured activists should immediately be permitted.
- The ships should be released and permitted to deliver the humanitarian aid they carried.

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[41] George, "Strategies…", 387.
[42] "BM Güvenlik Konseyi'nin İsrail Açıklaması", *Hürriyet,* June 1, 2010, http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/planet/14899943.asp?gid=301 [28.12.2013]
[43] "Dışişleri Bakanı Davutoğlu'nun Birleşmiş Milletler Güvenlik Konseyi'nde Yaptığı Konuşma (31 Mayıs 2010)", *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Dışişleri Bakanlığı,* May 31, 2010, http://www.mfa.gov.tr/bakan-davutoglu_nun-birlesmis-milletler-guvenlik-konseyi_nde-yaptigi-konusma-_31-mayis-2010_.tr.mfa [28.12.2013]

- Indemnity should be paid to the families of those killed and injured as well as the NGOs and the companies.
- The Gaza blockade should be abolished and all humanitarian aid should be permitted to reach the region.
- Gaza should be quickly developed and reconstructed so that it can become a region of peace. International community should be called to contribute to this process.

Mavi Marmara Crisis was escalated at a different time and by different incidents for Turkey and Israel. For Israel the triggering incident was the departure of Mavi Marmara from Antalya on May 28 and triggering actor was an NGO; for Turkey, however, the triggering incident was Israel's attack against the flotilla on May 31, which means that triggering actor was a state. The conflict that started between an NGO and a state later turned into a crisis between two states. After the triggering incident, Turkey immediately started to conduct its crisis management. The crisis started to de-escalate with Israel's gradual acceptance of Turkey's demands.

De-Escalation

During the third phase of a crisis, the de-escalation, threat, time pressure and possibility of war decrease. In Mavi Marmara Crisis, the de-escalation began with the satisfaction of some of Turkey's demands by Israel. The first one of these was PM Netanyahu's declaration that imprisoned activists would be released on June 1, 2010.

Turkey was expecting an official UN condemnation of Israel's attack. After the UN Security Council meeting, some negotiations took place with the US on such a statement as well as its wording.[44] For example, the usage of the word "action" instead of "actions" was important, for the former would directly point to the perpetrator. Another important wording matter was about whether the investigation was to be conducted neutrally or independently. An independent investigation could also be conducted by Israel, whereas a neutral one could not. Following these diplomatic negotiations, the UN Security Council (UNSC) condemned Israel's attack against Mavi Marmara.[45] In the statement of condemnation, it was emphasized that the civilians and the ships had to be released and the humanitarian aid had to be delivered to its target.

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[44] Zengin, *Hoca…*, 241.
[45] "BM Güvenlik Konseyi'nin İsrail Açıklaması"…,

After UNSC Meeting, Davutoğlu went to Washington from New York to consult with the US Secretary of State. During the meeting, Turkey sent a note to Israel through the US, stating that it would suspend its diplomatic relations with Israel unless Israel releases all imprisoned Turkish citizens within 24 hours. After this note had been transmitted to Israel, Reuters News Agency reported that all detained passengers would be released upon a government decision.[46] In the meantime, Turkey-Israeli relations were degraded to the level of charge d'affaires.

After the extraordinary meeting of UNGA (United Nations General Assembly) that had convened upon Turkey's request, UN Human Rights Council[47] decided (dated June 2, 2010 and numbered A/HRC/RES/14/1) that an investigation be conducted by United National Fact Finding.[48] The mission began its works as an independent three-member team of experts, under the presidency of a former International Criminal Court (ICC) justice Karl T. Hudson Phillips and with participation of the former ICC prosecutor Sir Desmond da Silva and former member of the Committee for Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women Mary Shanthi Dairiam.[49]

The report of the Mission on the actions of Israeli authorities vis-a-vis the Mavi Marmara navigating in the international waters, numbered A/HRC/15/21, was completed on September 22, 2015 to be presented to the UN Human Rights Council in Geneva. The 56-page report accuses Israel, which launched a military operation against Mavi Marmara, of violating the human rights and the international law. The report labels the raid against the civilian ship carrying humanitarian aid as an unacceptable brutality, emphasizing that Israeli armed forces used disproportionate amount of violence against the civilians. Another quite important point the report puts forward is that there is adequate evidence to open an intentional murder investigation against Israel. The report states that Israel did not have the right of self-defence due to satisfactory evidence that the ship did not pose a military threat.

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[46] "İsrail'de Herkesi Bırakma Kararı", *Sabah*, June 2, 2010,
http://www.sabah.com.tr/Gundem/2010/06/02/israilden_herkesi_birakma_karari
[28.12.2013]
[47] An international organ of the UN consisting of 15 African, 12 Asian, 5 Eastern European, 11 Latin American and Caribbean, 10 Western European (and from other parts of the world) members.
[48] "Report of the International Fact-Finding Mission", 1.
[49] "Report of the International Fact-Finding Mission", 1.

Upon Turkey's request, the UN Secretary General organized a panel to investigate the incident on August 2, 2010.[50] The panel began its works with the participation of two independent members, former PM of New Zealand Geoffrey Palmer, who presided the panel and former Colombian President Alvaro Ulribe. For Turkey, former MFA Undersecretary Özdem Sanberk and for Israel former MFA General Director Joseph Ciechanover attended the panel.[51]

The report of this Panel was published in a year, after being postponed several times. Although the Panel, which considered both parties' reports and documents, completed its works in July 2011, the declaration of its report to the world public was postponed three times due to various reasons put forward by the parties of the crisis. Just before the final date of declaration, PM Netanyahu made an attempt on a 6-month postponement for the declaration of the report, however Turkey did not accept this request. So the report was leaked out and published in daily New York Times.[52] In the official report published later, it was stated that the Panel works did not end up with an outcome that would bring any legal responsibility for any party. The purpose of the Panel, as specified in its introductory chapter, was to reveal the truths about the incident and put forward a set of recommendations to prevent a repetition of such an incident.

In the chapter, where the details on how the incident happened and the outcomes of the panel are provided, it is underlined that there are certain and definite limitations in the international law to take initiative about a ship navigating in the international waters. Nevertheless, it is stated in the same chapter that the Israeli blockade in Gaza is a legitimate security measure and fully in accordance with international law on the grounds that it is under the threat of militant groups in Gaza and thus has the right to prevent a possible entrance of weapons to the city. Report's emphasis on the legitimacy of Israeli blockade in Gaza implies that any concessions made to meet the demands of Turkey would be nonsense, considering Turkey's ultimate demand of the abolition of the blockade.

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[50] "BM 'Mavi Marmara' Heyetini Kurdu", *Milliyet*, July 24, 2010, Accessed November 20, 2013, http://dunya.milliyet.com.tr/bm-mavi-marmara-heyetini-kurdu/dunya/dunyadetay/24.07.2010/1267679/default.htm [28.12.2013]
[51] "BM 'Mavi Marmara' Heyetini Kurdu"…,
[52] Neil Macfarquhar and Ethan Bronner, "Report Finds Naval Blockade by Israel Legal but Faults Raid", *The New York Times,*
http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/02/world/middleeast/02flotilla.html?_r=1&scp=1&sq=Report%20Finds%20Naval%20Blockade%20by%20Israel%20Legal%20but%20Faults%20Raid&st=cse

After the declaration of the UN Palmer Report, Davutoğlu insistently stated that the ships must not have been attacked and officially proclaimed that Turkey would not recognize the UN Palmer Report. Moreover, he added that Turkey specified what sanctions it would impose on Israel. These sanctions, with which Turkish-Israeli relations became even worse, were as follows: [53]

- Turkish-Israeli diplomatic relations will be degraded to the level of second secretary.
- All military agreements between Turkey and Israel will be suspended.
- Turkey, which has the longest coast on the Mediterranean, will take all necessary measures for free navigation.
- Turkey does not recognize Israeli blockade. International Court of Justice will be called to investigate Israel's embargo on Gaza as of May 31, 2010. The UN will be called to take necessary measures accordingly.
- The right to legal remedies of all victims of Israel's attack against Mavi Marmara will be supported.

In 2012, a process of a deeper de-escalation began in Israel's approach to Turkey's demands. In an interview with *The Guardian* on May 24, 2012, Ramazan Arıtürk, one of the lawyers of the IHH, declared that Israel had accepted to pay indemnity to the activists in the MV Mavi Marmara and their families adding that the Israeli Government would make an official statement of regret.[54] On the issue of indemnity, the then PM Recep Tayyip Erdoğan stated that this was a matter concerning the families of the victims. Thus and so, as far as the issue of indemnity is concerned, the crisis between two states turned into a relation between a state and individuals.

Turkey's demand for an "apology" was met by PM Netanyahu in a teleconference with Erdoğan during US President Obama's visit in Israel

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[53] "Press Statement By H.E. Mr. Ahmet Davutoğlu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of The Republic of Turkey, Regarding Turkish-Israeli Relations, 2 September 2011", *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Dışişleri Bakanlığı*, September 2, 2011, Accessed December 30, 2013, http://www.mfa.gov.tr/press-statement-by_h_e_-mr_-ahmet-davutoglu_-minister-of-foreign-affairs-of-the-republic-of-turkey_-regarding-turkish-israeli-re.en.mfa
[54] "Israel Offers Compensation to Mavi Marmara Flotilla Raid Victims", *The Guardian,* May, 24 2012. http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/may/24/israel-compensation-mavi-marmara-flotilla [15.7.2015]

on March 22, 2013.[55] In that conversation, Netenyahu declared that the tragic consequences of the MV Mavi Marmara incident had not been intended by Israel and expressed Israel's "regret" for the killings and injuries. In what was reported in media, Turkey's demand was not fully met because it was not "apology" but "regret" that had been declared by Israel. However, Davutoğlu declared that Israel's declaration of apology would not have been accepted, had it not used the word "apology" in its statement.[56] Netanyahu's statement was as follows: *"The incident took place as result of a set of operational errors. Israel apologizes Turkish society for the killings and injuries and expects to reach an agreement on the issue of indemnity."*[57]

Even though these developments deepened the de-escalation, Turkey has been acting insistently about the full satisfaction of its demands. On July 13, 2013, Erdoğan declared that Turkey suspended its relations with Israel and that he expected the abolition of the blockade in Gaza to put an end to the crisis, implying that Israel's apology was not enough.[58]

Mavi Marmara Crisis was triggered by Israel's attack to Mavi Marmara and this was the main incident that escalated the crisis for Turkey. The crisis entered to de-escalation through diplomatic efforts made by the parties. At the beginning, Israel met Turkey's demand and released the activists it had detained. Netahyahu's apology and the negotiations on the issue of indemnity further deepened the de-escalation later on. A deal to normalize Turkish-Israeli relations after 6 years was signed on June 28, 2016 and according to that deal, Israel accepted to deposit 20 million dollars in compensation in a bank account opened by the Turkish government for the families of the victims.[59] However, if the

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[55] "Özür Obama'nın Eseri", *NTV*, March 22, 2013, http://www.ntv.com.tr/dunya/nyt-ozur-obamanin-eseri,0YWuW3hp3UuoSE5cVqFd8g [26.12.2013]

[56] "Dışişleri Bakanı Sayın Ahmet Davutoğlu'nun İsrail'in Mavi Marmara Saldırısı Nedeniyle Türkiye'den Özür Dilemesine İlişkin Olarak TRT "Neler Oluyor-Özel" Programında Yaptığı Açıklamalar", Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Dışişleri Bakanlığı, March 22, 2013, http://www.mfa.gov.tr/disisleri-bakani-sayin-ahmet-davutoglu_nun-israil_in-mavi-marmara-saldirisi-nedeniyle-turkiye_den-ozur-dilemesine-iliskin-olarak.tr.mfa [15.7.2015]

[57] "İsrail Türkiye'den Özür Diledi", *Milliyet*, March 22, 2013 http://www.milliyet.com.tr/israil-turkiye-den-ozur-diledi/dunya/dunyadetay/22.03.2013/1683768/default.htm [26.12.2013]

[58] "İsrail'le İlişkilerin Normalleşmesi Mümkün Değil", *Hürriyet*, July 23, 2014, http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/26795649.asp [15.7.2015]

[59] "Will the Mavi Marmara Trials Be Dropped after the Turkish-Israeli Deal?", *Hurriyet Daily News*, August 22, 2016. http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/will-

families refuse to withdraw their cases, legal proceedings will continue despite Israel's demand to make the Turkish government prepare the necessary legal ground to drop these personal cases. Apart from that issue, Turkish officials defend that their demand of the abolition of the Gaza blockade has been met by Israel, despite the claims that this is not a removal of the blockade but actually a confirmation of it by Turkey.[60] As seen, the incident continues to be a developing crisis, which has not entered the phase of impact yet.

Characteristics of Mavi Marmara Crisis

When Mavi Marmara crisis broke out, Turkey was being governed by JDP's single party government. In the course of the crisis, the 60th, 61st and 62nd governments formed by JDP were in power. Like with most of the crises, the decision maker, which is supposed to deal with the crisis, was a smaller unit than the cabinet in Mavi Marmara Crisis. And throughout the process of crisis management, it was this smaller unit that took the decisions. In Mavi Marmara Crisis, this smaller unit was composed of the then PM Erdoğan and the then FM Davutoğlu.

When it comes to Israel, which is the counter party, we see that a coalition government was in power during the crisis. The Prime Minister of the coalition government formed by Likud, Labor Party, Yisrael Beiteinu, Habayit Hayehudi, Shas and Haatzma was Benjamin Netanyahu. Among leading decision makers during the crisis were Ministry of Defence Ehud Barak and Foreign Minister Avigdor Liberman. Besides, Israeli defense forces decided to launch the military operation against the flotilla on May 13, 2010 and this decision was ratified by Israeli Ministry of Defence on May 26, 2010.[61]

In the conflict-clash-crisis analysis in Mavi Marmara Crisis, it is obvious that the conflict started with the preparations of the Freedom Flotilla of Gaza of several NGOs that came together for the purpose of protesting and breaking Israel's blockade in Gaza. Israel criticized flotilla's preparations and underlined that it would not let it enter Gaza. Herein, the conflict basically came about with the Israeli critiques of the flotilla's preparations, Turkey's declaration that it would not prevent the

the-mavi-marmara-trials-be-dropped-after-the-turkish-israeli-deal.aspx?PageID=238&NID=103090&NewsCatID=570
[60] "İHH Başkanı İsrail'le Anlaşmaya 'Şaşkın': Davalar Kan Sahibinindir, Düşmez", *Diken*, June 28, 2016. http://www.diken.com.tr/ihh-baskani-israille-anlasmaya-saskin-davalar-kan-sahibinindir-dusmez/
[61] "Report of the International Fact-Finding Mission", 22.

flotilla and the NGOs' declaration that they would not give up this organization.

The main source of the conflict between the NGOs and Israel, which was the departure of the Freedom Flotilla of Gaza, was also the starting incident of the crisis for Israel. At that moment, the crisis was not there for Turkey, as it did not perceive threat to its values/interests yet. For that moment, we may rather talk about a verbal conflict between Turkey and Israel on the action of the flotilla. As a matter of fact, Turkey's declaration that it cannot intervene in an NGOs' civilian activities as a democratic state, as a response to Israel's reactions about the flotilla was basically what brought about the conflict between two states. However, what triggered the crisis for Turkey was the military intervention against the flotilla on May 31, 2010, which it launched as a way to manage the crisis. In this respect, for Israel, which triggered the crisis was a non-state actor, however, for Turkey it was Israel, namely a state which took the triggering action.

The triggering actions happened generally in the eastern Mediterranean. Whereas at the beginning, the crisis was between an NGO and a state, namely between Free Movement of Gaza and Israel. Turkey later became a party of the crisis, after it had perceived an Israeli attack on Mavi Marmara as a threat to its fundamental values. Thus and so, the crisis turned into a bilateral crisis between the two states.

Crisis Management Principles in Mavi Marmara Crisis

When a crisis breaks out, the parties generally prefer to preserve their interests and values. In addition to that, an unintended escalation is to be prevented. The preservation of interests and values and the prevention of de-escalation may lead the decision maker to seesaw.[62] In cases where this dilemma is overcome by the decision maker, the crisis management generally leads to success. For an efficient crisis management, there are two political needs: The limitation of the ends that one wants to achieve at the end of the crisis (1) and the limitation of the means to achieve these ends (2).[63] It is quite important that the parties limit their claims so that the bilateral diplomatic conflicts are resolved and not resulted in war. For the greater the ends and claims, the more motivated the counter party to resist. Likewise, the more dependent the parties are on their ends, the deeper the

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[62] Alexander George, "A Provisional Theory of Crisis Management", in Alexander George (Ed.), *Avoiding War*, (Westview Press, 1991): 22-30, 24.
[63] George, "A Provisional Theory of Crisis Management", 36.

interest conflict gets and thus the more probable the war becomes. As well as the ends and claims, the means to be used should also be limited. If war is the undesired option, the means that are used in crisis management should be limited and diplomatic means should be prioritized.

According to A. George, the limitation of ends and means is not sufficient to prevent the escalation of a crisis and he thus refers to some actual requirements. These requirements enable decision makers to balance the military and diplomatic measures during the crisis management. In the process of crisis management, the goal is to achieve, and sometimes preserve, the end with the least damage and risk. This is about whether the crisis is managed rightly. For correct crisis management, there are several points that decision makers should pay attention to. Herein, George refers to his seven principles, which he describes as actual requirements. He considers military-diplomatic balance necessary in order to achieve the desired end. He also refers to the importance of acts that are preventive for misunderstandings for a successful crisis management. In what follows, I summarize George's seven principles for a successful crisis management and their analyses within the context of Mavi Marmara Crisis:[64]

1. "Each side's political authorities must maintain informed control of some kind over military options – alerts, deployments, and low-level actions, as well as the selection and timing of military movements."[65] For Turkey, the triggering incident was Israel's attack to Mavi Marmara, which is a military action. With this triggering incident, the escalation started for Turkey. The start of the phase of escalation entails a set of strategies to be pursued in order to cope with the process of crisis management. As Mavi Marmara Crisis was triggered, the decision maker group included PM Erdoğan and FM Davutoğlu. However, during the triggering incidents, politically responsible decision makers as well as top military officials were abroad. Therefore, official decision makers had the status of placeholder. In the morning after the attack against Mavi Marmara, an extraordinary meeting was convened in the Turkish Prime Ministry under the presidency of the then Deputy PM Bülent Arınç and with the participation of the then Interior Minister Beşir Atalay, the then Undersecretary of the PM Efkan Ala, the then Chief of Staff Operations Lieutenant General Mehmet Eröz and the then Chief of Naval Forces Staff Nusret Güner. According to the statements of Nusret Güner, the

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[64] Alexander George, "A Provisional Theory of Crisis Management", in Alexander George (Ed.), *Avoiding War*, (Westview Press, 1991): 22-30; Paul Gordon Lauren, G. A. Craig and A. George (Eds.), *Force and Statecraft - Diplomatic Challenges of Our Time*, (Oxford University Press, 2007): 220-245.
[65] George, "A Provisional Theory of Crisis Management", 25.

government asked the Naval Forces, if they were ready to accompany Mavi Marmara.[66] Naval Forces stated, as Güner adds, that they were ready but warned that the accompaniment would lead to a clash with Israel. Güner stated to have opposed the government's plan to pretend that Turkish Naval Forces were sent to accompany Mavi Marmara.[67] For him, it was even less risky to send the ships but to not publicly declare it. After Erdoğan had come back from abroad, the military action and its risks were re-evaluated and it was expelled from the available options. Although top military officials' opinions and advices were asked on the military options, it was the government that was in the driving seat.

2. "The tempo and momentum of military movements may have to be slowed down and pauses created to provide enough time for the two sides to exchange diplomatic signals and communications and to give each side adequate time to assess the situation, make decisions, and respond to proposals."[68] The nature of the attack and the fact that Mavi Marmara was under way for a civilian purpose restricted the available military options. The humanitarian nature of the flotilla's purpose reinforced a limited reaction. The military options stayed naturally in the background as the crisis was not directly associated with security-related issues such as territorial integrity, sovereignty rights, border security etc. In the process where the available options were evaluated, both civilian and military bureaucrats and advisors pointed out to the risks of the militarization of the process.

In the first evaluation meeting that convened under the presidency of Arınç, the military options were assessed but not reflected on the decisions. Davutoğlu, on the other hand, set up a "crisis desk" during his flight back to Turkey. In that meeting, too, no decision was made in favor of a military intervention. Davutoğlu instructed Turkey's UN Permanent Representative, Ambassador Ertuğrul Apakan to call the UN Security Council for an extraordinary meeting. While military options were being evaluated, Davutoğlu laid them aside and resorted to diplomatic options. If right signals are given to the counter party during the diplomatic contacts, further escalation may be prevented. However, as underlined below, the conditioning of the de-escalation by Turkey and the fact that some of these conditions pushed Israel's limits prevented the resolution of the crisis.

3. "Movements of military forces must be carefully coordinated with diplomatic actions as part of an integrated strategy for terminating the

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[66] Toygun Atilla, *Sakıncalı Amiral*, (İstanbul: Kırmızı Kedi, 2014): 118.

[67] Atilla, *Sakıncalı Amiral…,* 118.

[68] George, "A Provisional Theory of Crisis Management", 25.

crisis acceptably without war or escalation to higher levels of violence."[69] During the entire process of crisis management, no military option was preferred. As was underlined above, political and diplomatic options were prioritized. The military options stayed in the background, mainly because of the power asymmetry between Turkey and Israel, alliance capacity and the international support on the side of Israel. Considering the humanitarian nature of the flotilla's purpose, the humanitarian aspect of the incident was put forward. During the crisis management, the main emphasis was upon the killed innocent civilians and this has put forward the diplomatic and legal process.

4. "Movements of military forces and threats of force intended to signal resolve must be consistent with limited diplomatic objectives – that is 'noise' must be avoided or minimized."[70] From the escalation onwards, Turkey came up with a set of demands. The primary demand was the release of the detained activists and Turkey limited its demands by urging upon this one. The signals of de-escalation came with Netanyahu's declaration that the detained activists would be released. However, it was continuously emphasized by the decision makers that the demands of apology and the abolition of the blockade should be met in order for the crisis to come to an end. Despite the discussions on "apology or regret?", the demand of apology was met with the intermediacy of the US. In the international relations, apology may bring about certain liabilities, which may refer to indemnity payment. Therefore, the states generally refrain from apologizing. At the beginning, Israel, too, did not give an inch on the matter. However, for the sake of regional balances, Netanyahu apologized in the teleconference with Erdoğan with the intermediacy of the US. Besides, Turkey's demand for the abolition of the blockade in Gaza pushes Israel's limits, for this blockade is about Israel's perpetuity-related interests. The states never compromise about their perpetuity, since it is their primary interest. Thus and so, the demand for the abolition of the blockade seems to be pushing the limits for Israel. Furthermore, in the UN Palmer Report, the blockade was considered as legitimate and in accordance with the international law.[71] Despite Turkey's non-recognition of this report, it has become an international report providing the blockade with legitimacy.

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[69] George, "A Provisional Theory of Crisis Management", 25.

[70] George, "A Provisional Theory of Crisis Management", 25.

[71] "Report of the Secretary-General's Panel of Inquiry on the 31 May 2010 Flotilla Incident, United Nations, September, 2011", http://www.un.org/News/dh/infocus/middle_east/Gaza_Flotilla_Panel_Report.pdf [23.12.2013]

5. "Military moves and threats should be avoided that give the opponent the impression that one is about to resort to large-scale warfare, thereby forcing him to consider preemption."[72] Although military options were on the table in the initial meeting under the presidency of Arınç, Turkey refrained from warmongering acts to a big extent. As a matter of fact, Turkey abandoned the military options and resorted to a crisis management strategy based on horizontal triggering.

6. "Diplomatic-military options should be carefully chosen that signal, or are consistent with, a desire to negotiate a way out of the crisis rather than to seek a military solution."[73] From the escalation of the Mavi Marmara crisis onwards, Turkey never resorted to military intervention despite having evaluated it. It preferred to trigger the crisis that first escalated following Israel's military operation through a horizontal triggering rather than a military reaction. This was mainly because of the power asymmetry between Israel and Turkey. Military methods are generally used between the states even with military capacities. When compared, Israel is more powerful than Turkey in terms of military technology and has nuclear weapons. Therefore, Turkey came up with a legal-diplomatic defense rather than a military one, examining Israel's high military capability and capacity. Israel can be said to be more advantageous than Turkey, considering not only the power asymmetry in its favor but also its ability to form alliances and to mobilize its superpower support. On the other hand, use of force without the international support would probably be resulted in failure. US probably would never promote a military confrontation between Israel and Turkey, considering the regional balances and its relations with its two close allies. Thus and so, Turkey preferred horizontal triggering to all military options. Although for Turkey it was Israel's military action that escalated the crisis, Turkey preferred to trigger the crisis by legal, political and diplomatic means.

7. "Diplomatic proposals and military moves should be selected that leave the opponent a way out of the crisis that is compatible with his fundamental interests."[74] Upon Turkey's call, an extraordinary UN Security Council meeting was convened. In the meeting, Davutoğlu emphasized upon the supremacy of law and put forward a set of demands, one of which is the abolition of the blockade in Gaza.[75] As for Israel, to meet this demand would contradict with its fundamental values and

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[72] George, "A Provisional Theory of Crisis Management", 25.
[73] George, "A Provisional Theory of Crisis Management", 25.
[74] George, "A Provisional Theory of Crisis Management", 25.
[75] "BM Güvenlik Konseyi'nin İsrail Açıklaması"…, *Hürriyet.*

interests, since it considers this blockade indispensable against possible threats to its perpetuity. Therefore, Turkey's insistence on this demand had a triggering effect for the tension between two states. Furthermore, according to the statement ratified in the UNSC's extraordinary meeting and the report of the investigation panel conducted by the UN Secretary General, such blockades can be carried out in the international armed conflicts.[76] As a result, the legitimacy of the Israeli blockade in Gaza is recognized in an official international document, which increased Israel's negotiating power.

Among Turkey's demands, release of the activists was realized; the issue of indemnity was negotiated; regret, not apology though, was declared. However, for Israel the abolition of Gaza blockade is not even a matter of negotiation. This supports the claims that the blockade is still going on despite official Turkish statements that it is over after the latest deal between Turkey and Israel in June 2016.

In lieu of Conclusion

Freedom Flotilla of Gaza was prepared by the IHH and various other NGOs as an aid organization to break the blockade in Gaza and to bring humanitarian aid to the people of Gaza by sea. This totally civilian action affected Turkish-Israeli relations negatively and caused a bilateral crisis between the two states. The attack by Israel against Mavi Marmara that resulted in the killing of ten people in total and the injury of many more forced Turkey to conduct a crisis management process, in which it expected the support of both the US and the UN as well as the other international organizations.

The reason why Turkey considered the problem between a civilian movement and Israel as its own, was mainly the already existing tension between Turkey and Israel after the crises of "*one minute*"[77] and "*lower*

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[76] "UN, Report of the Secretary-General's Panel of Inquiry on the 31 May 2010 Flotilla Incident, September 2011.

[77] The then Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayip Erdoğan's heavy critiques against Israel at the World Economic Forum conference in Davos, Switzerland in January 2009 caused great anger on the Israeli side and started to tense the relations afterwards. The crisis owes its name to Erdoğan's interrupting the moderator, saying "one minute", to point out the unfairness in the time given to him and to the then Israeli President Shimon Peres. The turning point of the debate was Erdoğan's words accusing Israel of 'knowing very well how to kill' while discussing about the Israeli actions in Gaza.

sofa"[78] in addition to the fact that all killed in Mavi Marmara were Turkish citizens. The crisis that had started in Davos in Turkish-Israeli relations further escalated with the Mavi Marmara incident. In this chapter, I scrutinized the Mavi Marmara Crisis, which is an important turning point in Turkish-Israeli relations, where the action of an NGO was the primary reason of the escalation. This is an unprecedented case in the history of Turkish foreign policy, where the action of the IHH as a civilian NGO took on a political and legal dimension and brought about a crisis between the two states.

From within the body of the UN, the Human Rights Council and the Office of the Secretary General drew up two separate reports on the Mavi Marmara incident. Whereas the report of the Human Rights Council considers Israeli blockade unjust and the military intervention in the international waters illegal, according to the report of the Office of the Secretary General, the blockade is legitimate and the operation is within the scope of self-defence. Turkey did not recognize the latter and came up with a set of demands from Israel such as indemnity, apology etc. Thus and so, the action of an NGO apparently caused a multidimensional worsening of the Turkish-Israeli relations.

The teleconference between Netanyahu and Erdoğan, in which Netanyahu apologized, under the intermediacy of US President Barack Obama in 2013 and the negotiations on the indemnity payment were interpreted as the states' efforts to get rid of the crisis. Obviously the US was not contented with the contradiction and instability between its two important allies in the region. Therefore, although Turkish-Israeli bilateral relations seemed to be tense before the national and international public opinion, it is impossible to claim that the strategic ties between the US, Turkey and Israel were severed. Political and military cooperation among the parties were maintained.[79] A visible effect of this was the claim that

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[78] One of the symbolic revenges of the "one minute crisis" came a year later, in January 2010, when the Deputy Foreign Minister of Israel, Danny Ayalon, made Turkish Ambassador Oğuz Çelikkol sit at a sofa lower than the chair he sat and called the attention of the Israeli media to this intentional inequality during a meeting between them at the Israeli Parliament, Knesset. This further increased the tension between the two countries and Turkey called back its ambassador to Ankara.

[79] JDP government's spokesman Ömer Çelik's statements in December 2015, where he called Israeli state and its people as Turkey' friends, caused great shock especially among the conservative groups and revealed the contiuing talks between Turkey and Israel on the disputes they have including the Mavi Marmara crisis. See: "Hükümet, 'İsrail dostumuzdur' dedi, AKP'ye yakın bazı yazarlar tepki

the Turkish government had limited options about Gaza and hostility against Israel. The recent changes in the power balances of the region and Turkey's strategic cooperation with the US render a long-term conflict with Israel irrational. The fact that the JDP Government brought Turkish-Israeli relations to the breakaway point initiated a discussion about which intentions and purposes the decision maker in Turkey gave importance to with regard to this incident. The Palestine question in general and the Gaza blockade in particular are not of "vital" and "existential" importance from the perspective of Turkey's medium- and long-term foreign policy priorities. As a matter of fact, during the onset of the crisis, Turkish Foreign Ministry signalled this and acted cautiously. However, the JDP governments' emphasis on common identity and historical heritage in their foreign policy caused the decision makers to consider the triggering incidents during the crisis as "attacks" that damaged the reputation of the government.

In sum, when the stimulus and the developments prior to the crisis are examined, it is clearly seen that Israel had already signalled to the parties that it would not allow any initiative to break the blockade. In other words, as for both Turkish Foreign Ministry and the organizer IHH, an inhibitory action from Israel was expected. What was unexpected was the high level of violence used by Israel, rather than the use of violence itself. For it is a fact that using violence is not unexpected whatsoever as far as Israel's behavioral pattern regarding its security strategy is concerned.

On the other hand, it is also controversial that Turkey, which had declared IHH's aid organization to be a peaceful civilian action and thus not to be able to prevent it in line with the democratic practices, became later a direct interlocutor of the crisis. Just to note, Mavi Marmara carried not the Turkish flag but the flag of Comoros during the Israeli attack. The only ship with Turkish flag in the flotilla was "Gazze I" but there was not a direct attack against this ship. However, most of those killed and injured during the attack in Mavi Marmara were Turkish citizens. Therefore, it is not strange at all that Turkey defends and protects the rights, status and life safety of its citizens. Moreover, the demands that Turkey came up with right after the incident were expressed so rigidly that it not only created a triggering effect but also precluded any negotiation and communication between the two states. This rigidity also beclouded the formation of a bilateral consensus platform during the de-escalation. Turkey's direct engagement in the crisis made things difficult not only about the bilateral relations with Israel but also about the legal remedies of the IHH and the

gösterdi", *T24*, 21 December 2015. http://t24.com.tr/haber/hukumet-israil-dostumuzdur-dedi-akpye-yakin-bazi-yazarlar-tepki-gosterdi,321145

victims of the attack. As a matter of fact, the IHH, which was not satisfied with Israel's apology and recommendations on indemnity payment, opened a case against Israel in the International Criminal Court (ICC). Despite Turkey's inculcations, the IHH did not take a step back about the case in the ICC.

Mavi Marmara Crisis is also a crisis where the parties tested each other's limits in the bilateral relations. As Israel had not objected to several aid flotillas in the past, it might have done the same for the Freedom Flotilla of Gaza. But, on the contrary, it reacted with an unprecedented violence and ascribed a symbolic meaning to it: By launching a military intervention to a civilian ship carrying also Turkish citizens, it both pre-empted further organizations, intimidated and impeded Turkey's striving for reputation.

From the perspective of Turkey, the government supported the flotilla in the sense that it would enhance its popularity and reputation, which it mainly gained through its policy of supporting the cause of Palestine and Gaza. It maintained its support for the flotilla despite the high risks but did not allow it to move beyond an NGO activity. As a matter of fact, the government neither allowed its officials to participate in the flotilla nor provided it with a military company. Therefore, Turkey claimed that it was not a national but an international flotilla with Turkey based NGOs within it. So Turkey thought it would enhance its reputation by supporting the organization and, after the attack, by embracing it. This certainly means that all the possibilities in the crisis management process were not calculated.

CHAPTER FIVE

REFLECTIONS OF BELIEFS AND WORLDVIEWS
OF THE TURKISH RULING ELITE
ON THE SYRIA CRISIS[*]

HELİN SARI ERTEM

Introduction

A crisis situation in foreign policy is a process that threatens national
values and interests, and usually obliges the decision-makers to make their
decisions in a rapid way. It can also lead to a problem of survival for the
states, if not well-managed. The basic aim in the crisis management is to
protect the national targets and interests without going to a war.[1] In the
international relations, a crisis is a situation of disagreement, which is
possible to solve but can also turn into a war.[2] With these characteristics,
the recent Turkey-Syria tension, which has been going on since the
beginning of the Syrian civil war in 2011, can also be considered as a
crisis situation that, in the eyes of the Turkish decision makers, threatens
Turkey's national interests and even survival. It is closely related not only
to the changing regional circumstances but also the domestic and systemic
factors.

Within its multi-dimensional character, the Syrian civil war both
caused a serious foreign policy crisis and loaded a heavy humanitarian and
financial burden on Turkey. It has also created great concerns about the
sustainability of the Turkish foreign policy especially led by Ahmet
Davutoğlu (former Foreign Minister btw. 2009-2014 and former Prime

[1] For details see: Mehmet Seyfettin Erol and Ertan Efegil (eds.), *Krizler ve Kriz
Yönetimi: Temel Yaklaşımlar, Aktörler, Örnek Olaylar*, (Ankara: Barış Kitap,
2012): iii.
[2] Erol and Efegil, *Krizler ve Kriz Yönetimi…*, 53.

Minister btw. 2014-2016), who pursued, in his words, a "humanitarian and conscientious diplomacy" favouring the individual rather than the regimes. This has automatically boosted the number of academic studies to examine the possible roots of this policy, which is claimed to have put the "human" factor before every other element, although that might even risk the national security in various terms. This increased the curiosity about the role of the recent Turkish leaders on the formulation of that "value-based" foreign policy.

Hence, the aim of this chapter is to focus on the impact of the "individual" (here, the political leader) on the recent Turkish foreign policy making. It argues that the personal approaches of the recent Turkish ruling elite towards the world surrounding them have been highly influential on their decision making and crisis management strategies, generally on the Middle East and specifically on Syria. In fact, despite the traditional Turkish foreign policy approach that has often been in harmony with the necessities of realpolitik, recent policies of this elite towards the Syrian civil war reflect a strongly idealist approach, where the beliefs accompanied with a certain worldview play a determining role. With its highly complex nature that affects both domestic and foreign policy of Turkey, Syria crisis revealed the moral codes of the Turkish ruling elite both on this specific crisis and on the world in general. For that reason, it is a relevant case to explore how beliefs as well as worldviews of the political leaders play a significant role on decision making and crisis management processes. Actually, the Syria crisis is a direct reflection of how the Turkish ruling elite perceives the world, which role they attribute to Turkey in this world and in which way they interpret the actions of the other actors.

As Rosenau underlines, foreign policy has multiple sources and apart from external and societal environments, governmental structure, bureaucratic roles and personalities of the individuals too affect the foreign policy making.[3] Regarding the individual effect, which is in the scope of

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[3] James Rosenau, "Pre-theories and Theories of Foreign Policy", excerpt in J. Vasquez, *Classics of International Relations*, 3rd Edition, (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1996); also see: Michael Cox and Doug Stokes, *US Foreign Policy*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 6. Also see: Jack. S. Levy, "Psychology and Foreign Policy Decision-Making", in Leonie Huddy, David O. Sears and Jack S. Levy (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*, 2nd Ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013) and Janice Gross Stein, "Threat Perception in International Relations", in Leonie Huddy, David O. Sears and Jack S. Levy (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology*, 2nd Ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

this chapter, Rosenau argues that personality, past experiences, upbringing and personal convictions matter greatly on the leaders' way of foreign policy decision making. Thus, the personal characteristics of the decision makers are believed to have a significant impact (which is more than foreseen by the neo-realists) on the way they perceive the foreign policy crises and on the means they choose to manage them. As Cox and Stokes underline, the abovementioned "idiosyncratic" characteristics of the leaders influence the foreign policy behaviour especially in the countries such as the USA, where the personality traits and beliefs of the presidents are believed to have a strong impact on the foreign policy decision making process.[4]

Things do not seem to be different in Turkey either. The personality traits, belief systems and worldviews of the recent Turkish ruling elite play a significant role on the escalation or quieting down of various political crises in the near past such as the crises with Israel and Russia. It is the same for the Syria crisis, which has been affecting Turkey since its start in March 2011 as a matter of national interest and even survival due to its complicated nature involving the subjects such as the chronic Kurdish problem or Turkey's efforts to be a "democracy model" for the Middle East. With this claim, the chapter examines the Syria crisis with regard to the two leading political figures of the Turkish foreign policy, former Prime Minister (PM) and current President of the Republic Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and former Foreign Minister and former PM Ahmet Davutoğlu, who were highly influential on determining a new foreign policy vision for Turkey in the beginning of the 2000s. The chapter argues that the two leaders have a liberal internationalist (and liberal interventionist) worldview, through which they envisage a new world order and justice where "the oppressed or mistreated societies, among which the Muslims take a wider place, will be represented much fairly". As this chapter points out, for Erdoğan and Davutoğlu, the Syria crisis has been both a "litmus paper" that shows how the Syrians, as a part of the Muslims, are left alone by the West to suffer, and a "catalyst" to make Turkey raise its voice for the change that is being desired in world politics.

Parallel to the decreasing impact of the military and bureaucratic elite on Turkish politics, especially since 2007-2008, the weight of the civilian political figures, such as Erdoğan and Davutoğlu, have gradually increased on domestic and foreign policy making. As is known, the concerns over the "conservative democrat" vision of the new ruling elite, which have come forward with the Justice and Development Party's (JDP) rise to power in 2002, received the reaction of the traditional military and

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[4] Cox and Stokes, *US Foreign Policy...*, 7.

bureaucratic elite as the strong supporters of the Kemalist ideology and secularism. The decrease in this tension, which became possible only through the relative passivation of the traditional elite with the help of certain reforms in the state system and the huge public support the JDP received, automatically allowed a wide range transformation in Turkey's foreign policy methods and practices.

The new Turkish foreign policy was based on the six core principles of Davutoğlu, who became an active figure in Turkish politics with the start of his foreign policy advisorship in 2004: a balance between security and freedom, zero problems with neighbors, a multi-dimensional foreign policy, a pro-active regional policy, an altogether new diplomatic style and rhythmic diplomacy.[5] Among these, the "zero problems with neighbors" has become the most publicized principle especially after facing the challenges posed by the "Arab Spring".[6] As Davutoğlu also underlined, taken literally, this principle was "obviously an idealistic model".[7] In fact, not only this principle, but also the majority of the six above mentioned principles reflected an idealistic worldview of Davutoğlu, who received a prominent support of Erdoğan, while trying to put these principles into practice.

The two figures certainly share a reformist approach towards Turkey and the world. They have strong inclinations to question the existing world order, Turkey's place in it and the idea of "justice", which in their eyes represent the "justice" of the leading global powers, namely the five permanent members of the UN Security Council (UNSC).[8] Looking at the Syria crisis, one can see a similar reformist approach in the way these two leaders tried to handle the relations with Damascus. The relations with the Bashar al-Assad regime, which followed a fluctuating route in the last decade with a visibly sharp fall since 2011, is a good example where the Turkish ruling elite's highly idealist and critical worldview has been influential on their decision making. As Erdoğan and Davutoğlu often underline, Turkey chose to take side with the people rather than the regime

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[5] Ahmet Davutoğlu, "Zero Problems in a New Era: Realpolitik is No Answer to the Challenges Posed by the Arab Spring', *Foreign Policy*, (21 March 2013).
[6] Davutoğlu, "Zero Problems…"
[7] Davutoğlu, "Zero Problems…"
[8] "Davutoğlu: Küresel Adalet için BM Reformuna İhtiyaç Var", *Haberler.com*, October 13, 2012. http://www.haberler.com/davutoglu-kuresel-adalet-icin-bm-reformuna-ihtiyac-4013020-haberi/

in Syria and people in their eyes represent the weak Syrians, who are suffering under Assad's "tyrannical" power.[9]

Within this scope, the chapter will first summarize the theoretical international relations and foreign policy analyses, which allow us to take the impact of the "individual" level of analysis into consideration. After that, the chapter will briefly examine Erdoğan's and Davutoğlu's challenging approach towards the current order and justice in the world. This will help the reader to develop an idea on their worldviews, which we claim is based on "Liberal Internationalism"[10] in search for a "better" and "fairer" international system through peaceful means while not underestimating the importance of military power. Later on, as a case study to understand the Turkish ruling elite's liberal internationalist/interventionist world view, the chapter will focus specifically on the Syria crisis, which has tensed the newly repaired relations between Turkey and the Assad regime, while bringing the two countries almost at the edge of war. The next part of the chapter focuses namely on Davutoğlu and reflects the results of our attempt to make a content analysis of Davutoğlu's discourse on Syria. Erdoğan's content analysis on Syria will be the subject of another academic study due to time constraints. The chapter will then try to see what kind of a relationship exists between Davutoğlu's popular Syria terminology and his worldview. The conceptual analysis of Davutoğlu's speeches will be made by his 94 published speeches (84 as the Foreign Minister and 10 as the PM), which could be achieved through the internet. "Text mining", based on statistics, will be our scientific method to analyse the unstructured data.

The chapter will not get into the details of the crisis literature in order not to repeat the information given in the first chapters of this volume. Instead, it will focus on the Syria case specifically to make the reader be able to compare and contrast it with various other foreign policy crises that are being discussed in other chapters. This will hopefully encourage

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[9] As this chapter will also present, the JDP elite often accuses Assad of being tyrant, causing the Syrian people suffer. "Çalık: 'Mağdur Suriye Halkının Yanında, Zalim Esed'in Karşısında Durduk'", *Haberler.com*, July 11, 2015. http://www.haberler.com/calik-magdur-suriye-halkinin-yaninda-zalim-esed-in-7498756-haberi/ ; Also see: "Turkish PM calls for 'Syria without Assad' in UN address", *Hurriyet Daily News*, September 30, 2015, http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkish-pm-calls-for-syria-without-assad-in-un-address.aspx?pageID=238&nID=89211&NewsCatID=359

[10] For details of the "liberal internationalism" concept see: Tim Dunne and Matt McDonald, "The Politics of Liberal Internationalism", *International Politics*, Vol. 50, No.1, (2013): 1-17. Also see: Beate Jahn, *Liberal Internationalism: Theory, History, Practice*, (London, NY: Palgrave, Macmillan, 2013).

further researches on how, and under which circumstances the leading political elite interpreted these crises and shaped their foreign policies accordingly.

The Impact of the "Individual" on Foreign Policy Making

The classical theories of international relations and foreign policy analyses tend to deny the role of the "individual" in foreign policy making. For them, the states and the system are the leading actors responsible for the foreign policy practices. As neo-realists argue, the anarchic character of the system is enough to understand the selfish behaviours of the states. They consider the state as the standard unit of analysis and seek to explain the state behaviour with such an approach. The supporters of Rational Choice, for example, believe that all political actors act rationally as if the information they have are fully neutral, deprived of personal or bureaucratic misunderstandings or mistakes.[11] However, the vagueness in the front end of the crises, the time pressure, the difficulty in foreseeing the results and the risk factor in the decisions to be made increase the role of the political leader.[12] The leader might not always be able to take a rational decision, despite his/her experienced advisors, various bureaucrats and crisis management teams, but take decisions which might trigger dangerous political actions.[13]

As Burchill et al. underline, the state behaviour can be explained at three different levels: the state level (e.g. national history or ideology), the system level (e.g. the anarchic order) and the individual level (e.g. the impact of a particular national leader).[14] Among the realist perceptions, the neo-classical realism is an exception with its inclusion of the "domestic" in foreign policy analysis. As a theoretical approach in the International Relations (IR) discipline, neo-classical realism provides us with a method to examine the relations between the states, considering the impact of the

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[11] For the impact of perception and misperception on international politics, see: Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 1976.

[12] Oktay Bingöl, "Uluslararası Krizlerde Liderin Rolü", in Mehmet Seyfettin Erol and Ertan Efegil (eds.), *Krizler ve Kriz Yönetimi: Temel Yaklaşımlar, Aktörler, Örnek Olaylar*, (Ankara: Barış Kitap, 2012): 87.

[13] Bingöl, "Uluslararası Krizlerde ..., 87.

[14] Scott Burchill, et al. *Theories of International Relations*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009): 45.

domestic elements as well as the systemic ones on foreign policy decision making.[15]

Through such an approach, neo-classical realism brings the "individual" side of the story back into the IR theory. As Fareed Zakaria (one of the leading names of neo-classical realism) claims, the main actors of the international relations are not the states but the statesmen and for that reason, not the objective measures of power, but the statesmen's perception of shifts in power determine the foreign policy practices.[16] However, although it considers the individual (thus the decision maker/ statesman/leader etc.) as an intervening variable, neo-classical realism does not look at the background of this actor. So it is worth noting here that there is still a need to improve the limitations of the neo-classical realist analysis of the individual's impact on decision-making. Here the constructivist approach comes to our rescue. As the neo-classical realism does not shut the door to constructivism, the researchers can prefer to combine these two methods, seeing them mutually complementary to get into the details of the personal traits, backgrounds, and worldviews of the leaders and the impact of these elements on political decision making.

As a matter of fact, constructivism (and some post-structural and critical theories of IR) promises a lot regarding the impact of the "identity" on the actions of the actors (whether it is the individual or the state).[17] And

[15] For details see: Steven E. Lobell, Norrin M. Lipsman and Jeffret W. Taliaferro (eds.), *Neclassical Realism, the State and Foreign Policy*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Gideon Rose, "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy", *World Politics*, Vol. 51, No. 1, (October 1998): 144-172 and Fareed Zakaria, "Realism and Domestic Politics: A Review Essay", *International Security*, Vol. 17, No. 1, (Summer 1992): 177-198.

[16] Fareed Zakaria, *From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America's World Role*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998): 42.

[17] See: Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), and Glenn R. Chafetz, Michael Spirtas and Benjamin Frankel, "Introduction: Tracing the Influence of Identity on Foreign Policy", in Glenn R. Chafetz, Michael Spirtas and Benjamin Frankel (eds.), *The Origins of National Interests*, (London, Portland: Frank Cass, 1999), 7-22. For other studies on the relationship between identity and foreign policy, see: Yosef Lapid and Fredrich Kratochwil (eds.), *The Return of Culture and Identity in IR Theory*, (Boulder London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1996); David Campbell, *Writing Security: The United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992); Peter J. Katzenstein (ed.), *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); and Alexander Wendt, "Collective Identity Formation and the International State", *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 88, No. 2, (June 1994): 384-397.

talking about identity, the personality traits, personal backgrounds, emotions, perceptions and convictions of the actors automatically turn into intervening variables in decision-making processes. Political Psychology[18], which is one of the most stimulating perspectives in foreign policy analysis, highlights the impact of the psychological states of individuals or groups on the way they perceive and treat the world around them, thus the political issues. It has a huge literature, both theoretical and practical, which analyse the impact of the individual characteristics on foreign (and domestic) policy decision making.[19] It is also a useful tool to understand the relationship of leader's heuristics, cognitive structures, motives and leadership styles with the formation and management of the crises.[20]

This chapter too benefits from the discipline of Political Psychology, which provides us with various new tools to examine the impact of the "individual" on foreign policy decision making. As Cengiz Erişen argues, considering the domestic and individual levels of analyses, "political psychology offers the best tools and the most distinct ways of approaching a foreign policy phenomenon."[21] Leaders as the key decision makers in foreign policy are in close alignment with Political Psychology and by studying their individual qualities, as well as the groupthink and the

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[18] See, for example: Rose McDermott, *Political Psychology in International Relations*, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2004). Also see: Elif Erişen, "An Introduction to Political Psychology for International Relations Scholars", *Perceptions: Special Issue on Political Psychology and Foreign Policy Analysis*, Vol. XVII, No. 3, (Autumn 2012): 9-28.

[19] For such researches see, for example, Margaret G. Hermann, "Explaining Foreign Policy Behaviour Using the Personal Characteristics of Political Leaders", *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 1, (Mar., 1980): 7-46; J. Philipp Rosenberg, "Presidential Beliefs and Foreign Policy Decision-Making: Continuity during the Cold War Era", *Political Psychology*, Vol. 7, No. 4, (Dec., 1986): 733-751; Deborah Welch Larson, "The Role of Belief Systems and Schemas in Foreign Policy Decision-Making", *Political Psychology*, Vol. 15, No. 1, Special Issue: Political Psychology and the Work of Alexander L. George, (Mar., 1994): 17-33; Stephen G. Walker and Lawrence S. Falkowski, "The Operational Codes of U.S. Presidents and Secretaries of State: Motivational Foundations and Behavioural Consequences", *Political Psychology*, Vol. 5, No. 2, (Jun., 1984): 237-266.

[20] Bingöl, "Uluslararası Krizlerde ...", 95.

[21] Cengiz Erişen, "Introduction", *Perceptions: Special Issue on Political Psychology and Foreign Policy Analysis*, Volume XVII, Number 3, (Autumn 2012): 3.

context the leaders function in, it is possible to understand how they influence the foreign policy making.[22]

Despite the comprehensive literature of Political Psychology, the research on the impact of leaders' emotions, belief systems and worldviews on Turkish foreign policy making has been an issue of concern quite recently. This, however, should not underestimate the strong role played by the individual preferences in Turkish politics which require an examination of the psychological roots of attitudes in political decision making. As Erişen points out, the earlier studies on political psychology focused much more on the rationalistic side of the decision making processes and emotions, for example, were considered to be "an obstacle that prevents citizens from engaging in rational political behaviour".[23] Today, there is a strong argument that actually emotions affect the political attitudes, preferences, decisions and information processing of the decision-makers.[24]

The acquittance of the emotions regarding policy analyses owes itself to further academic studies, which determined that emotions should not be considered as the core reason behind irrational behaviour but a strong determinant of political behaviour and judgement.[25] These studies also underlined that emotions should be examined as the complementary force of cognition in political decision making. Antonio Damasio, for example, argues that emotion is equal to delivering cognitive information directly and via feelings [26] and for Mark Johnson, "there is no cognition without emotion and we are often unaware of the emotional aspects of our thinking".[27] Within this context, a simple "like-dislike" evaluation might lead the political decision maker while determining his/her policy preferences.[28] Thus the leader's feelings about a certain event/issue might shape his political decisions, which are also under the impact of his/her perceptions towards the environment around him and his or his countries'

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[22] C. Erişen, "Introduction"..., 4.

[23] Cengiz Erişen, "Emotions as a Determinant in Turkish Political Behaviour", *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 1, (2013): 116.

[24] David Redlawsk, *Feeling Politics: Emotion in Political Information Processing*, (New York: Palgrave, 2006) and George E. Marcus, W. Russell Neuman, and Michael Mackuen, *Affective Intelligence and Political Judgement*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000).

[25] C. Erişen, "Emotions as a Determinant..., 116-117.

[26] Antonio Damasio, *Descartes' Error: Emotion, Reason and the Human Brain*, (New York: Avon, 1994): xiii.

[27] Mark Johnson, *The Meaning of the Body: Aesthetics of Human Understanding*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007): 9.

[28] C. Erişen, "Emotions as a Determinant...", 117.

place in this environment. Concordantly, Erdoğan's and Davutoğlu's beliefs about the world in general and Turkey's place in it have certain clues to understand their foreign policy behaviour in general and on Syria.

Beliefs are the causal mechanisms that shape the perceptions of reality and the decision of the leaders, while leading to cognitive and motivated biases regarding the incoming information from the surrounding social and political atmosphere. As Michael D. Young and Mark Schafer also point out, "Perceptions of reality, whether accurate or not, become reality in a decision maker's mind, and he or she has no other basis upon which to act; thus these perceptions or images necessarily influence policy".[29] Faith and emotions too play a key role in the construction of beliefs.[30]

The elite political belief has long been studied in political psychology and Alexander George was the leading name pointing out the role of political belief systems in foreign policy making.[31] Deborah Welch Larson underlines that "a political belief system refers to the individual's beliefs about the political world'.[32] And for Milton Rokeach, a belief system is "the total universe of a person's beliefs about the physical world, the social world, and the self."[33] In the light of the information above, we can defend that leaders' belief systems contain general information about the world and this information leads them while making their political decisions. Their construction of friends and enemies, threats and interests, their willingness to cooperate or clash are all related to their understanding of the outside world, the nature of politics etc.[34] This will also determine their thoughts on whether the political life is conflictual or harmonious.

In fact, looking at the conservative and pro-Islamic belief system of the recent Turkish ruling elite, one can observe their understanding of the outside world as an unfair place, full of hostilities especially against the

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[29] Michael D. Young and Mark Schafer, "Is there Method in Our Madness? Ways of Assessing Cognition in International Relations", *Mershon International Studies Review*, No.42, (1998): 17.

[30] Rose McDermott, "Political Psychology", in James W. Davis (ed.), *Psychology, Strategy and Conflict*, (London, NY: Routledge, 2013): 55.

[31] See: Alexander George, "The 'Operational Code': A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decision-Making", *International Studies Quarterly*, No. 23, (1969): 190-222, and A. George, "The Causal Nexus between Cognitive Beliefs and Decision-Making Behaviour: The 'Operational Code' Belief System", in L. Falkowski (Ed.), *Psychological Models in International Politics*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1979): 95-124.

[32] Larson, "The Role of Belief…", 7.

[33] Milton Rokeach, *Beliefs, Attitudes, and Values*, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1968): 123-124.

[34] Larson, "The Role of Belief…", 19.

Eastern nations, including Turkey. This certainly is a negative perception of the outside world, which obliges Turkey, as Erdoğan claims, to "stand tall without bullying"[35] so as to become a kind of a "smart power' holding a combination of hard and soft power, thus diplomatic and military means together.[36] For the Turkish leaders, however, this negatively perceived outside world is open to change if the countries like Turkey, as the new rising powers, can arouse the attention of the international society to object this unfairness. This leads us to the idea that Turkey is actually undertaking a liberal internationalist role, which foresees an intervention in the outside world to regulate the assumed mistakes, ill treatments and injustice around us through various means including military if necessary.

Erdoğan and Davutoğlu's Liberal Internationalist Worldview

The "worldview" or "Weltanschauung", can briefly be defined as "the overall perspective through which we see and interpret the world around us" or as "a collection of beliefs about life and the universe held by an individual or a group".[37] Through our worldviews, we make assumptions about the possible images, interactions and courses of actions of the other actors.[38] The "world" that we live in and give meaning to cannot be understood without the culture and the values we have. Relatedly, the "worldviews" of the people are also value-driven and cannot be deprived of their cultural codes, which are also under the impact of religious beliefs. For Diederik Aerts et al., every worldview also contain ideological

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[35] This has been a famous slogan of the Turkish ruling elite in the last decade to underline the belief in Turkey's strength by not ignoring the need to protect its humbleness. "Başbakan Erdoğan: Biz Dik Duracağız Ama Dikleşmeyeceğiz", *Hurriyet*, June 17, 2006, http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/basbakan-erdogan-biz-dik-duracagiz-ama-diklesmeyecegiz-4600457

[36] For details on the concept of "smart power", see: Joseph Nye, "Get Smart: Combining Hard and Soft Power", *Foreign Affairs*, (July-August 2009), https://www.foreignaffairs.com/ articles/2009-07-01/get-smart?page=1

[37] See: http://www.thefreedictionary.com/worldview. It is interesting to see that dictionaries of Oxford and Cambridge pay little attention and have no details at all on the concept of "worldview". For an interesting critical evaluation of the concept see: David K. Naugle, *Worldview: The History of a Concept*, (Michigan, Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2002).

[38] Thomas Mowle, "Worldviews in Foreign Policy: Realism, Liberalism and External Conflicts", *Political Psychology*, Vol. 24, No.3, (2003): 562.

elements.[39] As cultures are always in a process of change, the worldviews are not fixed images of the world; therefore open to new concepts of reality. [40]

Looking at their approach to the outside world, one can easily claim that despite their religiously conservative ideological background, Erdoğan and Davutoğlu have a quite critical approach towards the existing world order and the global understanding of justice. In a way, this is a resistance of "idealpolitik", which prioritizes permanent "values", to "realpolitik" that defends temporary "interests" in the outside world. Although Turkey's critiques against the international order are not something new, but dates back to the 1920s, when the issue was about the British hegemony on the League of Nations,[41] the traditional Turkish foreign policy during the 20th century is often accused by the ruling JDP of having been too much Western-oriented, ignoring the Middle East and Muslim societies. According to that claim, the traditional Turkish elite shared a view that saw Turkey as a secular state embracing the Westernization project with a cautious world view, often bound by the requirements of realpolitik.

The ruling Turkish elite's statements on the world order and justice also has a reformist soul and it will not be wrong to call them "liberal internationalists". Liberal Internationalism[42], which has been on rise since the 1990s, can be summarized as a quest to make the anarchic world gain a better order. It is against the realist view seeing the anarchy as a permanent character of the world system. Believing in a liberal world order and a free market economy, it defends that, if necessary, liberal nations should intervene in other sovereign states to liberate them. For that reason, "liberal interventionism" is considered to be a variety of "liberal internationalism" and sometimes used as equals.[43] Either they are called

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[39] Diederik Aerts, et al., *World Views: From Fragmentation to Integration*, (Brussels: Vub Press, 1994): 10.

[40] Aerts… et al., *World Views…*, 8-10.

[41] Emel Parlar Dal, "Arap Ayaklanmaları Ekseninde Türk Dış Politikasındaki Dönüşüm ve Liberal Uluslararası Düzen", in Özden Zeynep Oktav and Helin Sarı Ertem (eds.), *2000'li Yıllarda Türk Dış Politikası: Fırsatlar, Riskler ve Krizler*, (Ankara: Nobel Yayınları, 2015): 92.

[42] Dunne and McDonald, "The Politics of Liberal Internationalism…". Also see: Jahn, *Liberal Internationalism…*

[43] John Dumbrell, *Clinton's Foreign Policy: Between the Bushes, 1992-2000,* (London, NY: Routledge, 2009): 81. As a term, "liberal interventionism" was first introduced by former British PM Tony Blair in a speech he gave in Chicago in April 1999, arguing that "nation states could intervene in the affairs of another by military means to promote stability". This is also called the "Blair Doctrine",

the former or the latter, they believe in the role of international law and institutions, such as the UN and this draws the line between them and those interventionists like the American neo-conservatives, who prefer to turn a blind eye to building an international architecture as we all witnessed during the occupation of Iraq in 2003.[44]

Examining the foreign policy preferences of Erdoğan and Davutoğlu, one can see that they have a certain world image in their mind, full of unfairness that should be removed. They certainly believe in the need for the international institutions such as the UN, but the UN is a focal point of them as a platform that itself needs certain reforms to start removing the current global unfairness. Erdoğan often uses his popular statement "the world is bigger than five" in order to underline the inequality within the UN administrative system, created by the UNSC's five permanent members, all nuclear. Within Erdoğan's famous slogan above, we see a belief in "change" that can be materialized by the awareness and cooperation of the rest of the world against the leading global powers of our time.[45]

Davutoğlu too pointed out the necessity to reform the UN structure quite frequently, underlying the need for it "to become compatible with the new balance of power that should include all countries, not just the victors of World War II".[46] This is in harmony with the ideas of Barry Buzan from the Copenhagen School, who points out that the liberal international structure should not be Eurocentric but polycentric[47], and the cosmopolitan representatives of the English School, who argues for the need to make the international society more responsive to the needs of the weak and vulnerable.[48] It also overlaps another leading name, G. John Ikenberry's argument that under the changing circumstances, there is a need for a less hierarchical and more participatory liberal international order, which

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which defends that force can be used for good ends. For details of Blair's speech, see: "The Blair Doctrine", *PBS*, April 22, 1999.
http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/international-jan-june99-blair_doctrine4-23/
[44] David Bosco, "What Divides Neocons and Liberal Interventionists", *Foreign Policy*, (9 April 2012), http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/04/09/what-divides-neocons-and-liberal-interventionists/
[45] "The World is Bigger Than Five", *Daily Sabah*, February 25, 2015,
http://www.dailysabah.com/world/2015/02/25/the-world-is-bigger-than-five
[46] "The world is bigger than…"
[47] For details see: Barry Buzan, "Culture and International Society", *International Affairs*, Vol. 86, No. 1, (2010): 20.
[48] Andrew Linklater, "The English School", in Burchill et al., *Theories of International Relations…*, 110.

contains new forms of partnership.[49] As seen, Turkey's efforts to stay connected with the international system through the existing organizations, while underlining a strong need for a reform within them, is a visibly liberal internationalist attempt that believes in "intervention" (either in the system or in the states), preferably through peaceful means but also militarily if necessary.

In accordance with this reformist approach, it can also be claimed that recent Turkish ruling elite (who contained Davutoğlu as well, until the near past, both as the FM and as the PM) believe in the necessity of intervening in certain problem areas that are considered to be significant for their political priorities. The means they use to intervene in these areas are mainly humanitarian (and military, if necessary) and the end they want to achieve is to change the world order in a fairer way. It is not of course possible to claim that they are capable enough to intervene in every problem area they see. In fact, similar to the US during the Bill Clinton era, they had to make a "selective engagement", while considering where to intervene and in which way.

The Palestinian-Israeli issue, for example, is among the top priorities of Turkey since the very beginning of the JDP era. In fact, the party and its leaders owe a great amount of their popularity in the Middle East to defending the Palestinian cause, which often cause tension with Israel and affect Turkey's relations with the US. The official statements on Israel again take root from the injustice being perceived in the world's attitude towards Israel's treatment of the Palestinians. Erdoğan's scold at Israel during the Davos Summit in 2009, for example, was a reflection of these feelings on Israel's unfairness to the Palestinians, accusing Israel of "knowing well how to kill", and the world of applauding this cruelty. [50] Erdoğan went further in 2012 and called Israel a "terrorist state" after its military operation in Gaza, killing many civilians including children.[51]

These strong accusations against Israel were the extensions of Turkish ruling elite's critical approach towards the current balance of power in the Middle East and in the world. During Turkey's mediation attempts between the West and Iran regarding the nuclear crisis, one of the leading

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[49] G. John Ikenberry, *Liberal Leviathan*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011): 11.
[50] See: "Recep Erdogan Storms Out of Davos After Clash With Israeli President Over Gaza", *The Guardian*, January 30, 2009, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/jan/30/turkish-prime-minister-gaza-davos.
[51] See: "Turkey's Erdogan Calls Israel A 'Terrorist State', *Reuters*, November 19, 2012,http://www.reuters.com/article/us-palestinians-israel-turkey-idUSBRE8AI0FH20121119

points of Erdoğan was again about the lack of world's fairness towards Israel's arms with nuclear war heads, while turning Iran's efforts for nuclear energy into a problem.[52] During its mediation attempts between Iran and the West regarding the nuclear crisis, Turkey abstained in the International Atomic Energy Agency's vote in 2010, venturing to receive further accusations that it is moving away from the West. Turkish officials continued to underline their discomfort with the enforcement of the sanctions determined by the UNSC in 2010.[53] Through this way, Turkey was once again standing by the party that it perceived as the disadvantageous side under the unfair treatment of the dominant Western powers.[54] The claim "to be the voice of the weak" has long been the motto of the JDP, which was accused by the West either of having a "Neo-Ottoman" agenda or of shifting its axis towards the East.

　　Davutoğlu's definition of Turkish diplomacy in his era as "humanitarian and conscientious" is also worth mentioning in the scope of this analysis. Here we should first get into the details of what these concepts mean. The definition of the word "humanitarian" is "being involved in or connected with improving people's lives and reducing suffering"[55] and "conscientious" is the adjective form of "conscience" which is "a person's moral sense of right and wrong, acting as a guide to one's behaviour".[56] Although the dictionaries have certain definitions, both "humanitarian" and "conscientious" are quite ambiguous adjectives as their definitions are open to discussion. What is "humanitarian" and "conscientious" can change from one person to other. The states' understanding of involving outside affairs with "humanitarian" and "conscientious" reasons can also differ as they might have different moralities or might give morality a

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[52] "Erdoğan: Kimse İsrail'deki Nükleer Silahların Hesabını Sormuyor" (No one asks the account of the nuclear arms in Israel), *T24*, March 30, 2012.

[53] "İran Nükleer Krizinde Gözler Türkiye Üzerinde", *Deutsche Welle Türkçe*, April 21, 2010. http://www.dw.com/tr/iran-n%C3%BCkleer-krizinde-g%C3%B6zler-t%C3%BCrkiye-%C3%BCzerinde/a-5489382

[54] It is worth reminding here the "Sèvres Syndrome", which is shown as one of the primary psychological causes behind Turkey's negative perception of the West despite its more than a century-long tendency to be a part of it. As known, the Treaty of Sèvres imposed by the Allied Forces in 1920 brought the partitioning of the Ottoman Empire after being defeated in World War I. Since then, the treaty is believed to be the sign of the Turkish lack of trust towards the Western powers. See: Özlem Tür and Ahmet Han, "2000'li Yıllarda Türk Dış Politikasını Anlamak", in Özden Zeynep Oktav and Helin Sarı Ertem (eds.), *2000'li Yıllarda Türk Dış Politikası…*, 15.

[55] http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/humanitarian

[56] http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/conscience#conscience__2

secondary place. As is known, realists believe that there is not any place for morality in the international affairs and even warn the leaders that they might risk the survival of the state, if they adhere to moral principles.[57] The idealists or liberals, however, often underline the need for universal principles,[58] among which we can place morality and conscience as well.

During his era, Davutoğlu's insistence to give a value-based character to Turkish foreign policy points out another theoretical discussion in the IR discipline in which the poststructuralists warn about the impact of the "power" and "power balances" in determining what is universally good and right.[59] As Alex J. Bellamy and Nicholas J. Wheeler underline, in the absence of consensus on the universal principles, such as which principles should govern the right of humanitarian intervention, the most powerful states would impose their own culturally determined moral values on weaker members of the international society.[60] This makes us understand Turkey's efforts to be a "smart power" in the international arena combining soft and hard powers. In fact one should accept that, even to impose an idealist approach for a fairer world, states need to be strong. Parallel to this view, which does not ignore the role of power, Davutoğlu imagined a new world order where Turkey would become a "centre", a key regional and international player rather than just being a "bridge" (between the West and the East), which underestimates Turkey's potential on the world stage attributing it a relatively passive role.

Davutoğlu's special emphasis on a moral foreign policy was an ambitious target accompanied by a reformist approach that had continuously shed light on the existing world order and justice, and the great powers' "unfair" treatment of the "weak". According to the Turkish Foreign Ministry, "humanitarian diplomacy reflects the compassionate and competent character of the Republic of Turkey and depicts the human oriented nature of the Turkish foreign policy, which merges Turkey's interests with its values. Through these means, Turkish foreign policy claims to take human dignity as a point of reference and remains

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[57] Tim Dunne and Brian C. Schmidh, "Realism", in John Baylis, Steve Smith and Patricia Owens, *The Globalization of World Politics*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011): 86.

[58] Lene Hansen, "Poststructuralism", in J. Baylis, S. Smith and P. Owens, *The Globalization of…*, 176.

[59] Hansen, "Poststructuralism"…, 176.

[60] Alex J. Bellamy and Nicholas J. Wheeler, "Humanitarian Intervention in World Politics", in J. Baylis, S. Smith and P. Owens, *The Globalization of…*, 514.

determined to use all its means and capabilities in this direction".[61] The concept is also summarized as: "persuading decision makers and other related actors to respect human rights and other humanitarian values".[62] For Davutoğlu, the main priority of the humanitarian diplomacy was claimed to be not the state but citizens, and Turkey, was expected to be interested in urgent humanitarian crisis in conflict-ridden areas[63] (from Syria and Iraq nearby to Somalia and Myanmar far away). As he underlined, "wherever there is an oppressed, a suffering person, Turkey is definitely there and this diplomacy is called a humanitarian, a conscientious diplomacy".[64]

Similarly, Erdoğan's call to end Western dominance and to make the Muslims return to the world stage also puts emphasis on Turkey's ambitious foreign policy and reflects a quest for a much equal share in the global decision-making process. His statements on 6 April 2016 have quite impressive clues about his critiques against recent global order and justice. He underlined that "we (as the Turkish ruling elite) demand a re-structuring of the international organizations on equitable basis as the destiny of all countries is bound to what the 5 permanent members of the UNSC will say". Erdoğan specifically asked "can there be justice [under such conditions]?" He also criticized about having no Muslim country in the UNSC, whose permanent members are "all Christian" (as he claims). Asking "Where is the freedom of faith on the world?", he especially underlined the need for an equal representation of faiths and geographies in the UN, which should definitely be redesigned. For Erdoğan, "7 billion world population cannot bear this injustice, unfairness, tyranny and imbalance."[65]

This justice-driven foreign policy of the recent Turkish ruling elite once again contradicts with the realist worldview, which sees justice and ethics as subjects that are irrelevant to global politics. Realists are much

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[61] "Final Declaration of the Fifth Annual Ambassadors Conference: Humanitarian Diplomacy", 2-7 January 2013,
http://www.mfa.gov.tr/final_declaration_of_the_fifth_annual_ambassadors_confer
ence.en.mfa
[62] Murat Yeşiltaş and Ali Balcı, "Dictionary of Turkish Foreign Policy in the AK Party Era: A Conceptual Map", *SAM Papers*, No.7, (May 2013): 22.
[63] Yeşiltaş and Balcı, "Dictionary of Turkish…", 22.
[64] "Davutoğlu, Azerbaycan Diplomasi Akademisinde Konuştu", *Haberler.com*, December 4, 2015, http://www.haberler.com/davutoglu-azerbaycan-diplomasi-akademisinde-7938283-haberi/
[65] For the details of all above mentioned statements of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, see his address to the headmen on 6 April 2016 through https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FLsOT2-A-Hk

more concerned about national interests which have nothing to do with justice or ethics. Liberals, however, criticize this immoral power politics, showing it as the primary source of conflict and violence. In this point of view, the idea of global politics take root in universal moral values that will be valid for all human beings regardless of their nationalities or citizenships.[66] This liberal argument too coincides with Turkish ruling elite's understanding of the world around us.

Erdoğan's and Davutoğlu's belief in regional cooperation and interdependence, which are also the primary principles of liberal internationalism, were the leading motivations behind Turkey's efforts to reset the relations with its neighbours through diplomatic and economic means. This approach, which is usually called by them as a "win-win" situation for the parties involved, achieved its peak level in the surprising rapprochement of Turkey with northern Iraqi Kurds, for example, although it did not bring the expected positive outcome regarding the Armenian or Cyprus problems. Similarly, Turkey's attempts to regulate the relations with the Bashar al-Assad regime in Syria in the first decade of the 2000s have also been heavily damaged by the start of the civil war in 2011. As Michael Brecher underlined, the catalyst to a foreign policy crisis might be a destabilizing event in the international system[67] and in accordance with that estimation, the civil war in Syria turned into a foreign policy crisis, requiring a careful assessment of Turkey, which sees its national values and interests as being under threat.

The Syria Crisis: A New Catalyst to Turkey's Rising Disbelief in Current World Order

The Arab uprisings and the following Syrian civil war have certainly decreased Turkey's commitment to and belief in the current international order.[68] In fact, Erdoğan and Davutoğlu's target to turn Turkey into a liberal internationalist soft power in its region faced the biggest challenge with the escalation of these unexpected regional uprisings. As "winning the hearts and minds" of the Syrian people, rather than supporting the existing regime has become the primary preference of the Turkish ruling elite (though there are discussions on who the "Syrian people" actually are

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[66] For details see: Andrew Heywood, *Küresel Siyaset (Global Politics)*, (Istanbul: Adres, 2013): 48.

[67] Michael Brecher and Jonathan Wilkenfeld, *A Study of Crisis*, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1997): 3.

[68] Parlar Dal, "Arap Ayaklanmaları Ekseninde…", 96.

and what they really want), Turkey-Syria relations received the strongest blow at the official level. Erdoğan and Assad, who once spent their holiday together[69], have gradually turned into bitter enemies. Erdoğan, as well as Davutoğlu, called Assad of being the murderer of his own people, and Assad heavily criticized Turkey's intervention in the Syrian civil war.

Turkey's reaction to the Syrian civil war was not independent from its observations on the possible birth of the "new Middle East". In his prominent parliamentary address on 26 April 2012, Davutoğlu claimed that "Turkey will be the owner, the pioneer and the spokesman of the new Middle East that is being born". His following words were the clear signs of Turkey's new reformist approach towards Syria as well as the Middle East:

> "The voice of humanity's conscience on the Syria issue is Turkey under the JDP rule. This voice is a virtue above all kinds of political calculations. This voice is the requirement of our understanding of humanity, the interpretation of history and future imagination… As Turkey, we will continue to manage the great wave of change in the Middle East… Similar to the "new Turkey" claim in our mind, we also have a "new Middle East" claim. And on the basis of this claim, there is a new peace order, which is not based on ethnic and sectarian differences but on fraternity. Regardless of who says what, the pioneer and the spokesman of this order will be Turkey… The future is not in archaic regimes but in the will of the people."[70]

Since 2012, the mutual relations have become worse. Bombed attacks in various parts of Turkey committed either by ISIS (al-Dawla al-Islamiya al-Iraq al-Sham/Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) or the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party/Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan) increased the tension and the Syria crisis in Turkish foreign policy has gained a further aspect especially after Turkey's military intervention in Syria since August 2016. Turkey declared that the "Operation Euphrates Shield" was to fight against ISIS and the PYD (Partiya Yekîtiya Demokrat/Democratic Union Party), which is claimed to be a direct extension of the PKK, which Turkey has been fighting against since 1984. Erdoğan further defined the purpose of this Turkish military intervention as "ending the rule of the cruel Assad". He also added that "Turkey had no interest in Syrian territory" and that they

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[69] "Hem Tatil Hem Siyaset Için Bodrum'da", *Hurriyet*, August 5, 2008.
[70] "PM Ahmet Davutoğlu's address to the Turkish Parliament on 26 April 2012", https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xCYFcCnmYBA

are there "to bring justice" [71], which once again brings forward Turkey's reformist approach to global or regional politics.

Actually, the historical baggage of Turkish-Syrian relations was already full of bitter memories, which eased the transformation from amity to enmity since the start of the civil war. Despite the Ottoman attempts to crush the Arab nationalism, countries such as Syria, Iraq and Saudi Arabia succeeded in their efforts to liberate themselves with the help of the Western powers. For a long time, Turkey had the feeling of "being betrayed by the Arabs" due to their uprising against the Muslim rule of the Ottomans. This might be one of Turkey's subconscious reasons in trying not to intervene in the Middle Eastern affairs during the 20th century. Although Erdoğan and Davutoğlu conducted an assertive foreign policy underlining the need to make Turkey turn its face towards the Middle East as well as the West, this negative historical baggage can easily come to the agenda whenever Turkey goes through a problem with its Middle Eastern counterparts. In other words, current Turkish ruling elite's positive perception of the Ottoman legacy continues to face the Arab nationalist challenge which constructs itself on a negative perception of the Ottoman era. This was the reason why Syrian leader Bashar al-Assad, similar to some Western counterparts, often accuse Turkish leaders of "seeing neo-Ottoman dreams" regarding their intervention in the Syrian civil war.[72]

Negative baggage between Turkey and Syria is not limited to the Ottoman legacy but contains elements from the near past. Bashar al-Assad's predecessor, his father Hafez al-Assad had long pursued a tense relationship with Turkey due to his shelter for the PKK. His motto was "the enemy of my enemy is my friend"[73], thus his relationship with Turkey was always in limbo. Turkey's 1998 threat to use force against Syria to prevent his support for the PKK was a serious sign of a possible close combat between the two parties. Turkey and Syria got into a relatively moderate relationship after Hafez Assad's deportation of the PKK leader

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[71] "President Erdogan: Turkey intervened in Syria to end the 'rule of the cruel Assad'", *The Independent*, November 30, 2016. http://www.independent. co.uk/news/ world/middle-east/president-erdogan-turkey-syria-assad-intervention-comments-kurds-isis-a7446956.html

[72] "Esad: Türkiye'nin Derdi 'Yeni Osmanlı' Olmak", *Hurriyet*, September 20, 2012.

[73] Osman Metin Öztürk, *Dış Politikada Kriz Yönetimi*, (Ankara: Odak, 2004): 156.

Abdullah Öcalan in the same year due to Turkey's political and military pressure.[74]

Despite this negative background, Turkey's efforts to revise its relations with the Middle East, including Syria, in the first decade of the 2000s received great regional and international interest. Relying on Davutoğlu's core principle of "Zero Problems with Neighbours", Turkey looked for all the means to advance its relations with this neighbouring region. With its 910 km-long border with Turkey, Syria has been one of the target neighbours to improve the relations through cooperation and interdependence. Starting from the first years of the JDP, Turkey gradually consolidated its relations with Damascus, relying on Davutoğlu's famous rhetoric of "common history and common culture". As a result, the two countries' trade volume tripled by 2009, reaching 1.8 billion dollars.[75] Mutual relations were in such a positive mood within such a short time that the two countries, which were at odds in the 1990s due to the PKK problem, started making common cabinet meetings that saw fighting against terrorism as one of their top priorities.

This surprisingly bright era, however, did not go on for a long time. The spread of the Arab Spring to Syria in 2011 alarmed Turkey similar to many other countries in the region. Turkey, which sees itself as the representative of the "sufferers", soon had to make a choice between the Syrian regime and its opponents whom have been asking for reforms. In a way, Turkey was in a position to make a choice between its ideals and commitments.[76] The ideals required the Turkish leaders to take side with the opponents, whom they often refer as the people of Syria, and the commitments required them to support the existing regime. Erdoğan and Davutoğlu preferred to take side with the opponents (or the "Syrian people" as they call)[77] after spending around 9 months to persuade the

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[74] For the details of a study on Turkish practice of coercive diplomacy, see: Fuat Aksu, *Türk Dış Politikasında Zorlayıcı Diplomasi*, (Istanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 2008).

[75] In the end of the 1990s, the trade volume between Turkey and Syria was around 500 million dollars. See: "Türkiye-Suriye arasında Üçüncü Demiryolu Sınır Kapısı Açıldı", *T.C. Devlet Demiryolları*, January 19, 2010, http://www.tcdd.gov.tr/home/detail/?id=360

[76] Helin Sarı Ertem, "Arab Spring and the 'Regionalization' of Turkey's Kurdish Problem: Possible Outcomes for Turkey and the GCC", in Özden Zeynep Oktav and Helin Sarı Ertem (eds.), *GCC-Turkey Relations: Dawn of a New Era,* (Cambridge: GRC Publishing, 2015): 225.

[77] This act coincides with N. Atmaca's claim that "Davutoğlu's humanitarian diplomacy refers to the provision of humanitarian aid (and the funding of Islamic projects and NGOs), coupled with a rhetoric that appeals directly to the 'Arab street',

Assad regime but failing to do that. [78] Seeing that they were not able to make an impact on the Syrian regime despite various friendly warnings, Turkish ruling elite closed themselves cognitively to any policy change that might approach them with Assad. Their personal anger and feeling of betrayal, as well as the above mentioned negative historical baggage, played a role in this cognitive closure against the Syrian regime.[79] This has expanded the crisis and complicated its management.

Turkey soon applied an "open door" policy and turned into a safe haven for more than 2.75 million Syrian refugees.[80] This was a reflection of Turkey's "humanitarian and conscientious diplomacy, which puts the people of another country at the centre and gives priority to their survival above [Turkey's] national interests".[81] However, that has turned the Syria crisis into a "domestic problem of Turkey".[82]

The issue has also affected the relations with Europe. For a long time, Turkey looked for the necessary means to cope with the financial and social burden of the refugees and often felt that it was left alone by Europe in sharing this burden. Since the beginning of the war, Turkey claims to have spent more than 10 billion dollars for the Syrian refugees it received,

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instead of relying only on a relationship with a country's autocratic leadership." Nuray Atmaca, "The AKP's Worldview: Why Turkey Won't Change Its Foreign Policy", *Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP)*, 10 November 2015, http://www.gcsp.ch/News-Knowledge/Global-insight/The-AKP-s-Worldview -Why-Turkey-Won-t-Change-Its-Foreign-Policy

[78] For details see: Özden Zeynep Oktav, "The Impact of Syrian Uprising on Turkey-Syria Relations", *Orient 3,* (2012): 58-63.

[79] As Hermann and Hermann underlines, if the leaders as autonomous decision makers, have a strong worldview, from among the information received, they start looking for the evidences to prove their own thoughts and beliefs. It is possible for such leaders to neglect and underestimate the data that stay out of their own thoughts and belief systems. See: Margaret G. Hermann and Charles F. Hermann, "Who Makes Foreign Policy Decisions and How: An Empirical Inquiry", *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 33, No.4, (December 1989): 365.

[80] For an updated state of the Syrian refugees in Turkey, see: "Turkey's Refugee Crisis: The Politics of Permanence", *International Crisis Group's Report*, November 30, 2016. https://www.crisisgroup.org/europe-central-asia/western-europemediterranean/turkey/turkey-s-refugee-crisis-politics-permanence

[81] "Turkey Unveils 'Humanitarian Diplomacy'", *Turkish Weekly*, 11 January 2013. http://www.turkishweekly.net/2013/01/11/news/turkey-unveils-humanitarian-diplomacy/

[82] "Syria is Our Domestic Problem", *AK Party-News in English*, August 7, 2011, http://www.akparti.org.tr/ english/haberler/syria-is-our-domestic-problem/11535

which puts it at odds especially with the EU countries.[83] The EU promise to provide 3+3 billion Euro was far from helping Turkey in this quest to ease the refugee problem. A possible freeze in Turkey-EU relations might totally push a cooperation on refugees out of agenda. Up until this chapter is written, Ankara's call to the international institutions, including the UN and NATO, to intervene in this crisis and to move Assad from power has not yet brought a concrete result despite the much visible effort of the international society, including the countries which are mainly involved in this crisis, namely Russia, Turkey, Iran and the USA, to achieve a peaceful solution in Syria.

A Conceptual Analysis of Davutoğlu's Syria Rhetoric

This part of the chapter is formulated to see whether we can track the signs of a liberal internationalist worldview in the political speeches of former PM Ahmet Davutoğlu especially on those containing the word "Syria"; and if so, with which terminology this liberal internationalist worldview is expressed by him. The method that is used is "conceptual analysis", which is one of the two types of content analysis (the other one is relational analysis), and examines the existence and frequency of concepts in various means of communication.[84] In a way, it is an unobtrusive or non-reactive method of social research that is chosen to enable us to observe which words are used frequently and in which context and here in this chapter, the target is limited to Davutoğlu's political speech texts that contain the word "Syria". Although President Erdoğan has certainly been a significant figure in Turkish foreign policy making, the assessment of his foreign policy rhetoric has been left to a further study, through which there can be a chance to compare and contrast the two leaders in detail.

As far as this study could reveal, the basic terminology used by Davutoğlu in his speeches containing the word "Syria", represents the basic characteristics of his beliefs, emotions and worldview which are nourished by a "Moral politik" (or an Ideal politik) based on values, rather than a "Realpolitik" shaped by interests. Regarding the critiques that he had actually pursued an adventurist foreign policy in the Middle East,

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[83] "Erdoğan'dan AB'ye Mülteci Krizi Tepkisi: Alnımızda Enayi Yazmıyor", *BBC Türkçe*, February 11, 2016.
[84] For details on content analysis and its various types, see for example: B. Devi Prasad, "Content Analysis: A Method in Social Science Research", in D.K. Lal Das and Vanila Bhaskaran (eds.), *Research Methods for Social Work*, (New Delhi: Rawat, 2008): 173-193.

Davutoğlu often claimed that he had a value-driven agenda instead of an interest-driven one.[85] In addition to that, he did not accept that it has been pursuing a "sectarian" foreign policy in the Middle East and Syria either. Similar to Davutoglu, the other names of the Turkish ruling elite too often deny JDP's allegedly sectarian inclinations and the accusations that it has been giving support to the radical Sunni and Salafi groups to fight against Assad. They also deny that Turkey suffers from an imperial overreach in Syria, which might finally bring it a defeat. The outcomes of our word frequency analysis have supported these responses, but also brought forward some interesting aspects regarding Davutoğlu's world view that believes in the "construction" of a new order and gives Turkey a strong role in it. Let us now briefly explain how we shaped our research.

To make the conceptual analysis of Davutoğlu's speeches, we focused on his published speeches, which we could achieve through the internet. To analyse this unstructured data, we used "text mining" as a scientific method based on statistics. Text mining is a relatively new area of computer science research that tries to solve the crisis of information overload.[86] Although the current technical developments allow us to store large amounts of data, including those on the political events and the ruling elite, to absorb and process this information is a difficult job. As Feldman and Sanger underline, text mining helps us to pre-process document collections and visualize the results of that.[87]

The computer program that was used for the text mining in this research was "R Statistical Programming Language". This program was chosen, thinking that it can be used easily in word frequency analysis as it has a text mining library. Some characteristics of the program, such as stemming, which are peculiar to some languages, were not used. We have only used its statistical ability based on word frequency. The stemming peculiar to Turkish was made by going through all the words; which is quite time consuming and is not an easy task and this might have created a slight margin of error in our results, which is the soft belly of content analysis.

Our data mainly covers the speech texts of Davutoğlu which we could achieve through the internet regarding two periods; 1) his foreign ministry between May 2, 2009 and August 28, 2014, and 2) the beginning of his prime ministry, which began on August 28, 2014 (and ended unexpectedly

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[85] "Başbakan: Çıkar Odaklı Politika İzlemiyoruz", *HaberA*, July 19, 2013.
[86] Ronen Feldman and James Sanger, *Text Mining Handbook: Advanced Approaches in Analysing Unstructured Data*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): x.
[87] Feldman and Sanger, *Text Mining*…, x.

on May 24, 2016 with his resignation after a consultation with President
Erdoğan). Although the data that we gathered from these two eras are not
equal, the two eras were purposely kept separate in order to figure out if
there is any visible change in the characteristics of the words he used. The
following part will first summarize the basic findings we had achieved
through text mining during Davutoğlu's Foreign Ministry and then will
give our findings regarding his prime ministry.

In this first era, 84 texts on Turkish foreign policy were achieved and
41 of them contained the word "Syria".[88] While gathering the necessary
data, we chose the texts which are written in Turkish. The interviews, public
statements and other speeches that were given visually were intentionally
left out. Going through the written material that we could gather, we made a
word frequency analysis and tried to understand Davutoğlu's main approach
and sources of motivation on the issue before and after the Syria crisis.

In the 41 official texts of Davutoğlu, containing the word "Syria", it
has been found out that the most frequent words (except the common
linguistic words such as "one", "all", "for" - in Turkish "bir", "bütün",
"için"- etc.) are derived from the words "**human**" (insan), "**Turkey**"
(Türkiye), "**history**" (tarih) and "**Syria**" (Suriye). Table 5.1. summarizes the
most frequent words in the texts that contain the word "Syria", together with
the frequency of the words in the rest of Davutoğlu's foreign ministry
speech texts that do not contain the word "Syria".

The total number of words that are derived from the word "**human**"
(including humanitarian - insani) is 1082 from the texts containing the
word "Syria" and 203 in the other texts. For the word "**history**", the ratio
is 690/214 (the first set of numbers refers to the Syria texts and the second
to the others that do not contain the word "Syria"). This shows the
significance given by Davutoğlu to the concepts of "human" and "history"
while formulating his foreign policy.

Among the most frequent words after "history", one can see "**Islam**",
which takes place for 336 times in his texts that contained the word
"Syria" and for only 16 times in his other texts. We also see "**civilization**"
(medeniyet) as a quite frequent word. For this word, the ratio that we have
is 275/23. Similarly, the word "**Muslim**" is also a very frequent one in the
texts that contain the word "Syria", being used for 195 times. The
frequency of that word on the other texts is just 10, showing a strong
relationship between Davutoğlu's perception of the Syria crisis and
Muslimhood.

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[88] See Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs' web page on Davutoğlu's speeches as
the Foreign Minister, through: http://www.mfa.gov.tr/sub.tr.mfa?52e904f9-78af-
49b3-89b5-5b4bdb38d51f

Table 5.1. Conceptual Analysis of Davutoğlu's 84 Speeches btw. 2009-2014

Word	Word Frequency in Speech Texts Containing "Syria"	Word Frequency in Speech Texts not Containing "Syria"
Human	1082	203
Turkey	985	402
History	690	214
Syria	661	1
Europe	506	213
City	444	49
Nation	440	159
People	419	101
Culture	372	206
Islam	336	16
Brother	334	144
Civilisation	275	23
Construction	241	22
Africa	225	193
Muslim	195	10
Jerusalem	186	0
Order	182	10
Restoration	154	1
Asia	139	54
Justice	100	7
Cruelty	89	0
Refugee	79	1
West	71	14
Sunni	71	2
Assad	50	1
Guest	42	20
Cruel	25	1

Compared to the previously mentioned words such as "civilization" and "Islam", the word "**Sunni**" does not have a very high frequency, with a ratio of 71/2. However, the ratio of the word "**culture**" (kültür), which is one of the leading proponents of Davutoğlu's Middle East approach, is very high, 372/206. The ratio of the word "**people**" (halk) is 419/101, another high ranking concept often mentioned by Davutoğlu to explain the direction of his foreign policy. The ratio of the word "**nation**" (millet) is

again high, 440/159, possibly showing his perception of the Syrian civil war also as a matter of the Turkish nation.

The ratio of the word "**cruelty**" (zulüm and zulm) is 46 + 43/0 and the ratio for the word "**cruel**" (zalim) is 25/1, which signify that the words cruelty and cruel was almost fully used to refer the Syria related issues. The ratio of the word "**Assad**" is quite low; 25/0 (Esad) and 25/1 (Esed). This shows that PM Davutoğlu constructs Turkey's Syria policy with a content that is driven mainly from the concepts such as history, Islam, Muslim, civilization, cruelty etc. rather than directly referring to Assad.

It is also seen that Davutoğlu has a special emphasis on the word "**city**" (şehir) in his texts on Syria. The words derived from "city" is used for 444 times in the Syria texts and for 49 times in other texts.[89] Reminding his famous "strategic depth" doctrine, which is considered to be a geo-strategic evaluation of Turkey and its place on the world, it is also seen in his speech texts containing "Syria" that Davutoğlu has quite a large number of geographic terms and geo-political expressions in his speech texts. "**Europe**", for example, is used for 506 times in his speeches that contain "Syria" and for 213 times in his other speeches; the ratio of "**Africa**" is 225/193 and of "**Asia**" is 139/54. In addition, the ratio for the word "**West**" is 71/14. Interestingly, the word "**Jerusalem**" (Kudüs) is also used quite frequently in Davutoğlu's speeches containing "Syria", which has a ratio of 186/0.[90] Coming to one of the most significant aspects of the Syria crisis, we see the word "**refugee**" (mülteci) for 79 times in Davutoğlu's speeches containing "Syria" and just for once in his other speeches. The frequency of the word "**brother**" (kardeş) is also very high (334/144) and the word "**guest**" (misafir), which was used by Turkey for a long time to define the Syrian refugees, was used for 42/20.

The word "**restoration**" (restorasyon) is also a very frequent word in the Syria texts, with the numbers 154/1. Relatedly, the ratio for the word "**construct**" (inşa) is 241/22. The statistics we achieved for the words "**Order**" and "**Justice**", the two pioneering aspects of Davutoğlu's

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[89] Davutoğlu is well known for his interest in the conceptual and theoretical analyses of "cities" and "civilisations" and the relationship between them. For details see his latest book: Ahmet Davutoğlu, *Medeniyetler ve Şehirler*, İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2016.

[90] The significant place that Jerusalem (Kudüs) holds in Davutoğlu's belief system is also reflected in his latest book. It is interesting to see that the titles he used in this book for Jerusalem (Kudüs) and Damascus (Şam) both contain the word "grief" (hüzün). The same grief is felt in his words for Aleppo as well. See: Davutoğlu, *Medeniyetler ve…*, 30-31 and 42-43.

worldview are about 182/10 for "order", and 100/7 for "justice", which are also quite high numbers.

Table 5.2. Conceptual Analysis of Davutoğlu's 10 Speeches Containing "Syria" btw. 2014 – 2016

Word	Word Frequency in Speech Texts Containing "Syria"
Turkey	280
Citizen	180
Terror	118
Human	100
Brother	96
Europe	38
History	30
City	18
Construction	13
Culture	12
Guest	10
Cruelty	8
Order	8
Civilisation	7
Islam	4
Assad	4
Africa	3
Asia	3
Cruel	3
Justice	3
Sunni	2
Muslim	1
Jerusalem	0
Restoration	0

As mentioned earlier, these are the word frequency results we could achieve from Davutoğlu's speeches as the foreign minister. For that we went through 10 of his addresses to the nation, titled "Yeni Türkiye Yolunda" (On the Way towards New Turkey), all published online by the Press Centre of the Turkish Prime Ministry between September 30, 2014 -

March 31, 2016.[91] Through this additional data, we were able to compare
and contrast, though within a limited scope, Davutoğlu's most frequent
terminology during his two different posts, regarding the texts containing
the word "Syria". We did not find it very meaningful to compare his
speeches containing the word "Syria" with those not containing it, as the
number of the speeches without "Syria" only numbered 2 within the
limited time and scope we gave to his speech texts in prime ministry.
Further studies can improve this side of the research.

As seen in the Table 5.2, in 10 of his prime ministerial speeches that
contain the word "Syria", "**Turkey**" (Türkiye - for 280 times) is the first,
"**citizen**" (vatandaş, for 180 times) is the second and "**terror**" (for 118
times) is the third most frequent word. This points out a different outcome
compared to his foreign ministerial texts. This is certainly a reflection of
the changing circumstances in Turkey due to the rising terror activities in
and outside of the country and their close relationship with the incidents in
Syria. We should not of course ignore the impact of the mainly domestic
focus of the prime ministerial agenda either. Looking at these texts, we can
also see the certain decrease in the usage of the words "Islam" (only for 4
times in 10 speeches) and "Muslim" (only for 1 time).

There is also a limited usage of the word "Africa" (3 times) and "Asia"
(3 times), while the word "**Europe**" is still being frequently used for 38
times. The high frequency of the word "Europe" is certainly related to the
"refugee" problem between Turkey and Europe. The words that are derived
from the word "**human**" (including humanitarian) are also ranking high
(100 in total); however, "history", for example, is not among the top ten
words (for 30 times only), different than his foreign ministerial texts we
examined before. There is also a dramatic decrease in the usage of the words
"civilization" (for 7 times), "culture" (12) "cruel" (3) and "cruelty" (8). The
word "Sunni", however, is again not very frequent (for 2 times only) as this
was the case while he was the Foreign Minister. The words "Esad" is again
less frequent (Esad for 3 times - Esed for once). The words "**brother**" (for
96 times) is still ranking high, while there is a decrease in the usage of
"guest" (for 10 times). This can be a reflection of the increasing belief in
Turkey that the Syrian refugees are a permanent reality of Turkey now,
instead of the previous idea that they will be hosted temporarily here.

Interestingly, there is a decrease in the word "city" (for 18 times) with
no mentioning of "Jerusalem" this time. The word "restoration" does not
exist at all and there is a deep fall in the usage of the word "construction"
(for 13 times). The words "order" and "justice" are again quite visibly less
frequent ("order" for 8 times and "justice" for 3 times only). The outcomes

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[91] http://www.bbm.gov.tr/Forms/pgNews.aspx?Type=4

we achieved signify certain convergences and divergences between Davutoğlu's Syria rhetoric during his two different posts within two different time periods and conjunctures. The excel tables above are prepared in order to show these converging and diverging points through the words we gathered. Relying these tables, we can claim that there is a relative decrease in Davutoğlu's liberal internationalist approach towards Syria when we compare his foreign ministerial and prime ministerial terms. In a way, his assertive and ambitious tone that strongly favoured a reformist change in Syria is not as strong as it was in previous years, although his pro-"Syrian people" approach continues. We come to that point, especially seeing the decrease in the frequency of the words "culture", "civilization", "city", "restoration", "construction", "order" and "justice" etc., while preserving the high frequency of the words "nation", "refugee", "brother" etc.

As we mentioned before, all these comments have a certain margin of error, as they were made by gathering the necessary data through a statistical method, word frequency, which was practiced without focusing on the subject or the main angle of the speech texts we examined. It also tends to disregard various other elements behind these texts, such as who wrote them under which conditions. However, still, we could achieve significant indicators that allowed us to think on the relationship between the Syria policy of Davutoğlu and his worldview and beliefs. Even this, we believe, can stimulate further quantitative studies.

Conclusion

This chapter is a reflection of a humble effort to understand the possible links between leaders' foreign policy making and their worldviews as well as their belief systems. It gained strength from various studies within the discipline of Political Psychology, which searches the influence of the cognitive structures, heuristics, leadership styles and motives of the leaders on their political decisions. Within this scope, the psychological states of individuals are closely related to how they perceive the world around them and shape their foreign policies accordingly.

In this respect, Turkish ruling elite's beliefs and worldviews have also been highly influential on their political decisions. Among them, the two leading names, President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and former FM and former PM Ahmet Davutoğlu's worldviews, which take root from a "conservative democrat" vision (as they call), seem to have a quite critical and reformist approach towards the outside world. They believe in the necessity of changing the international system by renewing the existing

international order and justice. The UN has been one of the most criticized international organizations, which in Turkey's eyes, is far from bringing solutions to the existing crises of the world, including the unequal treatment of the Muslim communities such as the Palestinians. This liberal internationalist/interventionist worldview has become much more visible especially by the beginning of the Syrian civil war that forced Turkey to make a choice between its ideals and commitments. Soon after, "moral politik" won and Turkey took side with the Syrian people rather than backing the Assad regime. This intervening attitude, which gained a military tone by mid-2016 as well as the humanitarian one that has been mentioned since the beginning of the crisis, is the pioneer of Turkey's Syria policy. In fact the crisis has turned into a "domestic problem", as Erdoğan claims, which threatens Turkey's very core interests such as national security and territorial integrity.

By the end of 2016, the Syria crisis is far from a solution and Turkey is much more involved in the increasing level of violence inside and outside of its borders. The terror attacks of ISIS and the PKK as well as the ruined Kurdish solution process have been the biggest challenges before Turkey's future targets which was once summarized by Davutoğlu as "zero problems with neighbours". This certainly affected the ruling elite's political discourse. Examining Davutoğlu's Syria rhetoric in this chapter through text mining although with various technical and methodological shortcomings, signals of this change were already evident in Davutoğlu's Syria speeches between his foreign ministry and prime ministry. Even though he protected his pro-"Syrian people" approach, the words that reflect his liberal internationalist/interventionist worldview were slightly decreasing in his prime ministerial post.

One can consider that as a sign of a loss of hope for a "fair" solution in Syria, which has long been favoured by the Turkish ruling elite, who consider themselves as the "pioneer" of change in the Middle East and the "spokesman" of the Syrian people. Turkey's military intervention to Syria by August 2016 can be a further step of this assertive but risky policy choice, which continues to underline the aims of "bringing justice to Syria" and "ousting tyrant Assad from power", although with a decreasing tone. Whether Turkey will be influential on ending this crisis positively is not yet clear. But there is a growing regional and international effort to find a peaceful solution to Syria.

CHAPTER SIX

A HUMANITARIAN FOREIGN POLICY CRISIS: THE 1989 MIGRATION OF THE BULGARIAN TURKS[*]

ZEHRA GÜRSOY

Introduction

In this chapter a humanitarian crisis; the 1989 exodus of the Bulgarian Turks will be examined from the foreign policy aspects of the two neighbouring countries, Turkey and Bulgaria. The aim of the chapter is to highlight how the construction of the "Bulgarian identity" changed the relations between Turkey and Bulgaria from "good neighbourhood" to "enmity" and caused a significant foreign policy crisis on the Turkish side. Regarding these questions, the chapter explains the impact of the individual, domestic and systemic factors respectively, in the formation and the management of this crisis and helps us to evaluate whether Turkey's crisis management strategy was successful or not during this incident. As the data in the chapter presents, the military violence is not a precondition for a foreign policy crisis, thus the humanitarian issues alone can be sufficient to trigger a crisis between neighbouring countries.

The term "exodus" has different interpretations in separate areas. [1] In migration/refugee literature, it indicates oppression, flight and establishment of pure homeland.[2] This chapter uses "exodus" to define a massive excursion of people, who were separated from their homelands by

[1] Exodus is a book in Bible, also it refers the departure of Jews from Egypt and literally it means 'going out'. June, 10, 2015. http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=exodus
[2] Jonathan Boyarin, "Reading Exodus into History", *New Literary History,* Vol. 23, No. 3, History, Politics, and Culture (Summer, 1992): 525.

psychological, physical, social and economic enforcements. According to Gönül Erhan, who studied the exodus of the Bulgarian Turks, the term also indicates *"nation-building processes in population displacement."*[3] Regarding the experience of the Bulgarian Turks, one can say that first, they were persecuted systemically; but when they resisted this persecution, they were forced to leave Bulgaria. The exodus of the Bulgarian Turks occurred suddenly and there had been mass flows from the hostile practices of the then Bulgarian government.

When Bulgaria was established as an independent nation-state in 1878 with the Treaty of Berlin, she legally recognised Turkish Muslims as a minority. Before the 1877-1878 Russo-Turkish war, Turks were the majority in Bulgaria.[4] By the end of this war, however, the Ottoman Empire's authority terminated in the Balkan region and Turkish emigration from Bulgaria appeared as significant issue as the dissolution of the Empire brought about the migration of large masses from Bulgaria to Anatolia. This migration successively continued during the Republican era, which started by 1923. Thus the 1989 events did not occur suddenly and the dispute between Bulgaria and Turkey has a long history.[5]

The Bulgarian Turks' exodus from Bulgaria to Turkey in 1989 has been studied from different aspects.[6] In this chapter, Bulgarian Turks' exodus to Turkey will be examined as a crisis situation in Turkish foreign policy. It will first evaluate what a "humanitarian crisis" is. Then it will

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[3] Gönül Erhan, "The Exodus of the Bulgarian Turks and the Constitution of Turkish Rational Identity", *Center for Migration Studies Special Issues*, Vol.11 Issue 4, (1994): 227.

[4] Ali Eminov, "The Turks in Bulgaria: Post-1989 Developments", *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*,27:1, (1999): 31.

[5] Except 1989 crisis, there is one more crisis between Bulgaria and Turkey in 1935. As Brecher noted this crisis occurred because Bulgaria refused to recognize the status quo which established by post World War I. Upon this situation, Turkey concentered its troops on Bulgarian border. The background of the crisis in 1935 did not rest on a long-term dispute as in 1989. Non-violence conclusion was the joint point of the both crisis. 1989 crisis was considerably different than 1935, it is a humanitarian crisis. Therefore it needs to be examined as a humanitarian crisis. See: Michael Brecher and Jonathan Wilkenfeld, *A Study of Crisis*, (University of Michigan Press, 1997).

[6] Darina Vasileva, "Bulgarian Turkish Emigration and Return", *International Migration Review*, Vol. 26, No. 2, (Summer, 1992): 342-352, Lilia Petkova, "The Ethnic Turks in Bulgaria: Social Integration and Impact on Bulgarian – Turkish Relations, 1947-2000", *The Global Review of Ethnopolitics*, Vol. 1, No. 4. (June, 2002): 42-59, Ayşegül İnginar Kemaloğlu, *Bulgaristan'dan Türk Göçü (1985-1989)*, (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları, 2012).

underline the turning points of the 1989 crisis between Turkey and Bulgaria. The third part of the chapter will focus on the way Turkey managed this crisis.

Humanitarian Crisis

There are different characteristics of a crisis. According to the researches made during the Turkish Foreign Policy Crisis Project, which gave birth to this book, crises are classified according to its type of occurrence, quality and subject. [7] The subject of a crisis changes to the occasion triggered by the crisis. The content of the crisis can consist of diplomatic/political, security/military, environmental, economic/developmental, legal, cultural/situational, moral or humanitarian issues. A foreign policy crisis can be political/diplomatic, military or humanitarian and can also occur because of a natural disaster or as a result of technological deterioration. [8] Actually, there is no general agreement on what constitutes a humanitarian crisis. [9]

Generally the discipline of international relations is based on a security, military and political language. In fact; migration, natural disasters, environmental problems directly affect the people of a state. Therefore decision makers' management styles of difficult situations certainly affect the people. In addition, the ways of protecting the state security are related to the issue of "survival". The survival of the state, however, depends on the "maintenance of its sovereignty," whereas the survival of the society depends on the "maintenance of its identity." [10] For the "maintenance of its identity", systematic policies have been conducted, like national freedom, which is gained against a foreign domination. [11]

The movement or exclusion of people is an international problem. It is related to the human rights. States are bound to protect their people's

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[7] "Kriz Analizi-Yönetimi Kavramlar-Terimler Sozlugu", http://www.tdpkrizleri.org/index.php?option=com_seoglossary&view=glossaries&catid=1&Itemid=188&lang=tr

[8] "Crisis management", http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_49192.htm. [Accessed on: 10.4.2015]

[9] Alex Politaki, "Greece is Facing a Humanitarian Crisis", *The Guardian*, February 11, 2013, http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/feb/ 11/greece-humanitarian-crisis-eu [13.4.2015]

[10] O. Waever, B. Buzan, M. Kelstrup, and P. Lemaitre, *Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe,* (London: Pinter, 1993): 24–25.

[11] Berna Pekesen, "Expulsion and Emigration of the Muslims from the Balkans", http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/europe-on-the-road/forced-ethnic-migration/berna-pekesen-expulsion-and-emigration-of-the-muslims-from-the-balkans. [13.4.2015]

rights and have the responsibility to provide them with safety. Violation of human rights in a state creates humanitarian problems. States are not independent rational actors as the classical realism suggests.[12] The rulers of the states determine the political choices on their own territories. However, the consequences of their choices can affect the other states' policies. In this way, states' behaviors can create disputes, conflicts, crisis or wars. Therefore the states can have problems on humanitarian issues such as protection of human rights, minority rights, natural disasters, famine, and epidemics. Human life is threatened by the policies of states during the crises they go through with the other states. The situation is critical for the survival of people. Therefore, the protection of people's lives becomes an ethical obligation in the international arena.

Humanitarian crisis in a certain period of time forces decision makers to consider the problem as a risk or a threat against their basic values. This pushes the decision makers to take an action. As their decisions affect people directly, they have to be rigorous when they employ their decisions against the opponent. They should especially pay attention not to create a negative impact on the lives of the people.

All policies of states definitely affect people but in crisis situations particular humanitarian problems between states occupy the foreign policy agenda and force decision makers to manage the situation. The problem might get worse, escalate and need an urgent solution if the time is limited. The dispute between the two sides can be political but due to the humanitarian dimension of the situation, the dispute can escalate and occur as a foreign policy crisis. This crisis can be solved by using military/security instruments or practicing diplomatic/political means such as negotiation, mediation or condemnation. Humanitarian intervention is also effective but it is controversial to apply due to the absence of collective will of the states or the high political/military costs of the situation.[13]

The Crisis between Turkey and Bulgaria

In frame of the 1925 Turkish Bulgarian Residence-Agreement, until 1949, 218.998 people emigrated from Bulgaria to Turkey. Between the years of 1950 and 1952, 154.393 people were settled in Turkey. For the family re-unification, Turkey and Bulgaria signed Close Relatives

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[12] Stephan D. Krasner, "Rethinking the Sovereign State Model", in *Empires, Systems and States: Great Transformations in International Politics*, (Eds.) Michael Cox, Tim Dunne, Ken Booth, (Cambridge University Press,2001): 17.

[13] Thomas George Weiss, *Military-civilian Interactions: Humanitarian Crises and the Responsibility to Protect,* (Rowman&Littlefield Publishers, 2005): 11.

Migration Agreement. According to this agreement, signed in 1968, 116.521 migrated from Bulgaria to Turkey until 1979. [14]

Despite this huge flow of people from Bulgari to Turkey, the situation was not a foreign policy crisis between the two sides and mutual relations were considered to be relatively good. What caused a foreign policy crisis right in 1989 was the then Bulgarian government's policy practice that targeted the basic features of the Turkish minority's identity. Under the policy called "national revival", Bulgaria forced the Turkish minority to change their names, language, religion, culture, customs, and traditions.

Bulgaria began to see Turkey not as a neighbouring state but as the motherland of the Turkish minority[15] and it became quite hard to develop good relations between the two countries from that moment on. Under the renaming campaign of Bulgaria; 2.000 people, resisting to this policy, were killed and 18.000 were exiled.[16] Turkish minority faced the strong pressure of the Bulgarian administration in other matters of daily life as well. For example, people who resisted changing their names couldn't take their salaries from banks. Bulgarian decision makers' "national sovereignty" policies caused a problem which was totally humanitarian. As Jeri Laber explains, "the problem of Turks in Bulgaria was part of a special category of human rights violations deriving from a systematic policy of supressing the rights of an ethnic minority..." [17]

The threat on Turkish minority caused Turkish decision makers, such as the then President Kenan Evren, asking Bulgarian President Todor Zhivkov on January 15, 1985 to give up the "renaming campaign". This brought no outcome as the Bulgarian decision makers defended the notion that this was something voluntary.[18] Bulgaria continued its efforts to change situation in favor of it. While going on the renaming campaign, she arrested and sent people to the concentration camps, insisting that there were no Turks inside of its territories but "Islamized Bulgarians".

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[14] All the migration data above are taken from the official document of the Turkish state on the Turkish migration from Bulgaria. For details see: "Bulgaristan'dan Türk Göçleri", (Ankara: DPT Sosyal Planlama Başkanlığı, 1990).

[15] Vesselin Dimitrov, "In Search of a Homogeneous Nation: The Assimilation of Bulgaria's Turkish Minority, 1984-1985", *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe, JEMIE*, Isuue 2 (2001):8,
http://www.ecmi.de/fileadmin/downloads/publications/JEMIE/JEMIE01Dimitrov1 0-07-01.pdf. [10.4.2015]

[16] "Bulgaristan'da 1 Milyon Türk Bulgarlaştırıldı", *Milliyet*, March 15,1985, 6.

[17] Jeri Laber, *Destroying Ethnic Identity: The Turks of Bulgaria*, (New York: A Helsinki Watch Report, 1986): 4.

[18] "Turks March Against Bulgarian Treatment", *The Toronto Star*, March 22, 1985, 131.

Turkish decision makers, however, admitted the pressure on Turkish minority in Bulgaria by February 18, 1985 and planned to develop a response against Bulgaria's aggressive behavior. This caused the issue to turn into a conflict where Turkey tried to persuade the opponent to stop aforementioned practices. Turkey felt threatened and needed to develop a certain foreign policy behavior against Bulgaria, but Bulgaria considered the issue to be a domestic problem of its own. After that, Turkey began to call the attention of the international organizations and this was considered by Bulgaria as an aggressive campaign against it.[19] Bulgaria and Turkey began to accuse each other in various ways and the decision makers' threat perception became definite. In the conflict period between February 18, 1985 to the end of the crisis, Turkey devoted itself to receive the attention of the international public opinion. This was the beginning of Turkey's struggle to manage the crisis.

Bulgaria's pressure on the Turkish minority didn't change despite Turkey's attempts for international support. On the contrary, Bulgaria continued to increase its pressure which would finally end by expelling of the Turkish minority from its territories. In 1986, 1987 and 1988, Turkey could not do something concrete to prevent Bulgaria's pressure that increased within the time gained. By the end of 1988, however, Turkey finally admitted that there was no change in Bulgaria's actions towards the Turkish minority. Under these circumstances, Turkey decided to apply some problem solving measures. First of all, Turkey wanted economic sanctions from the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) by March, 1989. Then, she complained Bulgaria in a conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, on April, 1989.

The situation became much complicated by May, 1989 and the disagreement on the Turkish minority's status concluded with an "exodus". Bulgaria enacted a new passport regulation on May 9, 1989 to deport the Turkish minority. Bulgarian authorities' forcing 72 people to leave the country on May 21 and killing some others on May 23, 1989 were the apparent signs of the escalation of the crisis. Increasing violations of the rights of the Turkish minority forced the Turkish decision makers to take effective decisions to end this humanitarian crisis. Turkey revised its strategy in this period; cancelled some meetings with Bulgaria. Turkish Parliament condemned the events and invited foreign diplomats to inform them about the situation. The then Prime Minister Turgut Özal mentioned the problem at a NATO summit as well again to receive international support.

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[19] "Bulgarlar Bir Adım Geri", *Milliyet*, May 3, 1985. 14.

Bulgarian leader Zhivkov called Turkey to open its borders on May 30, 1989 and Turkey opened them by May 31, 1989 and the conflict period evolved into a crisis. Hostile verbal claims and practices of Bulgaria in the conflict period became concrete with the exodus of people and the occurrence of the crisis. Turkey's accepting the fleeing Turkish minority without any migration agreement was the onset of the crisis on May 31, 1989.

The name-changing campaign during the conflict era resulted in the exodus and caused a crisis. During the crisis era, Turkey began to act more actively in the international arena to persuade Bulgaria for a migration agreement. The then Turkish Foreign Minister Mesut Yılmaz together with the ambassadors of other countries and foreign press visited the Turkish border in Edirne. In the international level, Turkey also met with the Soviet Union to discuss the issue. In national level, the ruling Motherland Party (MP / Anavatan Partisi / ANAP) also arranged a demonstration to protest against Bulgaria on June 24, 1989. However, all attempts to solve the crisis became inconclusive. Turkey was insufficient to support its crisis strategy with much more forceful means. That is why, the crisis continued till the end of August.

Turkey could neither solve the problem by opening its borders nor could force Bulgaria for an agreement on the status of the Turkish minority. The crisis continued to escalate as Turkey could not estimate the number of people who would leave Bulgaria. The higher number of immigrants changed the risk and threat perception of the Turkish decision makers. As a result, they began to think about closing the borders.

The Bulgarian government gave the Turkish minority a little time to leave the country and the number of the Turks who left the country increased dramatically as about 4.000 people were entering Turkey in one day. [20] From June 1 to August 22, 1989, approximately 300.000 people migrated from Bulgaria to Turkey. Turkey's attempts to persuade Bulgaria were fruitless. Turkey believed closing the borders might force Bulgaria to negotiate for an immigration agreement. Turkey was certainly in a difficult position as the majority of the unexpected numbers of refugees were settled in school dormitories and tent camps etc. Turkey's words to keep its borders open were not backed by her actions. As the borders were closed[21], Bulgarian authorities claimed that this was prevention of the right of free travel. Turkey tried to ease the situation by limiting the flow by enforcing a visa obligation. Bulgarian authorities' exodus of the Turkish

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[20] Ted Zang, *Destroying Ethnic Identity: The Expulsion of The Bulgarian Turks*, (New York: A Helsinki Watch Report, 1989): 29.
[21] "Sınır Kapatılıyor". *Cumhuriyet*. August 21, 1989, 1.

minority was contradictory with the status of the Turkish minority in
Bulgaria. Therefore Turkey demanded from Bulgaria:

- an immigration agreement that would guarantee ethnic Turks to
  dispose of their property and
- Negotiation with Bulgaria to protect the rights and status of Turkish
  minority.

Turkey clearly expressed her demands to Bulgaria, but also began to
accept the Turkish minority without any immigration agreement. When it
closed its borders, however, it actually contradicted its former discourse of
"open borders". Studying this huge humanitarian problem, one can claim
that Turkey did not engage in an effective decision making mechanism.
The Council of Ministry met for only two times during the escalation
period of this crisis. In fact, this crisis didn't escalate as a result of the
Bulgarian attitudes but of the failure of Turkey's long-term strategy.

From the end of August to the beginning of October 1989, Turkey
preferred to focus on domestic problems like presidential elections and the
terror problem in the southeast. Bulgaria, on the other hand, went to a
systemic change in its policy that enacted a law on free travel. On October
3, 1989, Bulgarian authorities called back the Turkish minority if they
were still Bulgarian citizens.[22] Hence, with the systemic and domestic
changes, the crisis de-escalated by time. Third countries were also taking
part to decrease the tension. Among them, Kuwait invited Turkey and
Bulgaria to meet and discuss about the problem on October 30, 1989.
Turkey had long been open to such an idea. Bulgaria first refused to meet
Turkey but finally accepted Kuwait's invitation and discussed the issue
which went beyond being just a matter of minority rights but a significant
issue of mutual relations.

Turkey's main demand was to make the Turkish minority be accepted
by Bulgaria back. The political dialogue that could be formed gave a
second chance to re-develop good relations between the two states. This
decreased the tension and, the risk and threat perception diminished in the
minds of Turkish decision makers. This brought about the end of the crisis
and on December 29, 1989, Bulgarian government decided to give Turkish
minority the right to choose their names and restored the minority rights of
them legally.

In fact, the lack of any coercive action on the Turkish side made
Bulgaria not feel a strong pressure to materialize Turkey's abovementioned

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[22] "Sofya'dan Sünnete Yeşil Işık", *Cumhuriyet*, October 3, 1989, 15.

demands. By ignoring Turkey's demands, Bulgaria continued its pressure on the Turkish minority and argued that Turkey was interfering her domestic policies. The start of the collapse of the communist system was the main factor that strengthened the quests for a better democracy and caused the gradual materialization of Turkey's demands.

The Role of PM Turgut Özal as a Predominant Leader

In the crisis analyses, the decisions are very important. As they are taken by the decision makers, it is significant to examine leaders' behaviours and characteristics. Especially the predominant leaders have a significant role in foreign policy decision-making process which actually needs to involve various other actors and institutions. Margaret G. Hermann is one of the scholars who successfully studies the impact of the leader characteristics and attitudes on foreign policy decision making. She defines a predominant leader as "a single individual who has the power to make the choice and to stifle the opposition".[23] Predominant leaders eliminate other alternatives in foreign policy decision making process. Their characteristics are considerably deterministic for the constituting foreign policy decisions. Their ideas, beliefs, views and interpretation of the relevant information are effective especially at times of a crisis.

During the crisis experienced with Bulgaria in 1989, the then Prime Minister Turgut Özal came forward as a predominant leader. Foreign policy decisions were dominantly taken by him and practiced accordingly. Özal's political life began after the 1980 coup. In the 1983 general elections, the Motherland Party (ANAP), founded by him, won the elections and Özal came to power as a civilian leader. His political philosophy was based on freedom of conscience and thought, freedom of religion and free enterprising.[24]

Together with these principles, his approach towards the Bulgarian Turks had shaped the crisis. In his view, Turkey had to protect the heritage of the Ottoman Empire and it should not ignore the rights and interests of Turks living out of Turkey.[25] Bad treatment to the outside Turks would

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[23] Margaret G. Hermann and Charles F. Hermann, "Who Makes Foreign Policy Decisions and How: An Empirical Inquiry", *International Studies Quaterly,* Vol. 33 No. 4 (December, 1989): 363.

[24] Feride Acar, "Turgut Özal: Pious Agent of Liberal Transformation", in *Political Leaders and Democracy in Turkey*, (Eds.) Metin Heper and Sabri Sayari, (Lexington Books, 2002): 172.

[25] "Özal: Türkiye'nin Önünde Hacet Kapıları Açılmıştır!" *Türkiye Günlüğü*, (September 3, 1992): 5-24.

directly affect the Turkish citizens in Turkey as they were ethnically tied to each other as kins. For that reason, Özal believed that the freedom of the outside Turks must be guaranteed.

Regarding the method to solve the problems, however, Özal generally favoured political means. He always advocated that the Turkish-Bulgarian dispute in 1989 could also be solved through political means. That is why, Turkey's crisis management strategy in the 1989 crisis was not in favour of using violence. On the other hand, Özal's approach prolonged the crisis and caused Bulgarian government to continue its pressure on the Bulgarian Turks for almost five years.

Özal's discourse was mainly based on an "open door diplomacy" towards the Bulgarian Turks. He was ready to accept the Bulgarian Turks in[26], saying that they will be welcomed by Turkey "with open arms". [27] But he couldn't predict the number of Turks who would come, and that hardened Turkey's approach and caused it to close the border. The situation was also related to Özal's risk-taking characteristics. He advocated that Turkey should pursue an active foreign policy in its region. But this received the reaction of other actors, including the West. The Council of Europe, for example, asked Turkey to avoid proactive discourses[28] and according to The New York Times, the remarks of PM Özal caused the number of immigrants to rise.[29] However, as a strong political figure, he managed to receive a wide support of the Turkish public. He was acting pragmatically and giving response according to the incidents.[30]

It is also worth noting here that there was not enough information about the events in Bulgaria because it banned the entrance of foreign press to the country. For that reason, Özal, as the decision-maker, was lacking adequate information and his assessment of this limited

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[26] Don Oberdorfer, "Bulgaria Oppressing Ethnic Turks, U.S. Says", *The Washington Post,* April 02, 1985, http://articles.latimes.com/1985-04-02/news/mn-19331_1_bulgarian-turks. [12.4.2015]

[27] Marvine Howe, "Bulgaria Accused of Persecuting Ethnic Turks", *The New York Times,* February 15, 1987. http://www.nytimes.com/ 1987/02/15/world/bulgaria-accused-of-persecuting-ethnic-turks.html. [12.4.2015]

[28] "Situation of the Ethnic and Muslim Minority in Bulgaria, Parliamentary Assembly, Resolution 927 (1989)" http://assembly.coe.int/ASP/Doc/ XrefViewPDF.asp?FileID=16338&Language=EN [12.4.2015]

[29] "Bulgarian-Turkish Tensions on Minority Rise", *The New York Times*, November 4, 1987. http://www.nytimes.com/1987/10/04/world/bulgarian-turkish-tensions-on-minority-rise.html October 4, 1987 [12.4.2015]

[30] Fahir Armaoğlu, "Soydaşlarımız ve Politikamız", *Tercüman*, June 30, 1989, 6.

information led to the escalation of the crisis. Özal did not have enough information to estimate Bulgaria's possible actions towards Turkey.

There are different factors that lead the decision-makers to take wrong decisions.[31] Generally, when leaders decide on an option, they don't look for other alternatives. Revising the preferred option can be costly or time consuming. Leaders usually have an effort that urge them to constitute their discourses compatible with their choices[32] even if they are wrong. High stress also affects leaders' perceptions and cause them take immediate decisions,[33] which might be wrong from time to time. As in the case of the exodus of the Turkish minority from Bulgaria, PM Özal decided to use diplomatic/political means against the opponent and he did not look for other options such as applying economic sanctions or the threat to use force. Seeing his strategy failing, he preferred to increase the political, diplomatic and international pressure against Bulgaria, believing that Bulgaria's economy would collapse, if it sends away the Bulgarian Turks.

Advisers, colleagues and cabinet members were also suffering from the lack of sufficient information. That's why, these figures could not develop alternative options to prevent the escalation the crisis.

Strategy of Turkey

Management of a crisis includes strategies of countries and their strategies direct the route of this crisis. Rogers suggests that in a crisis bargaining situation; leaders can use persuasion, coercion and/or accommodation. [34] In the crisis on the exodus of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria, Turkey employed persuasion and accommodation. As mentioned above, it avoided forceful options that could cause violations/clashes between the two sides. Here Alexander George's study to analyse the

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[31] Ole R. Holsti, "Crisis Management", in *Psychological Dimensions of War*, (Ed.) Betty Glad, (Sage Publications, 1990):116-142.
[32] Rose Mcdermott, *Political Psychology in International Relations*, (The University of Michigan Press, 2004): 120.
[33] Ole R. Holsti, "Theories of Crisis Decision Making", in *International Conflict and Conflict Managment*, (Eds.) Robert O. Mathews, Rubinoff, J. Gross-Stein, (Canada: Prentice Hall, 1989): 70.
[34] J. Philip Rogers, "Crisis Bargaining Codes and Crisis Management" in *Avoiding War: Problems of Crisis Management*, (Ed.) Alexander. L. George, (Westview Press, 1991): 415.

success of crisis strategy can be applied on Turkey. [35] Regarding the 1989 crisis, Turkey's crisis bargaining strategy was "Try and see". [36] Turkey did not give time to accommodate with the opponent, but just tried to employ pressure on Bulgaria to make it feel the urgency of the issue. This urgency was created by applying the means of internationalization of the issue and isolation of Bulgaria.

At various international summits, Turkey condemned Bulgaria's actions towards Turkish/Muslim minority and expressed the problem in its bilateral meetings. In Ankara's eyes, a humanitarian crisis could be solved by receiving international support. In Turkish decision maker's minds this was an international problem and Western states could not be indifferent to it. Democracy, human rights, freedom were the core principles of the Western states so they could intervene in the situation. Surely, Turkey did not want a military intervention. For Özal, Bulgaria could be persuaded to abandon from its aggressive actions through a limited diplomatic or economic pressure. Thus it preferred to escalate the international pressure on Bulgaria to prevent this humanitarian crisis.[37]

In the essence of "try and see" strategy, the defender moves step by step. Thus, Turkey first tried to comprehend the situation in Bulgaria and searched for the accuracy of the assimilation campaign despite the limited sources of information. When it learned about the "reality", the next step for Turkey was warning the opponent. At this point the situation was perceived by decision makers as a risk. Turkey urged Bulgaria to give up its challenge against the status quo and tried to persuade it with her verbal statements. But Bulgaria continued its aggressive assimilation policy. It was moving away from acting rationally. Bulgarian authorities referred to the fleeing Turkish minority as tourists who were going to travel abroad. [38]

Turkey could not deter Bulgaria from her actions from the beginning of 1985 to the end of 1989. The pressure it had applied was not enough to persuade Bulgaria. This situation enforced Turkey to apply much more effective policies in the international arena. Bulgaria's inhumane attitudes

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[35] Alexander L. George and William E. Simons, "Findings and Conclusions" in *The Limits of Coercive Diplomacy Laos, Cuba, Vietnam*, (Eds.) Alexander L. George, David K. Hall, and William R. Simons, (Little, Brown and Company, 1971): 270-275.

[36] Look up for the strategies; Alexander L. George, "Strategies for Crisis Management" in *Avoiding War: Problems of Crisis Management*, (Ed.) Alexander. L. George, (Westview Press, 1991): 379-383.

[37] "Özal: Bulgar Silahı Geri Tepti", *Cumhuriyet*, July 6, 1989. 13.

[38] Clyde Haberman, "Turkey Closing Borders to Refugees From Bulgaria", *The New York Times,* August 22, 1989, http://www.nytimes.com/1989/08/22/world/turkey-closing-borders-to-refugees-from-bulgaria.html [12.4.2015]

were the triggering element of the crisis, but it did not prefer to use violence against Turkey either. The solution was in the hands of international society. Therefore it acted on legitimate ground of international law. Neither Bulgaria nor Turkey risked going into a military conflict. The sanctions Turkey thought about was "not to use Bulgarian trucks in export, condemnation of Bulgaria in international platforms and applying the UN Security Council". These were relatively weak sanctions which were not fulfilled with various reasons.

Unlike Turkey, Bulgaria was in favour of a *fait accompli*. In the beginning it rejected the pressure on Turkish minority. Then it suddenly began the exodus without any regulation between the two sides. This was rather a surprise for Turkey which could not take the necessary measures to accommodate these people. Although its general crisis management strategy was applying controlled pressure, Turkey lost the control on Bulgaria.

The Influence of the Global/Strategic Environment

Global/Strategic environment in a crisis structurally determines the route of a crisis. The global strategic environment changed a lot between 1985, when the crisis on the Turkish minority in Bulgaria first occurred, and 1989, when it ended. In 1985, there was the Cold War atmosphere with serious disputes between the Soviet Union and the USA. Occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet forces in 1979 tensed the relations after the Détente era and received a rigorous reaction of the USA. By 1988, Soviets began to withdraw from Afghanistan and on February 1989, the occupation was completely over. This gave chance to the parties for better relations once again.

This international/systemic atmosphere affected the 1989 crisis as well. The behaviour of the two block leaders affected the members of their blocks as well. Similar to Afghanistan, Turkey and Bulgaria were open to the changing influence of the USA and Soviet relations. By the end of the 1980s, central European countries began to go through democratic changes and this affected Bulgaria as well both internally and externally.[39] Finally, conjectural changes like Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's Glasnost policy influenced Turkish minority and they began to disobey and organize against Bulgarian government. By the end of 1989, Bulgaria had to recognize the rights of the Turkish minority.

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[39] Vasileva, "Bulgarian Turkish Emigration"…, 343.

Bulgaria's aggressive behaviours between 1985 and 1989 were backed by the Soviet Union as expected due to the Cold War conditions. Therefore it was a difficult task for Turkey to manage the full isolation of Bulgaria. Besides, Turkey was in a difficult situation with its NATO allies due to its unexpected operation against Cyprus in 1974.[40] In addition, Soviet Union was one of the members of the UN Security Council and this made it harder for Turkey to bring the problem to the council.

Thus, Turkey was lacking international support. Third actors' support was not enough and Turkey was not in a situation to be able to defend itself alone.[41] It wanted third actors to condemn Bulgaria, but until 1989, there was not an effective condemnation of the European and Islamic countries.[42] Turkey received the biggest support from the USA, which played an important role as a third actor. The Bush administration frequently criticized Bulgaria for its human rights policies. In addition, the U.S. Senate voted for imposing embargo on Bulgaria on June, 1989.

Despite these fluctuating international support, which was influenced by the changing route of relations between the two blocks, Turkey was receiving a significant amount of support from its own public inside. Turkish society, which has been famous for its nationalist inclinations, was highly sensitive to this issue, organizing demonstrations to protest Bulgarian government's behaviour towards the Bulgarian Turks. There were already a certain amount of Bulgarian Turks, who migrated Turkey before the last exodus and these people helped the new comers/their relatives to bear the problems such as accommodation and employment. Opposition parties as well as national media organs were also supportive about the government's stance on this issue.

Post -Crisis Period

In the era started by the end of the crisis, the relations between Turkey and Bulgaria improved once again and the parties returned back to the pre-

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[40] Dimitrov, "In Search of"…, 11-12.
[41] Rogers, "Crisis Bargaining Codes"…, 382.
[42] Bulgaria was condemned by European Council but as it was not a member of this community it didn't feel an obligation to obey the resolutions of this community. Amnesty International and Helsinki Watch also took decisions to condemn Bulgarian government, but these were symbolic acts. Organization of Islamic Contries (OIC) was also away from satisfying Turkey's demands due to its anger about Turkey's good relations with Israel. See: Muzaffer Erendil, *Tarihte Türk-Bulgar İlişkileri*, (Ankara: Genelkurmay Askeri Tarih ve Stratejik Etüt Başkanlığı, 2004): 145.

crisis period. The Zhivkov regime ended and Bulgaria recognised the rights of the Turkish minority. In this way the threat to the Turkish minority was removed and Bulgaria guaranteed the rights of its Turkish citizens. About 100,000 people returned to Bulgaria until December 1989, which hints the failure of the crisis management process of Turkish decision makers. In the long-run, the Movement of Rights and Freedoms was established as a political party in Bulgaria and Turkish minority had the necessary political means to defend themselves. Thanks to the EU membership, Bulgaria could solve its isolation problem to a significant extent and escaped a bloody civil war like Yugoslavia.

Conclusion

International politics is profoundly based on the hard power of states. Contrary to the hard power means, such as military and economics; identity is also an important instrument of modern states. The Turkish minority in Bulgaria migrated to Turkey not because of an armed conflict between the two sides but because of the threats against their identity which were as significant as the other threats. Their desire to protect their ethnic identity contradicted with the Bulgarian policies and, Turkey's historical and ethnic ties with these people made them stand against Bulgaria's aggressive acts.

The Bulgarian government's practices created the 1989 humanitarian crisis in Turkish foreign policy and Prime Minister Turgut Özal's perception of this crisis affected the route of Turkey's crisis management strategy. In addition to the leader factor, Turkey's external and internal conditions influenced the crisis as well. Turkey had to limit its objectives due to the lack of sufficient international support.

Using military means was not an option for both of sides as they did not see the problem as a high threat against their basic values. Consciously, Bulgaria and Turkey did not want to escalate the crisis up to a level of using military means. The crisis included aggressive statements of the parties, but they had never used military instruments. This eased their chance to repair the relations in the post-crisis era.

CHAPTER SEVEN

BORDER SECURITY IN TURKISH
FOREIGN POLICY CRISES[*]

LAÇİN İDİL ÖZTIĞ

Introduction

Borders are not only the lines which demarcate the territories of states, but also related to national security and state coercion.[1] States' border security priorities might differ depending on threats at borders. Borders might be threatened by the armies of neighboring states.[2] Another challenge to borders comes from non-state actors "who operate across national borders in violation of state laws and who attempt to evade law enforcement efforts."[3] Terrorists, drug traffickers, illegal immigrants, and refugees are examples of non-state actors.[4]

There is a well-established literature which analyzes the relationship between the dynamics of border security and interstate relations. This

[1] Vladimir Kolossov, "Border Studies: Changing Perspectives and Theoretical Approaches," *Geopolitics,* 10:4 (2005): 62.
[2] Peter Andreas, "Redrawing the Line: Borders and Security in the Twenty-first Century," *International Security,* 28:2 (2003): 78-111; Friedrich Kratochwil, "Of Systems, Boundaries, and Territoriality: an Inquiry into the Formation of the States System," *World Politics,* 39:1 (1986): 27-52; John G. Ruggie, "Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International Relations", *International Organization,* 47(1993): 139-174; Harvey Starr, "International Borders: What They Are, What They Mean, and Why We Should Care", *SAIS Review,* 26:1 (2006): 3-10; Harvey Starr and Benjamin Most, "The Substance and Study of Borders in International Relations Research", *International Studies Quarterly,* 20:4 (1976): 581-620.
[3] Andreas, "Redrawing the Line"…, 78-9.
[4] Andreas, "Redrawing the Line"…, 78-9.

literature finds evidence to suggest that border disputes, conflictual border practices between neighboring states, the movement of refugees and rebels along borders increase the tension between neighboring states and make militarized conflict more likely. However, scarce attention has been paid to decision-making processes in border-related foreign policy crises.

This chapter contributes to the current literature by analyzing the dynamics of border security in four Turkish border-related foreign policy crises: the Little Ararat (Küçük Ağrı) crisis, Turkey-Iraq refugee crisis, the Nakhcıvan crisis and the Syrian crisis. In each crisis, border threats encompass different features. More specifically, different challenges related to state borders increased the threat perception of Turkish decision makers and triggered foreign policy crises. This chapter also analyzes and compares crisis management techniques employed by Turkish decision makers on border security issues.

The chapter is structured in three parts. The first part reviews the academic literature on the relationship between the dynamics of border security and interstate relations and specifies the contribution of this study. The second part analyzes how Turkish decision makers responded to border-related foreign policy crises and which instruments (diplomatic/political/military) they employed. The third part compares the characteristics of these crises and the crisis management techniques used in each crisis and the resolution of crises.

Borders and Interstate Relations

The previous literature offers different perspectives on the relationship between the dynamics of border security and interstate relations. According to the traditional literature, the quality of interstate relations determines border dynamics. More specifically, if diplomatic relations are good, borders will be stable and peaceful. By contrast, if states have belligerent relations, then borders will witness instability and violence.[5] In addition, there is well-established literature which analyzes the impact of

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[5] Jacques Ancel, *Géographie Des Frontières,* (Paris: Gallimard, 1938); Nicholas J. Spykman, "Frontiers, Security and International Organization", *Geographic Review,* 32(1942): 436-447; Gerard Blake, "Borderlands Under Stress: Some Global Perspectives," in *Borderlands Under Stress*, (Eds.) Martin Pratt, Janet Allison Brown (The Hague: Kluwer, 2000); Oscar Martinez, "The Dynamics of Border Interaction: New Approaches to Border Analysis," in *World Boundaries – Volume I Global Boundaries*, (Ed.) Clieve H. Shofield, (London: Routledge: 1994).

border disputes on bilateral relations. This literature finds that border disputes increase the probability of militarized conflict between states.[6]

Indeed, when states are engaged in territorial disputes, they will be inclined to militarize and close their borders. The Golan Heights and Kashmir as examples of border disputes which caused militarization, escalation and travel restrictions.[7] Interestingly, George Gavrilis subscribes to the view that border practices adopted by neighboring states determine whether borders witness cooperation or escalation. By analyzing the Greek-Ottoman border in the 19th century and current borders in Central Asia, he makes a compelling argument by suggesting that when neighboring states have compatible border practices, they become more likely to cooperate over border-related matters even when they are engaged in a territorial dispute. On the other hand, when neighboring states have conflictual border practices, then their diplomatic relations will deteriorate and their borders will be prone to conflict and escalation.[8]

Another body of literature analyzes the impact of cross-border refugee and rebel flows on interstate relations. This literature finds evidence to suggest that the movement of refugees and rebels along the borders increases the likelihood of militarized conflict between the neighboring states.[9] For instance, when Burma suppressed the Rohingyas (Burmese

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[6] Paul F. Diehl and Gary Goertz "Territorial Changes and Militarized Conflict," *The Journal of Conflict Resolution,* 32:1 (1988): 103-122; Robert Mandel, "Roots of the Modern Interstate Border Dispute", *The Journal of Conflict Resolution,* 27: 3 (1980): 427-454; Paul F. Diehl (Ed.) *A Road Map to War: Territorial Dimensions of International Conflict,* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1999); Paul K. Huth, "Territorial Disputes and International Conflict: Empirical Findings and Theoretical Explanations," in *Borderlands Under Stress,* (Eds.) Martin Pratt, Janet Allison Brown, (The Hague: Kluwer, 2000); Stephen A. Kocs, "Territorial Disputes and Interstate War 1945–1987", *The Journal of Politics,* 57:1 (1995): 159-175.
[7] George Gavrilis, *The Dynamics of Interstate Boundaries,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008):25-26.
[8] Gavrilis, *The Dynamics of Interstate Boundaries*, 25-26
[9] Alan Dowty and Gil Loescher, "Refugee Flows as Grounds for International Action," *International Security* 21:1 (1996): 43-71; Barry Posen, "Military Responses to Refugee Disasters", *International Security* 21:1 (1996); Idean Salehyan, "The Externalities of Civil Strife: Refugees as a Source of International Conflict", *American Journal of Political Science* 52:4 (2008): 72-111; Ariel Merari, "Terrorism as a Strategy of Insurgency", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 5:4 (1993): 213-251; Idean Salehyan, "No Shelter Here: Rebel Sanctuaries and International Conflict", *The Journal of Politics*, 70:1 (2008): 54-66; Ursula E.

Muslims located in the Arakan region), Bangladesh witnessed massive refugee influx. Accusing Bangladesh of supporting rebel groups, Burma attacked Bangladeshi border posts in 1991. As a consequence, both states militarized their border.[10] Colombia organized cross-border raids against FARC militants in the territory of Venezuela. After Sudanese rebels fled to Eritrea from Sudan, military clashes took place between the two countries in 1996 and 1998.[11]

In summary, a large and growing body of literature analyzes the relationship between the dynamics of border security and interstate relations. This literature indicates that border disputes, conflictual border practices, cross-border rebel and refugee flows increase hostility between states and cause escalation along borders. This study contributes to the literature by providing a comparative analysis of crisis management techniques employed during foreign policy crises induced by border security issues.

Border Security in Turkish Foreign Policy Crises

After summarizing the general literature in order to understand the relationship between the dynamics of border security and interstate relations, this chapter identifies the dynamics of border security in four border-related Turkish foreign policy crises: the Little Ararat (Küçük Ağrı) crisis between 1926-1939, the Turkey-Iraq refugee crisis between 1988-1991, the Nakhchivan crisis between 1992-1993 and the Turkish-Syrian crisis (ongoing). It sheds light on the context in which a crisis emerges and analyzes the techniques used by Turkish decision makers during each crisis.

Border Security in the Little Ararat (Küçük Ağrı) Crisis

The Turkish-Iranian border was determined in 1639 by Kasr-ı Sirin Agreement. After the agreement, the Ottoman Empire and Iran made several adjustments on the border line. The last adjustment on the border was made in 1913 with Istanbul Protocol. With this protocol, Little Ararat

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Daxecker, "Rivalry, Instability, and the Probability of International Conflict", *Conflict Management and Peace Science,* 28:5 (2011): 543–565.

[10] Carl Grundy-Warr, Ananda Rajah, Wong Siew Yin Elaine and Zulkifli Ali, "Power, Territoriality and Cross-border Insecurity: Regime Security as an Aspect of Burma's Refugee Crisis," *Geopolitics and International Boundaries,* 2:2 (1997): 101-105.

[11] Salehyan, "No Shelter Here:"…, 56-57; 62.

(Küçük Ağrı) area was given to Iran. However, since the Ottoman Assembly did not approve the protocol, the newly established Turkish Republic supported the resettlement of the border. In contrast, Iran supported the *status quo* concerning the border's location.[12]

After the Kurdish Sheikh Said rebellion which took place in Turkey in 1925, border security became a major determinant of Turkish-Iranian relations. In order to protect their borders against cross-border rebel flows, Turkey and Iran signed Friendship and Security Agreement in 1926. In this agreement, both sides confirmed their friendly diplomatic relations and committed not to attack one another. In addition, both sides committed not to support anti-government activities in one another's territories and to take necessary measures to thwart the activities of these groups.[13]

After the Sheikh Said rebellion, some rebels fled to Little Ararat (Küçük Ağrı) and were reorganized to initiate the Ararat (Ağrı) rebellion against Turkey.[14] The Ararat (Ağrı) rebellion took place along the Turkish-Iranian border between 1926-1930. Turkey organized military operations against the rebels respectively in 1926, 1927 and 1930.[15] During these operations, rebels fled to Iran and took shelter in Little Ararat (Küçük Ağrı).[16] In line with the provisions specified in the 1926 Agreement, Turkey put pressure on Iran to increase its border control against rebels. Furthermore, as Kurdish rebels were located in Küçük Ağrı, Turkey demanded the resettlement of the border.[17]

Tensions in bilateral relations increased when Kurdish rebels kidnapped Turkish soldiers to Iran in 1927. Turkey warned Iran that if the soldiers were not returned in ten days, Turkey would cut its diplomatic ties with Iran. Due to the pressure of Turkey, Iran saved the soldiers from the rebels and returned them to Turkey. However, Iran did not change its policy with regards to border control. More specifically, it did not

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[12] Nihat Erim, "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Kuzeydoğu ve Doğu Sınırları,"*AÜ Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi,* 9 (1952): 21; Bülent Şener, "Ağrı İsyanı (1926-1930) ve Türkiye-İran Krizi (1930): Türk Dış Politikası Tarihinde Bir Zorlayıcı Diplomasi Uygulaması," *History Studies* 4:4 (2012): 386-7; 406.
[13] İsmail Soysal, *Türkiye'nin Siyasal Andlaşmaları (1920-1945),* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yay., 1983): 276-277.
[14] *Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyanları,* Vol I, (Istanbul: Kaynak Yayınlar, 1992), 313.
[15] Şener, "Ağrı İsyanı"…, 385-413.
[16] *Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyanları,* Vol II, (Istanbul: Kaynak Yayınlar, 1992): 91.
[17] Şener, "Ağrı İsyanı"…, 383.

strengthen its borders against Kurdish rebels.[18] Turkey reacted by withdrawing its Ambassador of Tehran.[19]

In response to the reaction of Turkey, Iran agreed to start negotiations to solve their border-related problems.[20] During these negotiations, Turkish representatives stated that Iran should strengthen its border controls and that 1913 Protocol should be renegotiated. They noted that the protocol was not approved by the Ottoman Assembly and that the border commission outlined by the protocol was not implemented.[21] In response, Furugi Han, an Iranian representative, defined Turkey's proposal about the resettlement of the border as "irredentism".[22]

Even though Turkey and Iran did not agree over issues of border security, tensions in bilateral relations decreased as the two states signed an additional protocol to the 1926 Agreement in 1928. In addition, Iran committed itself to abide by the provisions of the 1926 Agreement.[23] In 1929, Turkey and Iran established a border commission. In this commission they discussed the terms of cooperation against the Kurdish rebels. However, due to the outbreak of Kurdish rebellion on June 20, 1930, the commission was partitioned.[24] In 1930, Turkish authorities again accused Iran of not cooperating with Turkey with regards to the Kurdish rebellion.[25] In response, the Iranian government declared that Iran would not allow activities in its territory against the interests of Turkey. However, it also stressed that controlling the border was not easy.[26]

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[18] Gökhan Çetinsaya, "Atatürk Dönemi Türkiye-İran İlişkileri (1926-1938)", *Avrasya Dosyası*, 5:3 (1999): 154.

[19] Ahmet Özgiray, "İngiliz Belgeleri Işığında Türk-İran Siyasi İlişkileri (1920-1938)," in *Atatürk Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası,* (Ed.) Berna Türkdoğan, (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2000): 298-299.

[20] Şener, Ağrı İsyanı"…, 393.

[21] Efdal As, "XVI. YY. dan Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarına Kadar Türk-İran Sınır Sorunları ve Çözümü," *Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılâp Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi,* 46 (2010): 250; Atay Akdevelioğlu and Ömer Kürçüoğlu "Ortadoğu'yla İlişkiler (1923-1939)", in *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar (1919-1980),* Cilt I, (Ed.) Baskın Oran, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2006): 360.

[22] As, "XVI. YY. dan Cumhuriyetin"…, 239-240.

[23] Aptülahat Akşin, *Atatürk'ün Dış Politika İlkeleri ve Diplomasi,* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991): 192-193

[24] Çetinsaya, "Atatürk Dönemi Türkiye-İran İlişkileri"…, 162; Şener, "Ağrı İsyanı"..., 395.

[25] Şener, "Ağrı İsyanı"…, 398.

[26] Şener, "Ağrı İsyanı"…, 398.

On July 27, 1930 Turkey made two proposals to Iran in order to solve their border-related problems. First, Turkey proposed that Iran should give the Little Ararat (Küçük Ağrı) area, in which the rebels took shelter, to Turkey. In exchange, Turkey proposed to give another piece of its territory to Iran. The second proposal was that Iran should allow Turkey's right of hot pursuit in its territory.[27]

On August 10, 1930, Iran stated that a Turkish military intervention on Iranian soil would constitute a violation of international law. Moreover, it stressed that Turkey and Iran could make simultaneous counter-terrorism operations against Kurdish rebels in their territories.[28] Iran's unwillingness to cooperate with Turkey in its fight against rebels triggered a crisis among Turkish decision makers. On August 12 1930, Turkey informed Iran that it would enter its territory and occupy Little Ararat (Küçük Ağrı) and Aybey Mountains in an operation against the Kurdish rebels.[29] On 14 August, the Turkish army entered into the Iranian territory as part of a hot pursuit.[30] Between 7-14 September, Turkey carried out an operation against the Kurdish rebels. During this operation, the Turkish army, by occupying Little Ararat (Küçük Ağrı) and Aybey Mountains, prevented the escape of Kurdish rebels into the Iranian territory and suppressed the rebellion.[31]

While Turkey escalated the crisis by entering into the Iranian territory, Iranian decision makers chose to deescalate the crisis. During the operation, Iran cooperated with the Turkish army and arrested Kurdish rebels.[32] Furthermore, Iran also cooperated with Turkey over the resettlement of the border. Negotiations over the border's demarcation restarted in 1931. Both sides signed a border agreement in 1932. With this agreement, the Little Ararat (Küçük Ağrı) area was given to Turkey. In addition, both sides agreed not to encourage cross-border flows of people living in the border area and agreed the right of hot pursuit in order to catch rebels crossing their borders.[33] The agreement was confirmed by the Turkish Parliament on June 18, 1932.[34]

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[27] Şener, "Ağrı İsyanı"…, 398.

[28] Şener, "Ağrı İsyanı"…, 401.

[29] Bilal Şimşir, *İngiliz Belgeleriyle Türkiye'de Kürt Sorunu (1924−1938),* (Ankara:Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991): 220.

[30] Şimşir*, İngiliz Belgeleriyle Türkiye'de Kürt Sorunu…,* 211 – 212.

[31] *Genelkurmay Belgelerinde Kürt İsyanları* Vol II, 121-128.

[32] Hüsrev Gerede, *Siyasi Hatıratım İran (1930-1934),* (İstanbul: Vakit Basımevi, 1952): 69; Kemal Süphandağ, *Ağrı Direnişi ve Haydaranlılar,* (İstanbul: Fırat Yayınları, 2001): 191.

[33] Erim,"Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin Kuzeydoğu ve Doğu Sınırları"…, 21.

[34] "TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, 9:1 (1932)",

In summary, since the outbreak of the Ararat (Ağrı) rebellion, Turkey and Iran positioned themselves differently towards the issues of border control and border resettlement. Turkey used diplomatic instruments such as threatening to cut diplomatic ties, withdrawing its ambassador, and negotiations to solve its border-related problems with Iran. When the diplomatic instruments employed by Turkey failed to persuade Iran to solve their border problems, Turkey initiated a crisis by threatening to enter into Iran's territory. Furthermore, Turkish decision makers decided that they could only suppress the rebellion by launching a military operation in the Iranian territory. In other words, Turkey escalated the crisis by employing an offensive strategy towards Iran. This strategy pushed Iran to adopt more rigorous policies against Kurdish rebels and to cooperate over the issue of border settlement.

Border Security in Turkey-Iraq Refugee Crisis

In 1988, refugee flows took place from Iraq to Turkey when the Iraqi government suppressed the Kurdish rebellion in Halabja. As a result of the suppression, 5.000 people were killed and a million Kurds left their homes.[35] In August 1988, thousands of Iraqi Kurds attempted to cross the Turkish border. Concerning about the flow of PKK militants located in Iraq, Turkey closed its border. However, after domestic and international pressures, the border was opened and refugees were located in accommodation centers.[36]

The refugee influx created a diplomatic problem between the two countries on September 4, 1988. The Iraqi government claimed that Kurdish militants crossed the border along with refugees and demanded to implement the right of hot pursuit in Turkish territory based on the 1984 Protocol. In response, Turkey argued that the 1984 Protocol only applied to militants. Arguing that only refugees crossed the border, Turkey did not allow the implementation of the 1984 Protocol.[37]

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http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/TBMM/d04/c009/tbmm04009065.pdf

[35] "Genocide in Iraq," *Human Rights Watch*,
https://www.hrw.org/reports/1993/iraqanfal/

[36] Suna Gülfer Ihlamur-Öner, "Turkey's Refugee Regime Stretched to the Limit? The Case of Iraqi and Syrian Refugee Flows", *Perceptions* 18:3 (2013): 195.

[37] "Sığınanlar arasında PKK'lılar Var," *Milliyet,* September 5, 1988, 9; Melek Fırat and Ömer Kürkçüoğlu, "Orta Doğu'yla İlişkiler," in *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar,* Cilt II. (Ed.) Baskın Oran,

The two states had positional differences with respect to Iraqi Kurdish refugees. However, this difference did not trigger a crisis among the two states. The Iraqi government granted a general amnesty to the Kurdish refugees on October 6, 1989. As a result, thousands of Iraqi Kurds returned their homes.[38] The then Ambassador of Iraq to Turkey Tarık Abdülcabbar Cevad stated that Iraq was no longer interested in a hot pursuit in Turkish territory.[39] This statement shows that the dispute between Turkey and Iraq ended.

In 1991, the Turkish-Iraqi border witnessed another flow of refugees. Iraqi Kurds in Northern Iraq again rebelled against the Iraqi government.[40] Due to the indiscriminate violence employed by the Iraqi military to suppress the rebellion, 200.000 Kurds fled to the Turkish border on April 2, 1991.[41] In contrast to the 1988 refugee flows, Turkey evaluated the 1991 Iraqi Kurdish refugee flows as a security threat. In a letter sent to the United Nations Security Council, the Turkish government stated that the Iraq's suppression of civilians and refugee influx constituted a threat to regional security.[42]

Immediately after the refugee influx, Turkey used diplomatic instruments and the threat to use force to solve the refugee crisis. Turkey engaged in diplomatic talks with the Iraqi representatives. On April 3, 1991 Turkey requested Iraq to cease killing civilians. In response, the next Ambassador of Iraq to Turkey, Rafi Dahham Tikriti justified Iraq's behavior by arguing that Iraq was trying to ensure its domestic security. In addition, he promised that Iraq would not attack Turkey.[43] Furthermore, Turkish decision makers threatened to use force against Iraq. A government official stated that "… if all our warning and suggestions do not give a result, and the Saddam government continues to compel these people to seek refuge on Turkish soil by the means of force, we will launch a military intervention."[44] The then Turkish President Turgut Özal announced that a military intervention in Iraq was considered as an option

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(İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001): 133-4; "Peşmergeleri İade Yok," *Milliyet*, September 6, 1988,11.

[38] "Irak'ta Kürtler için Genel Af," *Milliyet*, October 7, 1988,12.

[39] "Türkiye-Irak İlişkileri Gergin Değil," *Milliyet*, October 7, 1988,12.

[40] Peter Malanczuk, "The Kurdish Crisis and Allied Intervention in the Aftermath of the Second Gulf War," *European Journal of International Law*, 2:2 (1991):114-32; Sarah Graham Brown, *Sanctioning Saddam: The Politics of Intervention in Iraq,* (I.B. Tauris, 1999).

[41] "MGK BM'yi Acil Yardıma Çağırdı," *Milliyet*, April 3, 1991, 12

[42] Brown**,** *Sanctioning Saddam...,* 25.

[43] *Ayın Tarihi,* April 3, 1991, http://www.ayintarihi.com/RjVPZ/date/1991-04-06 *Ayın Tarihi,* April 4, 1991, http://www.ayintarihi.com/RjVPZ/date/1991-04-06

[44] "Müdahale İhtimali," *Milliyet,* April 4, 1991, 1.

to solve the refugee crisis.[45] As these statements show, refugee flows triggered a crisis among Turkish decision makers.

However, the crisis deescalated immediately. The involvement of international actors played a role in the de-escalation of the crisis. The Security Council passed Resolution 688 on April 5, 1991. The resolution condemned the suppression of civilians in Iraq including Kurdish-populated areas.[46] Following the resolution, an international coalition led by the US organized Operation Provide Comfort in Northern Iraq. During this operation, humanitarian aid was provided to the Kurds and the north of 36th parallel was declared a "no-fly zone."[47]

The crisis ended when the Iraqi government signed a memorandum of understanding with the United Nations on April 18, 1991. The Iraqi government agreed for the return of refugees from Turkey. In addition, it allowed the establishment of humanitarian centers for refugees in Northern Iraq.[48] In the post crisis period, the no-fly zone was transformed into a safe haven in Northern Iraq and humanitarian aid operations were delegated to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.[49]

In summary, while Turkey did not evaluate the 1988 refugee flows as a security threat, the 1991 refugee flows immediately created a crisis among Turkish decision makers. They preferred to use the threat of use of force to solve the refugee crisis. In contrast to the Küçük Ağrı crisis, this crisis did not witness escalation. The involvement of international actors de-escalated the crisis. Since the international coalition intervened in Northern Iraq and ensured the safety of returned refugees, Turkey did not need to employ an offensive or defensive strategy as a means to solve the refugee crisis. After the operation in Northern Iraq, the crisis ended for Turkish decision makers when Iraq made an agreement with the UN for the return of refugees.

Border Security in Nakhchivan Crisis

Nakhchivan became part of Azerbaijan with the Moscow Treaty which was signed between Turkey and the Soviet Union on March 16, 1921.

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[45] "Müdahale Edebiliriz," *Milliyet,* April 6, 1991, 16.

[46] "Resolution 688," http://www.un.org/Docs/scres/1991/scres91.htm

[47] "Iraq: No Fly Zones," http://www.iraqinquiry.org.uk/media/38010/mod-no-fly-zone-r1.pdf

[48] Peter Malanczuk, "The Kurdish Crisis and Allied Intervention in the Aftermath of the Second Gulf War," *European Journal of International Law*, 2: 2 (1991): 114-32.

[49] Malanczuk, "The Kurdish Crisis"…,121.

With this treaty, both sides agreed that the Nakhchivan district would be an autonomous territory under the protection of Azerbaijan and that Turkey and the Soviet Union would be guarantors for the protection of territorial integrity of Nakhchivan.[50] In other words, by signing these agreements both states committed themselves to protect the legal status and the borders of Nakhchivan against third party interventions.

Nakhchivan was an autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic within Azerbaijan until 1990. In January 1990, Nakhchivan declared its independence from the Soviet Union. Immediately after its declaration of independence, Armenian forces attacked Karki village in the Sadarak region of Nakhchivan.[51]After a few months, people in Nakhchivan voted to become an autonomous region of Azerbaijan.[52]

The Armenian attacks on Nakhchivan intensified between 1992 and 1993. On May 3, 1992, Armenian forces attacked Sadarak again and shelled villages near the Turkish border.[53] The then Turkish Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel evaluated the situation as a border violation. However, he stressed that Turkey was not in an alarmed state.[54] On May 7, 1992 Armenian forces captured Gunnuk and Susa towns Nakhchivan.[55] Demirel called the then US President George W. Bush and stated that if Armenian aggression continued, Turkey would not remain silent.[56] On May 18, 1992 Armenian forces attacked Sadarak village again and cut 10 km. border corridor between Turkey and Nakhchivan.[57] During the attacks, the then leader of Nakhchivan Semi-autonomous Region Haydar Aliyev stated that Sadarak might fall to Armenians anytime and asked for Turkey's help.[58]

The Armenian attack on the border between Turkey and Nakhchivan triggered a crisis among Turkish decision makers. This attack intensified

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[50] John Ashley and Soames Grenville, *The Major International Treaties of the Twentieth Century,* (Taylor &Francis, 2012): 115.

[51] Salih Sılay Koçer, "The Impact of Mountainous Karabagh Conflict on Nakhchevan Autonomous Republic of Azerbaijan," *Review of Armenian Studies,* 9: 3 (2005)
http://www.eraren.org/index.php?Lisan=en&Page=DergiIcerik&IcerikNo=383
http://nakhchivan.preslib.az/en_a1.html

[52] David C. King, *Azerbaijan,* (New York: Marchall Cavendish Benchmark, 2006):14.

[53] "Nahçıvan Ermeni Ateşi Altında," *Milliyet*, May 4, 1992, 11.

[54] "Anormal Bir Durum Yok," *Milliyet,* May 5, 1992, 17.

[55] "Nahçıvan'a Ermeni Saldırısı," *Milliyet,* May 8, 1992, 7.

[56] "Demirel: Nahçıvan'a Seyirci Kalamayız," *Milliyet*, May 8, 1992, 7.

[57] "Sederek Kasabası Düşüyor," *Milliyet,* May 19, 1992, 7.

[58] "Askeri Müdahale Tartışması," *Milliyet*, May 19, 1992, 7.

threat perception among Turkish decision makers and stirred up debate on military intervention in Nakhchivan to stop Armenian aggression. The then Turkish Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Onur Kumbaracıbaşı stated that Turkey would not allow border changes with regards to Nakhchivan.[59] The then Turkish Deputy Prime Minister Erdal İnönü, on the other hand, told that Turkey was under obligation to protect the territorial integrity of Nakhchivan and that it would not accept border changes in Nakhchivan by force[60] and the then Turkish Foreign Minister, Hikmet Çetin stated that Turkey could no longer be intact in light of continuing Armenian aggression in Nakhchivan.[61]

On May 18, 1992, İnönü called the then Armenian Foreign Minister Raffi Ovanisyan and stated that Armenia should cease military hostilities immediately and the consequences of continuing aggression would be grave.[62] On May 19, 1992 Turkey militarized its Armenian border[63] and that escalated the crisis. Furthermore, in the declaration, made by the Council of Ministers, gathered under the leadership of Demirel, it was stated that if Armenia continued attacks, Turkey would seriously consider changing its policies.[64] This statement reveals the determination of Turkey to maintain the territorial integrity of Nakhchivan.

On May 28, 1992 Demirel announced that whoever is interested in gaining territory by using force would pay the consequences.[65] Despite the commitment of Turkey to protect the territorial integrity of Nakhchivan, military hostilities in the region continued. On May 31, Armenian forces attacked Ordubad area of Nakhchivan.[66] In August, Armenian forces escalated their attacks and shelled Saşur city.[67]

On April 6, 1993 Turkey militarized its border again. The militarization of the border triggered a crisis among Armenian decision makers. The then Armenian Ambassador to Moscow Feliks Mamikonyan stated that this situation forced Armenia to retaliate and that if Armenia was attacked, they would think about receiving military aid from Russia.[68] On September 3, 1993 Turkish decision makers decided to go to

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[59] Derya Sazak, "Nahçıvan'a Müdahale," *Milliyet,* May 19, 1992.
[60] "Ankara'da Müdahale Havası," *Milliyet,* May 19, 1992, 12.
[61] "Çetin: Seyirci Kalamayız," *Milliyet,* May 19, 1992, 7.
[62] "Sınırlar Değişmez," *Milliyet*, May 19, 1992, 7.
[63] "Eller Tetikte," *Milliyet,* May 20, 1992, 1.
[64] "Askeri Müdahaleden Önce BM," *Milliyet*, May 20, 1992, 7.
[65] "Ermeni'ye Gözdağı," *Milliyet,* May 29, 1992, 1.
[66] "Nahçıvan Karanlıkta," *Milliyet*, June 1, 1992, 7.
[67] "Nahçıvan Ateş Altında," *Milliyet*, August 7, 1992, 6.
[68] "Erivan'dan MISISleme," *Milliyet,* April 6, 1993, 14

parliament for the authorization to send Turkish troops abroad. In the same day, Turkish jets made a patrol flight along the Turkish-Armenian border.[69] On September 11, Turkey sent troops and military equipment to the Armenian border. In response, Armenia increased its military activities on the other side of the border.[70]

After this date, the crisis ended as the Armenian attacks on Nakhchivan halted. The Armenian attacks on Nakhchivan continued sporadically. On June 1, 1994 Armenian forces shelled Sederek.[71] In February 1996, Azeri and Armenian forces fought and many people lost their lives.[72] However, these clashes did not trigger crisis among Turkish and Armenian decision makers.

In summary, Turkish decision makers evaluated the Armenian attack on Nakhchivan as a crisis due to Turkey's international commitment to protect the territorial integrity of Nakhchivan. In other words, the foreign policy pursued by Turkey during the Nakhchivan conflict is in line with its obligations derived from the Moscow Treaty. After declaring its decisiveness to intervene to stop military hostilities in Nakhchivan, Turkey chose to escalate the crisis by militarizing its border. The situation then evolved into a two-sided crisis as Armenia evaluated Turkey's increased military activities at its border as a security threat. The agreement among Turkish decision makers to send Turkish soldiers abroad and the military activities on both sides of the border increased the probability of conflict between the two states. Even though the two states came on the brink of war, tensions between them ended as violence in Nakhchivan halted temporarily.

Border Security in Turkish-Syrian Crisis

The Turkish-Syrian relations ameliorated after Syria ousted the PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan from Syria in 1998. In the 2000s two countries cooperated in the areas of security, water and economy. Cooperation over security included the fight against terrorism, smuggling and illegal immigration.[73] In 2009, High-Level Strategic Cooperation Council was established and 50 agreements were signed between the two countries in

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[69] "Çiller'e Asker Gönderme Yetkisi," *Milliyet*, September 04, 1993, 19.

[70] "Namlular Hedefte," *Milliyet*, September 13, 1993, 1.

[71] "Ermeniler Nahçıvan'da İlerledi," *Milliyet*, June 01, 1994, 17.

[72] "Kafkasya'da Karmaşa," *Milliyet*, February 26, 1996, 16.

[73] Nuri Yeşilyurt, "Ortadoğuyla İlişkiler", in *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar* (*2002-2012),* Cilt III (Ed.), Baskın Oran, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2013): 401-402.

the areas of politics, security, commerce, health, agriculture, environment, transportation, education and water. In line with friendly diplomatic relations, bilateral trade blossomed between Turkey and Syria. The volume of bilateral trade increased from 796 million USD in 2006 to 2.5 billion USD in 2010.[74]

However, the Turkish-Syrian relations deteriorated significantly after the Arab Spring was diffused to Syria in 2011. In August 2011, the then Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu went to Syria to meet with President Bashar al-Assad and called for reforms by presenting a road map. When President Assad did not comply with the road map, the then Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan stated that "There is nothing to talk about with Syria." In November, Turkey cut its economic and political relations with Syria and announced that it would impose sanctions on Syria. Turkey withdrew its ambassador in 2012.[75]

As the civil war intensified, border security became a major concern for Turkish decision makers. When a Turkish military jet was shot down in the Syrian territory in June 2012, Turkish decision makers evaluated the situation as a crisis. In response, Turkey increased its military presence on the Turkish-Syrian border and Erdoğan stated that "Turkey will use force if any military unit gets closer to the Turkish-Syrian border."[76]

As the threats posed to the Turkish-Syrian border increased, Turkey used an escalation strategy to secure its borders. In October 2012, a mortar bomb fired by the Syrian army killed 5 Turkish citizens in Akçakale located near the Turkish-Syrian border. Turkey escalated the crisis by shelling the Syrian territory. Regarding this issue, Erdoğan stated that "Our armed forces in the border region responded immediately to this abominable attack in line with their rules of engagement; targets were struck through artillery fire against places in Syria identified by radar. Turkey will never leave unanswered such kinds of provocation by the Syrian regime against our national security."[77] Following the incident, the Turkish parliament passed the authorization to launch cross-border

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[74] "Relations Between Turkey and Syria" Ministry of Foreign Affairs,"
http://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey%E2%80%93syria.en.mfa
[75] "Türkiye-Suriye İlişkileri: İnişler ve Çıkışlar,"*AlJazeera Turk*, January 6, 2014
http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/dosya/turkiye-suriye-iliskileri-inisler-ve-cikislar
[76] "Angajman Kuralları Değişti Askeri Hareketlilik Arttı," *Habertürk,* June 28, 2012,   http://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/754647-angajman-kurallari-degisti-askeri-hareketlilik-artti
[77] "Turkey Strikes Syrian Targets After Cross-Border Mortar Bomb Kills Five," *The Guardian*, October 3, 2015 http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/oct/03/turkey-syrian-mortar-bomb

operations in Syria.[78] Turkish decision makers were concerned that Scud missiles and other ballistic missiles used by the Syrian army in its fight against rebels might drop within Turkish territory. In November 2012, Turkey applied to NATO for the deployment of Patriot defense missiles at its border with Syria.[79]

Tension at the border ran high when Cilvegözü border gate on the Turkish-Syrian border witnessed a bomb attack which led to the death of 14 people in February 2013.[80] With regard to this attack, Turkish authorities accused the Assad government. In response, six NATO Patriot missile batteries were stationed in the South-eastern region of Turkey in order to prevent future attacks from the Syrian territory. Furthermore, the detection of short-range ballistic missiles stationed close to the Turkish-Syrian border in the Syrian territory increased the concern of Turkish decision makers.[81]

In May 2013, Reyhanlı, located near the Turkish-Syrian border, witnessed bomb attacks which killed 52 Turkish people. Although, the Turkish government accused the Assad regime, subsequently, it accepted that the Al-Qaeda was responsible for the attacks. At the 92nd meeting of the Permanent Council of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Turkey's the then ambassador Tacan Ildem stated that al-Qaeda elements operating out of Syria caused Reyhanlı attacks.[82] Reyhanlı attacks showed that border security at the Turkish-Syrian border transcended bilateral relations. In response to the attacks, Turkey sent air and military reinforcements to the Turkish-Syrian border.[83]

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[78] Turkey Responds to Syrian Mortar Fire in Akcakale, *BBC*, October 7, 2012 http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-19861591

[79] "Türkiye'den Resmi Patriot Talebi," *Aljazeera Turk*, November 21, 2012 http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/haber/turkiyeden-resmi-patriot-talebi ; "NATO'dan Patriot Füzelerine Onay," *Aljazeera Turk*, December 5, 2012 http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/haber/natodan-patriot-fuzelerine-onay

[80] "Sınır Kapısında Patlama: 13 Ölü," *NTV,* February 11, 2013 http://www.ntv.com.tr/turkiye/sinir-kapisinda-patlama-13-olu,URkElAAxeUaa-5WtvKBPMQ

[81] "Turkey Blames Syria for Border Gate Attack," *Hurriyet Daily News*, March 11, 2013 http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-blames-syria-for-border-gate-attack.aspx?pageID=238&nid=42749

[82] Tülin Daloğlu "Turkey admits Reyhanli was attacked by al-Qaeda," *Al Monitor,* April 4, 2014, http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/04/reyhanli-qaeda-bombing-attack-admits.html#

[83] "Turkey Sends Military Reinforcements To Syrian Border After Blast," *Cihan,* May 11, 2013, http://en.cihan.com.tr/en/turkey-sends-military-reinforcements-to-syrian-border-after-blast-1029035.htm?language=en

The dynamics of border security along the Turkish-Syrian were further complicated with the advance of ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) in Syria. ISIS gained its first military victory in the Syrian city of Rakka in March 2013.[84] Since then it took control of Aleppo, Palmira and Jarabulus. In order to prevent the advance of ISIS, Turkey and the US made an agreement over the deployment of armed drones at the Incirlik airbase in March 2015.[85] Furthermore, for the first time, US F-16 jets launched airstrikes from İncirlik base against ISIS-controlled areas in Syria.[86]

In July 2015, ISIS organized an attack against 32 young activists in Suruç, who were preparing to go to Kobani, near the Turkish border. After the attacks, Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu stated that "Turkey has taken and will continue to take, all necessary measures against ISIS."[87] He further stated "measures on our border with Syria will continue, and will be increased."[88] Turkey started to build a wall, which is 150 km long along its border with Syria. It reinforced wire fencing and installed 118 km flood lightening. The armed forces dug ditches along the border and deployed drones and reconnaissance aircraft across the Syrian border. In addition, 40,000 military personnel responsible for patrolling Turkey's borders with Iraq, Iran, Armenia, Georgia, Greece and Bulgaria were deployed on the Syrian frontier.[89]

In the same week, five ISIS militants from the Syrian border opened fire on a Turkish border unit and killed one soldier.[90] Turkey first

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[84] "Syria Iraq: The Islamic State Militant Group", *BBC,* August 2, 2014, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-24179084

[85] "Turkey Offers Airbase to US for Drone Strikes in Syria: Report", *Press TV,* July 10, 2015, http://www.presstv.ir/Detail/2015/07/10/419579/US-Syria-Turkey-ISIS-airstrikes

[86] "Turkey Joins U.S.-Led Coalition Airstrikes Against ISIS In Syria", *Huffington Post,* August 29, 2015 , http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/turkey-coalition-airstrikes-isis_55e1b2a2e4b0b7a963393423

[87] "Suruc massacre: At Least 30 Killed in Turkey Border Blast", *BBC,* July 20, 2014, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-33593615

[88] "Turkey to Boost Border Security After 'ISIS' Attack", *AlJazeera,* July 25, 2015 http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/07/turkey-bolster-border-security-suruc-attack-150721000033031.html

[89] "Turkey Reinforces Border With Syria in Wake of Suspected Suicide Attack," *The Guardian*, July 23, 2013, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/23/turkey-syria-border-reinforced-suruc-suicide-attack

[90] "Turkish Warplanes Bomb ISIS Positions in Syria for the First Time," *CNN,* July 25, 2015, http://edition.cnn.com/2015/07/24/middleeast/turkey-syria-isis-violence/index.html

responded to ISIS border attacks by firing artillery into Syria; then joined the US-led international coalition against ISIS and started to launch airstrikes against ISIS-controlled areas in Syria. [91]

The growing influence of ISIS in Syria has led Turkey to strengthen its border security. Turkey deployed 24-hour field surveillance radar systems in Gaziantep and Şanlurfa in order prevent future ISIS attacks.[92] In March 2015 it closed two border crossings at its Syrian border due to concern about terrorist attacks.[93] And by August 2016, Turkey has started a military operation against ISIS and the PYD [pro-Kurdish Democratic Union Party] forces in Syria.

In summary, before the border crisis which started in 2012, Turkish-Syrian relations witnessed deterioration due to the different positions adopted by Turkey and Syria with respect to the political situation in Syria. During the crisis period, Turkey militarized its border. Due to continuing border tensions, Turkey escalated the crisis by shelling the Syrian territory and passing the authorization to launch cross-border operations. The dynamics of border security became more complicated with the growing influence of ISIS in Syria. Turkey has relied on military instruments both at its border and in the Syrian territory to deter border threats.

Conclusion and a General Analysis

This study analyzed the dynamics of border security in four Turkish foreign policy crises: the Little Ararat (Küçük Ağrı) crisis between 1930-1932, the Turkey-Iraq refugee crisis in 1988 and 1991, the Nakhchivan crisis between 1992-1993 and the Turkish-Syrian crisis (ongoing). This section sheds light on the general and specific characteristics of these crises, compares crisis management techniques of Turkish decision makers in each crisis and specifies the way the crisis ended.

Each of these four crises occurred due to increased threat perception among Turkish decision makers about different dynamics of border security. In Küçük Ağrı crisis, Turkish decision makers were concerned

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[91] "Turkish Warplanes Bomb ISIS Positions"…,

[92] Oytun Orhan, "Struggle Against ISIS, Border Crossings and Turkey", *ORSAM Review of Regional Affairs*, 11 (2014): 3; 9.

[93] "Turkey Closes Two Border Crossings With Syria Amid Fears of Terrorist Attack", *Telegraph*, March 30, 2015
http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/turkey/11503524/Turkey-closes-two-border-crossings-with-Syria-amid-fears-of-terrorist-attack.html

about protecting the Turkish-Iranian border against Kurdish rebels. In addition, even though the border's location was disputed previously, with the Ararat (Ağrı) rebellion, the border's location became a security issue for Turkey since the Kurdish rebels took shelter on the other side of the border.

In the Turkey-Iraq refugee crisis, Turkish decision makers were interested in halting refugee flows along the Turkish-Iraqi border. Differing from other crises, Nakhchivan crisis emerged after the violation of Nakhchivan's borders by Armenian forces. Turkey's threat perception in this crisis was related to its role as a guarantor to restore the territorial integrity of Nakhchivan. Similar to Turkey-Iraq refugee crisis, after the Syrian conflict, the Turkish-Syrian border witnessed a massive influx of refugees. However, refugee flows from Syria did not create a crisis among Turkish decision makers. Turkey has been mainly concerned with protecting the Turkish-Syrian border against the attacks of the Syrian army and rebels. Table 7.1 summarizes the characteristics of each crisis.

Table 7.1. The Dynamics of Border-Related Turkish Foreign Policy Crises

The Küçük Ağrı Crisis	The Turkey-Iraq refugee Crisis	The Nakhchivan Crisis	The Syrian Crisis
Cross-border attacks by rebels Border location	Refugee flows	The violation of territorial integrity of Nakhchivan	Cross-border attacks by the Syrian army and rebels

With regard to crisis management, Turkish decision makers employed different strategies in each crisis. In the Küçük Ağrı crisis, Turkey declared its decision to intervene militarily, after it implemented diplomatic instruments and engaged in negotiations with Iran. After threatening to use force, Turkey escalated the crisis by entering into the Iranian territory. The military instruments employed by Turkey were successful. Turkey achieved its demands as Iran cooperated with Turkey in its fight against Kurdish rebels and over the resettlement of the border.

Turkish decision makers responded differently to refugee flows from Iraq to Turkey in 1988 and 1991. In the 1988 refugee flows, Turkey and Iraq had only positional differences. In other words, even though the two states had different claims on the implementation of the 1984 Protocol. However, neither side relied on the threat to use force as a means of achieving its own position. On the other hand, in the 1991 refugee flows a different strategy was preferred. Immediately after the refugee flows,

Turkish decision makers threatened to use force to stop the refugee crisis. Differing from other crises, the involvement of international actors played a role in the de-escalation of the crisis. The Operation Provide Comfort, led by the US, provided security in Northern Iraq so that Kurdish refugees could return.

In Nakhchivan crisis, Turkish decision makers first evaluated the attack on Sadarak, located near the border of Turkey as a border violation. Turkish decision makers perceived the attack on Sadarak as a crisis when Armenian forces cut 10 km border corridor between Turkey and Nakhchivan. Turkey approached the issue within the framework of territorial integrity due to its legal responsibility to protect the borders of Nakhchivan. Due to continuing Armenian attacks, Turkey chose to escalate the crisis by militarizing its border. This strategy of Turkey triggered a crisis among Armenian decision makers and did not lead to the political or legal solution of the Nakhchivan conflict. The crisis for both Turkish and Armenian decision makers ended due to the temporary cessation of the hostilities in Nakhchivan.

Turkish decision makers evaluated the situation in Syria as a crisis after the Turkish-Syrian border was attacked by the Syrian army. After militarizing its border, Turkey opted for the escalation strategy by shelling the Syrian territory. With the changing dynamics of the civil war, border threats changed accordingly. From 2013 onwards, jihadist groups have posed a challenge for the Turkish-Syrian border. In order to cope with these challenges, Turkey has changed its strategy. It has used a series of military measures at and beyond its border to ensure its border security.

Table 7.2. The Outcome of Border-Related Turkish Foreign Policy Crises

The Küçük Ağrı Crisis	The Turkey-Iraq Refugee Crisis	The Nakhchivan Crisis	The Syrian Crisis
Crisis ended with the 1932 border agreement	The crisis ended with with the Iraq's agreement with the UN in 1991	The crisis ended with the temporary cessassion of hostilities in 1993	The crisis is ongoing

As Table 2 shows, the outcome of each border-related Turkish foreign policy crises is different. The Küçük Ağrı crisis ended with an agreement reached between Turkey and Iran in 1932. The Turkish-Iraq refugee crisis ended with an agreement reached between Iraq and the UN in 1991. Differing from the previous crises, Nakhchivan crisis did not end with an agreement. The crisis between Turkey and Armenia ended as Armenian

aggression was temporarily halted in Nakhchivan. As the Syrian conflict is ongoing, border security continues to be a major concern for Turkish decision makers and caused a military intervention of Turkey in Syria. The more fragmented Syria becomes, the more the increasing risk will push Turkey to take the necessary measures to secure its border.

CHAPTER EIGHT

IF THE CRISIS IS WHAT WE MAKE OF IT: TURKEY AND THE UPRISINGS IN SYRIA[*]

GENCER ÖZCAN

Introduction

With its longevity, manifold of tragic outcomes and deadly fallouts, the crisis in Syria has already been deemed one of the historical events that changed the political landscape in the Middle East. Although the uprisings were set off by Syria's own political dynamics, the crisis they instigated was manifestation of a power struggle for regional supremacy. Of those that took side in the struggle, Turkey was one of the countries that immediately became involved in the crisis and, alongside the others, had significant impact on the course of events. Given the intimate relations the Justice and Development Party (JDP) governments cultivated with the Syrian regime, Turkey's reaction to the uprisings was of special interest.

Before the uprisings, Syria had been the jewel in the crown of the JDP governments' the "Zero Problem with Neighbors Policy". JDP governments had forged extensive cooperation schemes with Syria concluding free trade agreements or lifting visa requirements. "Common history, common destiny and common future", the leitmotif of the party's discourse on the Middle East, had been best exemplified in the context of Turkish-Syrian relations. Moreover, the JDP governments had stood by the Syrian regime whenever it seemed vulnerable in the 2000s. Expecting that the regime is doomed, however, JDP leadership threw its weight behind the opposition and committed itself to a regime change policy after uprisings broke out in Syria. Turkey's policies during the crisis stand as a unique case in foreign policy making since the JDP governments adopted unprecedented practices to oust the Syrian regime, through overtly supporting the

opposition, a practice that Turkey deliberately refrained from throughout the republican history. However, while the JDP's expectations came true in other Arab countries where existing regimes were ousted one after another, the Syrian regime could have held out. Furthermore, devastating consequences that the crisis caused did not remain within the confines of Syria, spilt over the neighboring countries and Turkey was no exception. As the crisis unfolded, its fallouts that Turkey should deal with snowballed at an unprecedented degree. After five years of interventionist policies, Turkey seems to have been bogged down in the Syrian quagmire.

Arab Uprisings and the JDP's Aim to Establish a "New Regional Order"

When the uprisings engulfed the Middle East, the JDP leadership decided to leap at the opportunity to bolster Turkey's regional position and sided with the opposition movements. Turkey's decision to become actively involved in the uprisings was in line with the active engagement policy in regional politics that the JDP government put in effect since 2008. Increasing preoccupation with the Palestinian question and involvement in Israeli-Syrian peace negotiations had already brought Turkey to the fore in regional politics. Turkey's election to the non-permanent membership of the UN Security Council in 2009 and its participation to the inaugural summit of G-20 in November 2009 were deemed to be representations of Turkey's increasing prestige in World politics. Among other demarches, the then Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's reaction to the then President of Israel, Shimon Peres, in Davos World Summit in January 2009 would later be trumpeted to foster his image as a new regional leader who earnestly supports the Palestinian cause. A new discourse had been devised to manifest the JDP's assertive regional approach. In September 2009, the then Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu had already claimed that Turkey "shall pioneer the new order"[1]

Intertwined with the party's various power strategies, new discourse was strongly emphasized by the JDP leadership making foreign policy one of the pivotal aspects of election campaigns. The campaigns were geared towards underscoring the qualities that Erdoğan was having as an international statesman who could have made Turkey, after so many years, assume the role it deserved in World politics. The campaign designed for the June 12, 2011 Elections depicted Erdoğan as "the voice in the

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[1] Utku Çakırözer, "Yeni Düzenin Öncüsü Türkiye Olacak", *Akşam*, September 8, 2009; Bülent Aras, "Düzen Kurucu Aktör", *Sabah*, September 30, 2009.

international arena for those who had been silenced and intimidated for years, [who] launched an international social campaign that became the symbol of peace and brotherhood in the East and in the West."[2] In the period preceding the Arab uprisings, the JDP was successful in creating the image that Turkey's international posture had become more powerful. By the same token, the party administration seemed to make careful calculations about the impact that the party's foreign policy had on the electorate's support for the party.[3] Therefore, "among the primary reasons for the electorate to vote for the JDP", as a pollster later claimed, the JDP government's "foreign policy performance" was the most outstanding.[4] Even in 2013 when the JDP's regional policy had already been stuck in Egypt and Syria, a pro JDP thinktank publication could have claimed that "Turkey is not just seen as a regional power/actor but as 'global actor" boasting that "no order can be established without Turkey".[5]

    The Arab uprisings provided new possibilities that the JDP leadership could have used to promote regional image of the then Prime Minister Erdoğan. At the beginning of the uprisings, Turkey hesitated, yet afterwards resolutely supported the opposition in Arab countries. In the wake of successful takeovers in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya, many were speaking of emulating the 'Turkish model' pioneered by Erdoğan's Islamist JDP. Turkey's active support for Libya operation paved the way for rising expectations in the West that Turkey would effectively contribute to such operations. Erdoğan seemed to take benefit of the moment by visiting Cairo, Tunisia and Tripoli before he joined the U.N. General Assembly in New York in late September 2011. Implications of his talks and contacts there were obvious that the JDP leadership was very keen to become, to say the least, part of the transformation evolving in those countries. In September 2011, the New Statesman ranked Erdoğan 11th among the 50 people who mattered in 2011 because he "proved himself to be a master of alliance-building" and "exploited a power vacuum in the Middle East to transform his country into a regional diplomatic giant."[6]As yet another token of his rising popularity as well as

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[2] "Dış Politika: Türkiye'nin Dünyada İtibarını Yükselttik," İstanbul: AK Parti İstanbul İl Başkanlığı, 2011, p. 10.

[3] Murat Yetkin, "Dış Politika Hükümete Puan Getiriyor", *Radikal*, June 12, 2012.

[4] Barçın Yinanç, "Why does Erdoğan Support Davutoğlu's Foreign Policy?," *Hürriyet Daily News*, June 12, 2012.

[5] Murat Yeşiltaş and Ali Balcı, *A Dictionary of Turkish Foreign Policy in the AK Parti Era: A Conceptual Map,* (Ankara: Seta, 2013): 15-16.

[6] Mehdi Hasan, "50 People Who Matter 2011: 11. Recep Tayyip Erdogan: Turkish Delight", *New Statesman*, September 26, 2011.

the expectations attached to him in the power corridors of the West, he was on the cover of Time magazine in November 2011 with a caption reading that "Turkey's pro-Islamic leader has built his (secular, democratic, Western friendly) nation into a regional powerhouse… but can his example save the Arab Spring?"

After the Muslim Brotherhood [MB] in Egypt won the elections in June 2012, the JDP leadership seemed to be sure that winds of change would replace the existing regimes and pave the way for a new regional order. Ushering that the collapse of the Camp David order is immediate[7], editorial articles in *Yeni Şafak*, the flagship of the pro-JDP media, prophesied that the backbone of the new regional order would be "a belt of the Muslim Brotherhood from Sudan to Egypt… From Egypt to Jordan and Syria". Its prophecy foretold what lied ahead of the region: "within ten years to come, the same political structures, the same political language, the same vision of future would prevail in the belt stretching from Sudan to Syria".[8] By the end of 2012, chanting "Raise your head Egypt! Raise your head Palestine; Syria; Lebanon, Afghanistan!", another *Yeni Şafak* editorial was heralding that "century of solitude" for Muslims ended.[9] However, the trajectory of uprisings in North Africa misled the JDP leadership to make fatal mistakes in another country where the stakes were much higher for Turkey.

It was obvious that the uprisings in Syria impaled the JDP leadership on the horns of a dilemma forcing a choice between standing by the regime or supporting the rebels. Given the intimate relations that the JDP leadership had with Bashar al-Assad, it was much easier to take sides with those who rose up against the existing regimes in Egypt, Tunisia or Libya than those so did against the Syrian regime.[10] Therefore, the JDP did not have time to reprint the propaganda booklet prepared for the June 12, 2011 Elections, first page of which depicted Erdoğan and Assad arm in arm. Throughout the propaganda period, JDP spokespersons levelled moderately toned criticism at the Syrian regime in the context of calls for

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[7] İbrahim Karagül, "Türk-İsrail Ekseni de Camp David de Çöktü", *Yeni Şafak*, May 1, 2012.

[8] İbrahim Karagül, "Müslüman Kardeşler Dünyası Kuruluyor!", *Yeni Şafak*, June 19, 2012.

[9] İbrahim Karagül, "Yüzyıllık Yalnızlık Bitti", *Yeni Şafak*, November 19, 2012.

[10] In May 2011, Foreign Minister Davutoğlu underlined that he paid 60 visits to Damascus in the 8 years since the JDP came to power in November 2002. "Türkiye'den Esad'a Şok Terapi Tavsiyesi", *Milliyet*, May 27, 2011.

democratic reforms.[11] It might be the same reason that made Erdoğan
delay making his first warning to President al-Assad until the very eve of
elections that Turkey "would not remain silent on what is happening in
Syria and that good relations will not continue for good.[12] However,
behind the smokescreen of calls for democratic reforms, the JDP
government was reported to have already begun to support the opposition
groups from the early days of the uprisings. In July 2011, Prime Minister
Erdoğan was quoted to have stated that "if Syrian President Bashar al-
Assad ensured between a quarter and a third of ministers in his
government were members of the Muslim Brotherhood, to make a
commitment to use all his influence to end the rebellion." Although denied
by the Turkish authorities, similar information was endorsed by the Syrian
officials with knowledge of the talks that the then Foreign Minister
Davutoğlu had "called for the return of the Muslim Brotherhood in
Syria".[13] In the meantime, first reports indicating Turkey's support to the
armed groups appeared as early as June 2011 when armed groups killed
120 Syrian troops in Jisr al- Shoughour, the city in close vicinity of
Turkey.[14] The Syrian regime claimed that "a group of terrorists
apprehended around Jisr al-Shoughour was carrying Turkish passports and
SIM cards."[15] Right after the elections, the JDP leadership veered from its
policy in Syria, framed the issue as "national matter" and started pursue a
regime change policy. Although congratulated by President Bashar Assad
for his victory at the elections of June 12, 2011; Erdoğan increasingly
became critical of the Syrian regime after the elections.[16] On July 27,

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[11] "Sözde Değil Özde Uygulanmalı", *Milliyet*, March 29, 2011; "Esad'ın Gitmesi
için Daha Erken", *Milliyet*, May 13, 2011; Aslı Aydıntaşbaş, "Esad Hâlâ Reform
Yapabilir", *Milliyet*, June 9, 2011.
[12] "Erdoğan'dan Esad Ailesine Sert Mesaj", *Hürriyet*, June 10, 2011.
[13] "Turkey 'Offered Syria Support' if Brotherhood Given Posts," *AFP*, September
29, 2011 quoted in *ahram online*, http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/22896.aspx,
[26.11.2015]; "Erdoğan'dan Müslüman Kardeşler Teklifi", *Milliyet*, September 30,
2011.
[14] Fehim Taştekin, *Suriye: Yıkıl Git, Diren Kal*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2015):86-93;
Hediye Levent, "Suriye'de Medya Savaşı," *Milliyet*, June 7, 2011.
[15] "Ordu Gelişmiş Silahlar Türk Pasaportları ve Sim Kartları Ele Geçirdi",
http://www.sana.sy/tur/339/2011/06/14/352474.htm, June 14, 2011, quoted in
Veysel Ayhan, "Erdoğan-Esad Görüşmesi: İlişkilerde Çatışmacı Dönem",
http://www.tuicakademi.org/index.php/kategoriler/diger/1593-erdogan-esad-
gorusmesiiliskilerde-catismaci-donem [20.6.2011]
[16] "Erdoğan'dan Suriye Açıklaması", *Hürriyet*, August 6, 2011.

2011, as if to confirm claims that Turkey supports armed groups, the Free Syrian Army (FSA) was founded and given sanctuary in Turkey.[17]

Anticipating that the course of events in Syria would follow the trajectory of revolution in Egypt, Erdoğan implicitly warned Assad that he would not get away with what he has done to his people.'[18] Davutoğlu, on the other hand, paid his last visit on August 8 to Damascus where hours of deliberations with President Assad produced no result.[19] On September 21, Turkey closed its airspace for flights bound for Syria and four days later announced that the regime lost its legitimacy and called the regime to abandon power and initiated sanctions against the regime.[20] Erdoğan declared that he did not see "the Syrian issue as an external matter" but "a domestic one" adding that: "what happens there [in Syria] never lets us remain as beholders."[21]

With the MB having come to power in Egypt and increasing opposition control in swathes of Syria, the JDP government's assertiveness became palpable in 2012.[22] While the discourse on the uprisings was previously focusing on democracy, human rights and political freedoms, 2012 witnessed formulation of a new discourse calling for a new regional order and a bigger role for Turkey in the making of it. In February 2012, speaking at the end of the Friends of Syria Conference, the then Foreign Minister Davutoğlu asserted that "From now on we shall sit at the table and have a say. Exactly like what we did in Somalia. Should there be a table of Syria, we should naturally be in the front of it. Be global or regional, now we are sitting at all tables."[23] On April 26, 2012 Davutoğlu in his speech before the parliament claimed that "among the Middle Eastern societies, Turkey is not only considered as a friendly and brother country, but seen as a country having a new idea to determine future of the

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[17] Tufan Türenç, "'Ana Üs: Hatay' Ne Anlama Geliyor?," *Hürriyet*, 29 August 2011.

[18] Umut Tütüncü, "Erdoğan, Davutoğlu'nu Şam'a Gönderiyor", *Habertürk*, August 8, 2011,

[19] Deniz Zeyrek, "'Gorbaçov Olmazsan, Saddam Olursun'", *Radikal*, August 8, 2011; Deniz Zeyrek, "'6, 5 Saatlik Görüşmede Bol Sitem", *Radikal*, August 10, 2011.

[20] Nafiz Albayrak, "Suriye'nin Silahına İzin Verilmeyecek", *Milliyet*, 25 September 2011.

[21] Tütüncü, "Erdoğan, Davutoğlu'nu Şam'a Gönderiyor"…,

[22] Ufuk Ulutaş, "Türkiye'nin İsrail-Filistin Politikası 2012," in *Türk Dış Politikası Yıllığı 2012*, (Eds.) Burhanettin Duran, Kemal İnat and Ufuk Ulutaş, (Ankara: Seta, 2013):229-258.

[23] Duygu Güvenç, "Suriye'ye Müdahale Olasılığı Masada", *Sabah*, February 26, 2012.

region and being both the pioneer of a new regional order…Turkey would be both the pioneer and speaker of this order of peace."[24]

Miscalculations on Syria

By the mid-2012, with the armed opposition gaining upper hand, top level defections increasing and the regime retreating from key positions in Syria, even leading experts were claiming that the end of the regime was drawing nearer. In Steven Heydemann's words, "if the exact timing of its demise cannot be predicted, there are nonetheless growing indications that governments opposed to the Assad regime, and even those still supporting it, are increasingly concerned with how to manage the end game in Syria and protect their interests in a post-al-Assad era."[25] The JDP leadership was also expressing its predictions with confidence that the regime would collapse soon. By the latter part of 2012 the JDP leadership seemed to be sure as to when the Syrian regime would fall. On August 24, Davutoğlu professed that the days of the Syrian regime were numbered. "I do not think that this painful process will last long. I have not fixed a date as to when Esad will leave; but a regime which would get alienated to its people will not stay alive."[26] On 5 September 2012, Erdoğan confidently declared that

> "God willing, we shall soon go to Damascus, embrace our brothers with love. That day is also getting closer. We shall recite Fatiha [the opening sura of the Quran] before the tomb of Salahaddin Ayyubi and pray in the Ummayad Mosque. We shall freely pray for our brotherhood in the tomb of Bilal al-Habashi and of Ibn al-Arabi, in the Suleimaniya complex and Hejaz railway station"[27]

The JDP's anticipations on the future of the regime were accompanied by explorations about the post al-Assad period. In October 2012, Davutoğlu suggested that the Syrian Vice President Farouk al-Sharaa could replace Bashar Assad as president and lead a transition government.[28] In the meantime, the JDP spokespersons did not conceal

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[24] "Ortadoğu'da Değişimi Yöneteceğiz," *Milliyet*, April 27, 2012.
[25] Steven Heydemann, "The Endgame in Syria", *Foreign Policy*, July 11, 2012, http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/07/11/the-end-game-in-syria/.
[26] "Davutoğlu Esad'a Ömür Biçti", *Hürriyet Planet*, August 25, 2012, http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/planet/21300142.asp. [19.10.2015].
[27] Sinan Tartanoğlu, "Erdoğan Suriye için Politika Değişikliği Sinyali Verdi: Esed Yine Esad mı Oluyor?" *Cumhuriyet*, 25 September 2015.
[28] "Beşar Esad'ın Yerine Faruk Şara Geçsin," *Milliyet*, October 7, 2012.

that the regime change in Syria might create opportunities for the JDP to realize its "aspirations to make Turkey great again". What Erdoğan declared in late June 2012 illustrates the extent of ambitious expectations prevailing among the JDP's top brass. Referring to the Syrian crisis, Erdoğan would draw comparisons between the foreign policy visions of his party and of the RPP (the main opposition, Republican People's Party) charging the latter lack vision of making Turkey greater.

> "The great states are envied. If you do not have a claim of being greater, of being stronger, you just shut your eyes to everyone and everything, but stuck to where you were. The RPP's foreign policy has never had a foreign policy vision for becoming great and active. They shut their eyes to and even supported cruelty, injustice, unlawfulness. They should excuse us; but such a Turkey no longer exists. We have great targets. We, God willing, endeavour to make Turkey one of the biggest ten countries of the World until 1923".[29]

Ankara's reactions to the developments of the latter part of the 2012 reflected the JDP government's resoluteness to topple the al-Assad regime. After Turkish RF4E reconnaissance aircraft was intercepted and downed by the Syrian air defense on June 22, the government demanded from the parliament a mandate for war. When Syrian artillery fire killed 5 civilians on October 3 in border town Akçakale, the then Prime Minister Erdoğan called on preparations for a possible war with Syria: "One has to be ready for war at every moment, if it becomes necessary. If you are not ready, you are not a state and you cannot be a nation. The state that is not ready for war at any moment is not fully developed. Turkey must be ready for war no matter what."[30] Editorials published in *Yeni Şafak* probably resonated with the mind-set of the JDP leadership that Turkey would come to the fore as the "pivotal country" and become "the architect of the change in Syria".[31]

However, the second half of 2013 witnessed the reversal of fortunes for the JDP when the Syrian regime consolidated its position and the Egyptian military ousted the Muslim Brotherhood government in July 2013. During the first week of June, the Syrian army expelled the FSA from Al-Qusayr, the strategic stronghold controlling an important supply route between Syria and Lebanon. The battle of Al-Qusayr gave renewed

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[29] "Erdoğan: Baas mı CHP mi?", *Cumhuriyet*, June 29, 2012.
[30] "Turkey has to be Ready for War, Says Erdoğan", *Today's Zaman*, October 08, 2012.
[31] İbrahim Karagül, "Oyun Bitti, Esad İçin Yolun Sonuna Gelindi", *Yeni Şafak*, November 16, 2011.

momentum to the Syrian army and frustrated hopes that the regime would fall soon. The role that Hezbollah played in the battle of Al-Qusayr was criticized by Hüseyin Çelik, the JDP government's then spokesperson, who labelled the organization as the party of the devil rather than of God.[32] However, Hezbollah's reaction was swift that THY (Türk Hava Yolları/Turkish Airlines) staff in Beirut was kidnapped on August 8, 2013 by an organization hitherto unknown. On August 10, the Turkish army contingent deployed in Lebanon had to withdraw. Nevertheless, the greatest blow came from Egypt on July 3, when the military ousted the MB government. The military coup in Egypt meant the loss of the most precious reward that the JDP government gained during the Arab Spring. Given the centrality of Egypt in the Middle East, the loss was irreplaceable for Ankara. Moreover, the JDP government's protests against the coup led to a crisis in bilateral relations that Egypt declared Turkey's ambassador persona non grata. In August 2013, Turkey's despair increased when the US desisted from a bombing campaign to punish the Syrian regime for the chemical attack it carried out in Guta near Damascus. In sum, the year 2013 witnessed that diversification of fallouts caused by the Syrian crisis went far beyond Turkey's capacity. All contingent upon the will of its allies, the three policy aims that the JDP government focused on after 2013 were manifesting in the sense that Turkey had already reached the limit of its capabilities: "One, for a no-fly zone to be created; two, for a secure zone parallel to the region to be declared; and for the moderate opposition in Syria and Iraq to be trained and equipped."[33] In this respect, three wrong assumptions, which worsened, if not caused, these ramifications, may provide a relevant frame of analysis to understand entanglements of JDP governments during the crisis in Syria.[34]

The JDP's Syrian policy was based on three discernible assumptions which proved misleading. The policy was primarily based on the assumption that the Assad regime was weak and would collapse in a short span of time like did the regimes in Egypt and Tunisia. On the contrary, the regime could have met challenges raised by armed opposition. On Turkey's part, the assumption of weaknesses of the regime led to a number of miscalculations about the capacities that the regime could have mobilized when threatened. The commonplace knowledge that the regime

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[32] "Hizbuşeytan", *Hürriyet*, May 27, 2013; Sertaç Koç, "Hizbulah'ın Kararı Türkiye'de Eylem", *Milliyet*, May 27, 2013.
[33] "Erdogan Warns Kobani is 'About to Fall to Isis' as Militants Advance on Syria-Turkey Border Town," *Independent*, October 7, 2104.
[34] Christopher Phillips, "Turkey's Syria Problem", *Open Democracy*, September 28, 2012.

does not represent any segment of society, but a narrow Alawite minority was disproved. The course of events displayed that the extent of domestic support given to the regime was larger than it had been presumed. Another miscalculation caused by this assumption was that the regime would soon be left alone in the international arena. However, it was soon understood that allies of the regime abroad would stand by it rather than abandon it like the allies of the Egyptian regime did. Contrarily, Iran, Russia and Hezbollah unceasingly supported the regime by all means. After late September 2015, the support provided by the Russian air force became even more decisive when the regime began to display signs of collapse. As Cafiero and Wagner observed in late 2015, Turkey's role in the conflict has been "dwarfed by Russia, Iran and Hezbollah's military intervention against the regime's enemies."[35] The asymmetry became more conspicuous when Russia imposed its own no-fly-zone over northern Syria compelling Turkey to suspend its flights there after the Russian SU-24 bomber downed by Turkish Air Force on November 24, 2015. In addition to the military backing, diplomatic support that its allies extended to the Syrian regime was even more conclusive. As permanent members of the Security Council, Russia and China effectively blocked the UN to pass resolutions for sanctions against the regime. In November 2015, the invitation extended to Tehran to join Vienna Talks meant the inclusion of another key ally of the Syrian regime to the negotiating table.

This assumption also led to a misbegotten course of action on behalf of the JDP government and caused other miscalculations that the Syrian regime would be easily paralyzed and downed by uprisings. However, the Syrian regime was not belated to respond to Turkey's interferences by revitalizing its former *modus vivendi* with the PKK.

Dealing with the PYD and ISIS

The signs that the Syrian regime would recycle its connections with the PKK (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan/Kurdistan Workers' Party) became conspicuous in early April 2011 when the regime allowed PKK militias coming from Qandil bases enter Syria. Saleh Muslim, the co-chair of the PYD (Partiya Yekîtiya Demokrat/ Democratic Union Party), the Syrian branch of PKK, was among those who were allowed to come back in April. The regime also began to release some of the PKK operatives from

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[35] Giorgio Cafiero and Daniel Wagner, "Turkey and Qatar: Close Allies, Sharing a Doomed Syria Policy," *The National Interest*, November 9, 2015.

prison in May.[36] It was also reported that the PKK dispatched hundreds of armed fighters to form the PYD's military wing, the YPG."[37] Amidst accusations of "silencing" other Kurdish figures and of monopolizing the Kurdish political scenery, the PYD secured an overwhelming position among the Syrian Kurds.[38] The PKK declared his policy as the third way meaning that it will neither collaborate with the opposition nor the regime, but pursue its own policies. However, the course of events did not corroborate the PKK's third way policy, but in many cases the regime and PKK acted in tandem. Although the existence of a formal agreement between the PYD and the regime was not confirmed yet, it is almost certain that the parties had reached a tacit *modus vivendi*.[39] Moreover, on July 19, 2012, Turkey was stunned after the Syrian regime allowed the PYD take control over large swathes of alongside Turkish-Syrian border. Perceived as an embryonic state, the establishment of Kurdish cantons in Northern Syria evidently became a source of irritation in Ankara.[40]

However, Turkey's warnings that the PYD is the extension of PKK in Syria and Kurdish cantons constituted "an unacceptable situation" did have little impact on the course of events.[41] On the contrary, the proclamation of ISIS (the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) in Syria and its attempt to seize the Kurdish town Kobani provided the PYD with new opportunities to gain international legitimacy. Cast as the Stalingrad of Kurds, the resistance that the PYD forces put up in Kobani prompted worldwide sympathy. Turning deaf ears to Turkey's complaints that it was the extension of the PKK in Syria, the US began in October 2014 to support the YPG, the armed wing of the PYD. Evidently, the US policy was in contrast to Turkey's reluctance to provide support to the resistance in Kobani. When the KRG (Kurdistan Regional Government) asked Ankara's permission to let peshmergas reinforcements for YPG fighters be transferred through Turkey, the initial reaction of the JDP government was negative. On October 16, Davutoğlu, who was the then Prime Minister of Turkey as Erdoğan became the President, resolutely declared that "even for purposes of humanitarian aid, Turkey will not open a corridor" and

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[36] Khaled Jacoob Oweiss, "The West's Darling in Syria", *SWP Comments*, 47, (October 2015):47-48.
[37] "Syria's Kurds: A Struggle within a Struggle", *International Crisis Group, Middle East Report,* N°136, (22 January 2013): 2.
[38] Gunther Seufert, "The Return of the Kurdish Question on the Situation of the Kurds in Iraq, Syria and Turkey", *SWP Comments*, 38, (August 2015): 3.
[39] "Syria's Kurds: A Struggle within a Struggle" p.2.
[40] Deniz Zeyrek, "'Kürt Kartını Düşünme!'", *Radikal*, October 26, 2011.
[41] Yalçın Akdoğan, "Yeni Kandil'lere İzin Verilemez", *Star*, July 27, 2012.

"not meddle with Kobani issue"[42] However, the JDP's intransigence did not produce an effect as Turkey's allies remained indifference to Ankara's complaints and kept supporting the PYD. On the contrary, Turkey was targeted for "showing that it would prefer ISIS to hold the town: anything was better than the PYD."[43]

Eventually, in the face of strong pressure coming from its allies, the government stepped back.[44] "Within hours of Erdoğan saying that Turkey wouldn't help the PYD terrorists", as Patrick Cockburn noted, "that permission was being given for Iraqi Kurds to reinforce the PYD fighters at Kobani."[45] Although KRG reinforcements were allowed to go through Turkey, the impression lingered that the JDP government did not support Kurdish defenders at a time help was needed the most. After 134 days of the siege, on January 27, 2015, ISIS had to retreat from Kobani.[46] In October, the PYD could repel the ISIS forces in Tel Abyad, and seized the territory stretching between Haseke and Kobani cantons. It increased Ankara's concerns of being encircled by a Kurdish belt. As a consequence of successful campaigns, the PYD gained recognition as the only significant force on the ground fighting against ISIS. As a token of its increasing legitimacy, the co-chairpersons of the PYD were given official receptions in European capitals. In this respect, the Rojava Revolution, as named by the PKK, has indicated the extent of damage that the Syrian regime could have been able to inflict on Turkey. With its spill over impact on the Kurds of Turkey, the damage seems not to have confined to Syria. Given tremendous efforts to get the opposition consolidated in Syria, what JDP governments accomplished was much less significant by comparison with the damage the Syrian regime could have given Turkey only through revitalizing its ties with the PKK. This point leads us to the second assumption that misled the JDP government in Syria

The second assumption that the JDP government counted on had been that the opposition was strong enough to mobilize large groups of people and swiftly topple the regime. Almost five weeks after demonstrations broke out in Deraa, the Istanbul Meeting for Syria was held by several

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[42] "Davutoğlu: Türkiye Kobani'ye Köprü Açmayacak", *Türkiye*, October 16, 2104.

[43] Patrick Cockburn, "Whose Side is Turkey on?" *London Review of Books*, Vol. 36 No.21, (6 November 2014): 8.

[44] "Obama, Erdoğan'ı Aradı, Kobani'ye Koridor Açıldı," *Cumhuriyet*, October 21, 2104.

[45] Cockburn, "Whose Side is Turkey on?"…, 8.

[46] İdris Emen, "Sınırın Her İki Yakasında Bayram", *Radikal*, January 27, 2015.

opposition groups on April 26-27, 2011.[47] On May 31, the opposition convened its first large scale congress in Antalya which called for regime change. The Antalya Congress was marked by the active participation of the members of Syrian MB.[48] After the June 12, 2011 Elections, Turkey stepped up its efforts to get the Syrian opposition organized. With a strong MB contingent, the Syrian National Salvation Congress was convened on July 16 in Istanbul. On August 23, the Istanbul based group including independent opposition figures and pro-MB Islamists announced plans for the Syrian National Council (SNC). On August 29, the "Transitional National Council", including 94 members, was formed in Ankara and Burhan Ghalioun, with strong JDP support, became its chairman. On September 15, the Istanbul Group formally established SNC and endorsed Ghalioun's leadership. Another conference held on October 2 expanded the SNC including activists from other opposition groups.[49] Of the opposition groups, the MB was the one that the JDP attached great expectations. However, as a movement in exile with little social basis at home, the MB failed to meet the expectations. In addition to their weakness within Syria, MB leaders misled Ankara in the sense that the regime was doomed. In an interview given in June 2011, Muhammad Shaqfa, the leader of the Syrian MB, had claimed that the regime would not be able to survive the year to come.[50] Furthermore, the JDP's support for the MB was counterproductive for it dissuaded other secular groups to join the opposition. Therefore, the disappointment with the MB compelled the JDP government to extend support to armed groups with, to say the least, controversial political agendas.

The lack of capability was also evident for the rest of the opposition. However, none of the other opposition groups were strong enough to resist the regime forces or able to act in unison. Let alone unity, even significant degree of cooperation among the opposition groups has never been accomplished. As the civil war prolonged, these groups began to fight among them rather than to get allied and resist the regime. Given the difficulty of accurately assessing loyalties among the opposition, Turkey indiscriminately allowed weapons and fighters to flow across its border with Syria, Turkey increased its support for armed groups. After 2012, the amount of media reports highlighting the details of support that Turkey

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[47] Fehim Taştekin, "Özgürlük Talebi Bu Kez Bastırılamayacak", *Radikal*, April 27, 2011.

[48] Aron Lund, *Divided They Stand: An Overview of Syria's Opposition Factions*, (Upsala, International Center, 2012).

[49] Lund, *Divided They Stand...,*

[50] Aslı Aydıntaşbaş, "Rejim Önümüzdeki Yıl Pes Eder", *Milliyet*, 23 June 2011.

was providing the armed groups with increased. The support included that members of the armed opposition were given refuge, medical care and various transportation facilities.[51] The Apaydın refugee camp was specified as one of the camps where renegade Syrian officers could take rest and medical attention before they rejoin their comrades back in Syria.[52]

Beginning from January 3, 2012, Turkey took part in joint operations for shipping arms to the Syrian opposition allowing significant amount of shipment go through Turkey.[53] However, in spite of extensive support from abroad, the FSA failed to become an effective military force on the ground.[54] As the crisis prolonged, the JDP government opted to collaborate with radical groups such as Jabhat al-Nusra and other Al-Qaida affiliated groups which had been fighting more efficiently. Media reports raised allegations of extensive assistance to such groups, which ranged from arms transfers to logistics, and the provision of medical services. Towards the end of 2012, Turkey's support for Jabhat al-Nusra became even more controversial after members of the organization claimed to get involved in the deadly raid on the US Embassy in Benghazi in September 2012. The JDP government came under criticism from its Western allies that Al-Qaida affiliated groups in Syria were supported by Turkey. Despite the JDP government denying shipments, even Turkey's own exports statistics indicated Turkey exported 47 tonnes of military equipment to Syria only in the latter part of 2013.[55] Another report based on official figures indicated that Turkey's arms export to Syria continued in 2014 and amounted to USD 759.594.[56]

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[51] "Suriye'de Türkiye'den Gönderilen Silahlar Paylaşılamıyor", *BBC Türkçe*, September 14, 2012;

http://www.bbc.co.uk/turkce/haberler/2012/09/120914_syria_turkey_arms.shtml [28.062013]; Ghaith Abdul-Ahad, "Syria Civil War: We Expend the One Thing We Have: Men Are Dying", *The Guardian*, September 25, 2012; Liz Sly, "Turkey Confronts Policy Missteps on Syria with Rise of Al-Qaeda across the Border", *The Washington Post*, November 16, 2013.

[52] Tolga Tanış, *POTUS ve Beyefendi*, (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2015):72-73.

[53] C. J. Chivers and Eric Schmitt, "Arms Airlift to Syria Rebels Expands, With Aid From the C.I.A.", *The New York Times*, March 24, 2013; Greg Miller and Joby Warrick, "CIA Preparing to Deliver Arms Through Turkey and Jordan", *The Washington Post*, June 14, 2013; Tanış, *POTUS ve Beyefendi..*, 214; Ömer Ödemiş, *AKP'nin Suriye Yenilgisi*, (Ankara: Notebene, 2014):245-250.

[54] Liz Sly, "In Syria, Defectors Form Dissident Army in Sign Uprising May Be Entering New Phase", *The Washington Post*, 26 September 2011.

[55] Tolga Tanış, "Suriye'ye Silahın Belgesi", *Hürriyet*, December 15, 2013.

[56] Çiğdem Toker, "Suriye'ye Resmi Silah Ihracatı", *Cumhuriyet*, June 3, 2015.

The JDP government's support for armed salafi groups highlighted the divergence of views between Ankara and Washington. After the Bingazi attack in September 2012, the US suspended its support for Jabhat al Nusra, the Syrian branch of the Al Qaida and demanded Turkey terminate its support for the groups. In light of the changing US attitude towards Al Nusra, Turkey's support to the Salafi groupings increasingly came under criticism. Despite Turkey's declarations that Al Nusra was put on the list of terrorist organizations, allegations that the JDP government maintains its support for the organization continued. In September 2013 further claims were raised that not only did Al Nusra keep transferring its fighters through Turkey, but begin to recruit them from within Turkey.[57] When ISIS broke with the Al Qaida-Iraq and proclaimed its own state in Syria in 2013, US pressure on Turkey increased due to allegations of its support for the so called state.[58] Ongoing claims that Turkey, alongside Saudi Arabia and Qatar, support the radical Islamist groups drove another wedge between Turkey and its Western allies. In July 2014, ISIS solidified its hold on eastern banks of the Euphrates in Syria, expelling its rivals from the region, and declared a caliphate extending its control over the city of Mosul. Nevertheless, the JDP government refrained from taking an active coalition led by the United States to fight ISIS when forty-nine of its citizens were being held hostage by ISIS militants having been abducted from the Turkish consulate in the northern Iraqi city of Mosul. After securing their freedom in an operation which resulted in the release of 50 ISIS fighters, President Erdoğan said Turkey's position had changed, signalling a more robust stance towards the group.[59] However, these statements did not end accusations of support that Turkey extends to jihadist groups. Turkey's role to facilitate jihadist groups' mobility across its southern borders continued to be increasing concern and criticism from European countries."[60] On October 2, 2014, Vice President Joe Biden named Turkey, Saudi Arabia and the UAE which "promoted a proxy

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[57] İdris Emen, "Adıyaman-Suriye Cihat Hattı", *Radikal*, September 29, 2013.

[58] Anthony Faiola and Souad Mekhennet, "In Turkey, a Late Crackdown on Islamist Fighters", *Washington Post*, August 12, 2014 and David L. Phillips, *ISIS-Turkey Links*, Research Paper published by Institute for The Study of Human Rights, September 11, 2014.

[59] "Turkish Tanks Take up Position on Syrian Border Next to Besieged Kurdish Town", *Hürriyet Daily News*, September 29, 2014.

[60] Guido Steinberg, "A Chechen al-Qaeda? Caucasian Groups Further Internationalise the Syrian Struggle?", *SWP Comments,* 2014/C 31, (June 2014):7; Souad Ahmadoun, "Turkey's Policy toward Syrian Refugees: Domestic Repercussions and the Need for International Support", *SWP Comments 2014*/C 47, (November 2014): 4.

Sunni-Shia war in Syria and poured hundreds of millions of dollars and tens of thousands of tons of weapons into anyone who would fight against Assad".[61] In mid-November 2014, Turkey was charged by the report published by the UN Security Council with "being used as one of the primary routes for weapons" dispatched to ISIS and al-Nusra. Despite it prompted a denial from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the report reinforced Turkey's image of arm supplier for the jihadist organizations.[62] Turkey's unsuccessful attempts to convince its allies to set a no fly zone or a security zone in North Syria should also be noted as one of the indicators of its failure.[63]

Closely intertwined with the first two, the course of events displayed that Turkey lacks relevant means to deal with fallouts of the crisis. Overwhelmed by the manifold ramifications that the crisis caused, Turkey's incapability became conspicuous at several levels. On a humanitarian level, the number of refugees reached unprecedented levels marking the most serious refugee crisis of the republican history. In the wake of skirmishes in Jisr al-Shoughour in the early June 2011, first wave of refugees reached to Turkish border. The government launched unconditional "open door" policy, according to which migrants were accepted as guests rather than refugees. Soon after the refugee flow began, the infrastructure failed to meet contingencies despite the enormous efforts to open and maintain refugee camps. In October 2011, the policy was revised so that the "guests" were granted status of "temporary protection" and additional rights enabling them to stay in Turkey as long as they wish to do so.[64]

In mid-2012, the number of refugees was only 100.000. As of the end of 2014, the cost of refugees to the government amounted to $3 billion. The new migration law, which was put in effect in April 2014, gave the refugees "conditional refugee status".[65] As of the end of 2015, number of refugees reached to 2 million, two third of who are women and children. Even the number of refugee families' children who were born in Turkey was over 60.000. In spite of the enormous efforts, Turkey's policy for

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[61] Cockburn, "Whose Side is Turkey on?"…, 8-9.
[62] Fırat Kozok and Duygu Güvenç, "Türkiye'den IŞİD'e Kaçak Silah Hattı", *Cumhuriyet*, 29 December 2014; "Ankara Refutes UN Report Claiming Turkey Route for Arms to al-Qaeda", *Hürriyet Daily News*, December 30, 2014.
[63] "Washington Dubs Syria No-fly Zone Plans as 'Pre-mature', *Hürriyet Daily News*, December 4, 2014.
[64] Murat Onur, "Türkiye'nin Sorunlu Mülteci Politikası", *Radikal İki*, November 4, 2012.
[65] Ahmadoun, "Turkey's Policy toward Syrian Refugees"…, 1.

refugees was criticized on the grounds that refugees were instrumentalized
for the JDP government's Syrian policy. In a clear violation of
international regulations, some camps were disguised as refugee camps,
but used as sanctuaries for the members of the armed groups who
crisscrossed border on regular basis. The media attention and debates in
the parliament did not change the official position and demands for site
inspection were refused on the basis of security of the refugees there.[66] By
mid-2012, overwhelmed by the influx of refugees, Ankara started to
complain of international community's indifference to the refugee crisis
and asked assistance to share the burden.[67] Refugees who tried to migrate
to Europe caused yet another crisis between Turkey and the EU.

Internal Disturbances

Events of 2013 within Turkey highlighted that its capacity to lead
democratic transformation in the Middle East by example was not
sufficient either. The harsh treatment that the JDP government gave to the
peaceful demonstrators during the Gezi Park protests undermined
international prestige and credibility the JDP government gained during
the Arab uprisings. The poor political performance of the JDP government
during the protests stood in a stark contrast to the image of Erdoğan, who
used to be illustrated as the leader who could be able to provide the
leadership that Arab streets aspired to have. Let alone taking a positive
attitude and resorting to a reconciliatory discourse, as Soli Özel pointed
out, "the protesters were accused of being foreign agents, terrorists,
enemies of Turkey's stability and prosperity, or lackeys of the main
opposition party."[68] Demonizing protestors or raising the spectre of chaos,
the discourse that the JDP leadership employed resembled rhetoric that
authoritarian leaders resorted when coping with the Arab uprisings.
However, not only did the Gezi protestors, but those opposed to the
government's policy in Syria fall victim to the JDP's divisive discourse.

Instead of using an inclusive rhetoric to build a nationwide consensus,
the JDP government deliberately employed a rhetoric through which
opposition parties were constantly accused of supporting or collaborated
with the Syrian regime. The JDP propaganda reiterated that "the main
opposition party RPP was acting as the Baath Party of Turkey or the

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[66] "Apaydın'a Özel Muamele", *Radikal*, August 30, 2012.
[67] Deniz Zeyrek, "'Suriyeli Misafir' için Uyarı" *Radikal*, August 27, 2012.
[68] Soli Özel, "A Moment of Elation: The Gezi Protests/Resistance and the Fading
of the AKP Project", in *The Making of a Protest Movement in Turkey:
#Occupygezi*, (Ed.) Umut Özkırımlı, (Basicstoke, Palgrave Pivot, 2014): 7-24.

accomplice of the Syrian regime". In September 2011 the JDP's the then spokesperson Hüseyin Çelik professed "a genetic linkage between the RPP and Baath parties in Arab countries". In order to despise RPP's leader Kılıçdaroğlu, he went so far as to claim that confessional identity of Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, as an Alawite by origin, could have been influential in the formulation of RPP's policy towards the Syrian regime.[69] So let alone building a consensus on the Syrian crisis, at a time solidarity and unity are required the most, the JDP's sectarian discourse deepened the existing social and political cleavages.

The most striking setback that the Syrian crisis caused for the JDP government was probably that the crisis invoked the intra governmental frictions among the security agencies including the national intelligence service, the police and the gendarmerie. It was unprecedented that frictions led to leakages from top secret confidential meetings or to severe turf fights within the security establishment. On November 7, 2013, the interception of a truck loaded with missile heads and ammunition bound for Syria highlighted the state of affairs among the most sensitive security agencies in charge of covert operations. It was later understood that the interception was a manifestation of a tug of war between national intelligence service and some clandestine organizations within the police. In a similar operation carried out on January 19, 2014 when two more trucks were intercepted by the gendarmerie, the extent of the cleavages among various agencies became more evident. On the eve of the June 7, 2015 Elections, when the debate on Turkey's support to the Syrian opposition was rekindled, the photographs taken during these interceptions were published again.[70] Other reports indicating the transportation facilities provided to Jihadist groups en route to Syria followed the suit.[71]

The JDP government labeled publications as an attempt to oust government and sued the journalists who would be detained in November 2015 on charges of spying on issues of national security. The incident triggered another exchange of reprimands between the JDP government and opposition in which both sides blamed each other of high treason, highlighting once again the depth of fault lines that the Syrian crisis created in Turkish politics. While the government accused media outlets of uncovering secret operations for arming Turcomans of Syria,[72] the

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[69] "CHP Türkiye'nin Baas Partisidir", *Habertürk*, September 8, 2011. The same rhetoric remained in use until recently: "CHP-HDP Esad'ın Türkiye Temsilcisi", *Sabah*, May 11, 2015.
[70] Can Dündar, "İşte Erdoğan'ın Yok Dediği Silahlar", *Cumhuriyet*, May 29, 2015.
[71] Ahmet Şık, "MİT'ten Cihatçı Sevkiyatı", *Cumhuriyet*, June 6, 2015.
[72] İsmail Uğur, "Türkiye Olmasaydı Ayakta Kalamazdık", *Yeni Akit*, June 2, 2015.

opposition claimed that the arms and ammunition had been dispatched for Jihadist groups affiliated with Al Qaida. It has already become evident that the JDP's policies will rekindle more power struggles within the state establishment and venomous debates among political parties.

The crisis played the role of catalyst for turf fights among various security agencies whereas the military did not get entangled any sort of open quarrel with the government or other institutions. Despite the military assumed critical role during various stages of the crisis, as of the beginning of the 2016, it remained in sidelines. This aloofness was attributable to two significant factors. The military had been stripped of its legal leverages to intervene in mundane politics. Secondly, the Syrian crisis coincided with an institutional recovery of trauma inflicted by political trials which aimed to undercut the military's position. In particular, after 2013 the government and the military were in line with each other and no evidence was reported indicating serious friction between JDP governments and the military. In a stark contrast to the way it used to act before, the military refrained from making public statements or taking positions against the government policy over Syria. The military acted in unison and did not run the risk of being dragged into the Syrian quagmire. Its reluctance for a military intervention in Syria became palpable during the second half of June 2015. Alarmed by the nascent "corridor state" alongside the Syrian border, the government asked the military to move across the border to prevent the YPG's advance beyond the Euphrates. Ostensibly meant to set a safe zone for the displaced Syrians to take refuge, the military's reaction to the government's demand to enter Syria was cautious.[73] Sources known close to the military suggested that the top brass declined to implement the government's instructions on the grounds that the conditions were not ripe for such a contingency and that more detailed planning needed to be done for the unexpected outcomes since "the size of the fire was not seen clear enough".[74] It was interesting that the military drew attention to the likelihood of political complications given the fact that a new government had not been formed yet after the June 7 Elections, which did not give clear mandate for a single party government.[75]

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[73] Murat Yetkin, "Army Reluctant on Gov't Call for Syria Intervention", *Hürriyet Daily News*, June 27-28, 2015; Serkan Demirtaş, "Türkiye Neden Suriye'ye Giremez?", *Radikal*, June 30, 2015.

[74] Ahmet Takan, "Davutoğlu'ndan TSK'ya Emir: Cerablus'a Girin", *Yeni Çağ*, June 26, 2015.

[75] Murat Kelkitlioğlu, "Hükümet 'Gir' Derse Gireriz", *Akşam*, June 28, 2015; Serpil Çevikcan, "'Sorumluluktan Asla Kaçmayız'", *Milliyet*, June 28, 2015.

Conclusion

The uprisings in Syria seemed to have impaled the JDP leadership on the horns of a dilemma forcing a choice between standing by the regime or supporting the rebels. However, soon after the uprisings broke out, Turkey was among the regional powers that took sides in the conflict making Syria theatre of a war-by-proxy for regional supremacy. It was also the first time Ankara defined the unrest in another country as its own national matter and overtly interfered in the internal affairs of that country by all means at its disposal. In contrast to what Turkey abhorred what Syria did in 1990s, Turkey hosted, trained and armed opposition groups with an aim to oust the regime in Syria. As of the beginning of 2016, Turkey's regime change policy proved futile and even counterproductive.

Moreover, Turkey was left exposed to most serious fallouts that the turmoil in Syria caused. Of such manifold effects, the unending refugee flow towards Turkey has probably been the most serious consequence that the crisis set off. However, the Syrian crisis also took a heavy toll on Turkey's politics. Rather than to build a consensus in favor of government, the JDP's discursive strategy polarized society to an unprecedented degree charging the opposition for not supporting the government in its "righteous cause". Furthermore, the JDP's Syrian policy became a catalyst for severe turf fights among several agencies of Turkey's security establishment. The chain of crises instigated by the JDP's regime change policy revealed fragile relations between the security and intelligence agencies. Interventionist policies in Syria also put the JDP government at loggerheads with its neighbors such as Russia and Iran. And as the crisis was prolonged, it led to what one of the leading figures of the party called "Turkey's precious solitude" in the Middle East.

In spite of its huge political and strategic investment in the Syrian crisis since its beginning, the JDP has never gained control over what happened on the ground. When the Russian military fully engaged in the conflict to save the regime in late 2015, it also eliminated all prospects for Turkey's putative military involvement in Syria. Moreover, when the Syrian Army defeated the armed groups that controlled the northern part of Aleppo, it frustrated Turkey's efforts to bolster these armed groups that were fighting to hold on to northern Syria. The political turmoil that followed the failed putsch of July 15th dragged Turkey's security apparatus into a state of introversion, and inevitably compelled the JDP administration to come to terms with Russia and Iran. Turkey's *Operation Euphrates Shield* began in late August. What paradoxically made it possible was the rapprochement with Russia and Russian acquiescence. This episode epitomized Turkey's *modus operandi*

with Russia. Therefore, the Moscow Declaration of 20 December 2016 that aligned Turkey with its rivals in the Syrian conflict such as Iran and Russia, effectively stands as an obituary, if not a certificate of death, for the overambitious policies that Turkey pursued in Syria since 2011.

CHAPTER NINE

NON-STATE ACTORS IN TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY CRISES[*]

AYŞE KÜÇÜK

Introduction

In international relations there are a few cases where the actions of non-state actors resulted in a foreign policy crisis.[1] Therefore, we have a limited number of crises where non-state actors became involved. However, the current bid of non-state actors to increase their impact and strength does not only result in a foreign policy crisis in which they become involved, but also sets the stage for them to become direct interlocutors in these foreign policy crises. The Turkish Foreign Policy Crises (TFPC) Project fixed nine foreign policy crises in the history of Turkish foreign policy, where non-state actors had a particular impact.[2]

[1] International Crisis Behavior Project (ICB) claims that only 65 of the 572 crises in the post-World War II era were triggered by non-state actors. See: David Ray Andersen, "Foreign Policy Decision Making and Violent Non-State Actors", (Unpublished PHD Thesis, Graduate School of University of Maryland, 2004):140.

[2] Turkish Foreign Policy Crises (TFPC) Project found out that in 9 of the 34 foreign policy crises that Turkey experienced, non-state actors played a role. The TFPC Project concluded that in the crises of Bozkurt-Lotus (1926), Little Ararat (1929-30), Struma (1942), September 6-7 (1955), (Minority of) Western Thrace (1989-1990), Assimilation and Exodus of Bulgarian Turks (1989), Iraqi Refugees (1991), Mavi Marmara (2010) and ISIS Hostage (2014), the non-state actors played a role as a triggering actor or a crisis interlocutor or the subject of crisis or they impacted the crisis in a way that it resulted in the lack of interlocutor. Furthermore, even though in certain foreign policy crises there are some non-state actors that either triggered the crisis or were somehow influenced by it, the crisis interlocutor may be another state. As a matter of fact, while the crisis interlocutor

According to the findings of the project, the foreign policy crises in which non-state actors got involved are as follows (chronologically ordered):

- Bozkurt-Lotus Crisis of 1926
- Little Ararat (Küçük Ağrı) Crisis of 1929-1930
- MV Struma Crisis of 1942
- September 6-7 Crisis of 1955
- (Minority of) Western Thrace Crisis of 1989-1990
- Assimilation and Exodus of Bulgarian Turks of 1989
- Iraqi Refugees Crisis of 1991
- Mavi Marmara Crisis of 2010
- ISIS Hostage Crisis of 2014

In some of these crises, though they are 'foreign policy crises' in the sense that they directly concern intergovernmental relations, we observe the involvement of non-state actors playing a triggering role. For instance, the Bozkurt-Lotus Crisis of 1926 arose as a result of an accident of two merchant ships in the Aegean Sea. There was not any state responsibility in the accident and thus this crisis should technically be called an 'accidental crisis'. Nevertheless, the process that followed the accident enforced the states to deal with this crisis. The casualties and the trial of the French Captain by Turkey led Turkey and France to be parties of a judicial conflict. The fact that France did not recognize its jurisdiction caused Turkey, which was sensitive about judicial capitulations, to consider the incident as a crisis. In this particular case, a marine accident which a non-state actor became involved in caused an intergovernmental conflict that later turned into a crisis.

In the second example, some Kurdish separatist-rebellion groups escaped to Iran after they had provoked unrest within Turkish borders. The difficulties that Turkey had between 1929-1930 in struggling these border violations and rebellions led Turkey to carry out a new decision in its relations with Iran. As per this decision, Turkey was to create a new *de facto* situation with the particular intention of forcing Iran to sign a new agreement on borders, which Turkey believed was the only way to cope with border violations. So, following a hot pursuit, Turkey did not leave

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was France in the Bozkurt-Lotus Crisis of 1926, it was Greece in September 6-7 Crisis of 1955. In some crisis examples that the TFPC Project dealt with, the incident that causes the crisis and the counter-party might be different from one another.

Iranian territories and suggested Iran a revision of borders. To sum up, the actions of rebellion groups against Turkey brought about a crisis related to border security.

When it comes to the MV Struma Crisis of 1942, we can say that this crisis was a unilateral foreign policy crisis from the perspective of the foreign policy decision-makers of the day. This is also counted as a humanitarian crisis, for it was about the UK-controlled Jewish migrants/refugees that departed from Constanta, Romania and were trying to reach Palestine. The Turkish foreign policy decision-makers of the day could not be successful before the warring states in their diplomatic attempts to enable the passengers in the MV Struma to safely reach Palestine. The UK, because it had not yet decided whether the refugees could safely settle in Palestine, did not accept the passengers' request and proclaimed that it could not guarantee the security of the refugees. As a neutral state, Turkey was not eager to accept the refugees with regional security concerns and took the ship out of its territorial waters in the Black Sea to lead it back to the port of departure in Romania. After a short while, the ship was torpedoed and run down by an unidentified submarine. Many concerns were influential in Turkey's reluctance to meet the demands of the refugees in the MV Struma. Not only would it cause a much bigger flow of Jewish refugees to accept the demands of those in the MV Struma with humanitarian concerns but it could also create security-related problems in the Balkans, where Turkey was sharing borders with Germany. Herein it is clear that Turkey developed its policies depending on the attitude of the UK. Had the UK proclaimed it could accept the refugees, Turkey would have helped them to safely reach the Aegean Sea. During MV Struma's stay at the Marmara Sea, Turkey strove to meet the humanitarian needs of the refugees and repaired the withered power engines of the ship. However, the passengers were never allowed to disembark.[3]

The forth foreign policy crisis was triggered by an event that took place in 1955 within Turkey's borders. During the negotiations between Turkey, Greece and the UK in London on the future of Cyprus, the pro-government demonstrations in Istanbul got out of control and turned into attacks against minorities. In the course of these attacks, houses,

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[3] For a more detailed investigation on this issue see Cagri Erhan, "Ikinci Dunya Savasi Yillarinda Yahudilerin Turkiye'ye Kabulu Meselesi", *Prof. Dr. Haluk Ulman'a Armagan,* (Ankara: Ankara Universitesi, 2013): 125-148; Tahir Kodal, "Türk Arsiv Belgelerine Gore II. Dunya Savasi Yillarinda (1939-1945) Turkiye Üzerinden Filistin'e Yahudi Gocu", *Atatürk Universitesi Ataturk Dergisi*, C:5, No:3, (2007): 133-163

workplaces, temples, and cemeteries that belonged to minorities were heavily damaged; casualties and injuries occurred. Even though these attacks against the minorities, commonly known as "September 6-7 Incidents", were considered as a national issue, they brought Turkey and Greece against one another with regard to the liabilities of the state on minorities' status. The fact that the government of the day could not prevent the attacks created a big pressure on it about how to compensate the trauma caused by the incidents. The demonstrations organized by the Democrat Party to show the popular support for its Cyprus policy deviated from its aim and put the government in a tight spot both at home and abroad.

The fifth and sixth crises are the ones in which the status of the Muslim/Turkish minorities, who lived in Greece and Bulgaria and gained this status through mutual agreements, were openly violated. In both crises, minority members have been the direct target of the triggering behaviour (such as assimilation, violation of basic rights and freedoms and forced migration) and when the crisis gained an inter-state character, they became the subject of the crisis.

In the seventh crisis too, it is possible to observe a humanitarian dimension. In 1991, the crisis with Iraq was basically about Turkey's expectations to ensure the safety of refugees. The crisis was escalated when Iraqi Kurds, who felt anxious about a probable recurrence of Halabja Massacre, crossed the border and entered Turkey and Iraq demanded Turkey to send them back to Iraq. Turkey's rejection of Iraq's demand and support for the idea of secured zones within Iraqi borders for refugees determined the fate of the crisis. With the creation of secured non-flight zones within Iraqi borders, the refugees could gradually go back to Iraq and the crisis was resolved. Later on the Iraqi refugees, who triggered an intergovernmental crisis between Turkey and Iraq, became the subject of this foreign policy crisis.

In the MV Mavi Marmara Crisis of 2010, we observe the impact of the initiative taken by an NGO in Turkey (İHH). The international aid campaign with the purpose of breaking the Israeli blockade in Gaza got Israeli reaction and Turkey was asked to help stop this aid campaign. The fact that Turkey recognized and considered IHH activity as legitimate and did not block it caused evidently a conflict in Turkish-Israeli bilateral relations. Israel considered Mavi Marmara's departure to the Mediterranean as the triggering action of the crisis and undertook a military operation to prevent the ship from breaking the blockade in Gaza. The killing of 10 activists and the injury of many more during this Israeli military operation

led Turkey to react harshly and a big foreign policy crisis arose between Israel and Turkey.

The ISIS Hostage Crisis in 2014 is a different case of foreign policy crises. In this crisis, ISIS militants took hostage Turkey's Consul General to Mosul and the Consulate Staff. Even though ISIS took this action against Turkish diplomats in Mosul as a non-state actor, this enforced Turkey to initiate a crisis management process. However, the situation was not publicly presented as a "crisis" in the beginning. In this case, a non-state actor is a direct interlocutor of the crisis. Therefore, the lack of official recognition and diplomatic relations brought about a big problem in terms of what means and methods are to be used in the crisis' resolution.

We have so far listed the summaries of Turkey's nine foreign policy crises in which non-state actors got involved. However the aim of this chapter is to particularly deal with MV Struma Crisis of 1942, MV Mavi Marmara Crisis of 2010 and ISIS Hostage Crisis of 2014. The first chosen case is about a ship full of predominantly Jewish refugees, which started off from Romanian Constanta Port to reach Mediterranean through the Turkish Straits on December 12, 1941. However, the asylum request of the passengers who had already arrived at the Marmara Sea was not accepted by the UK. The ship was sent back to the Black Sea and then sunk by a Russian submarine. In this case, Turkey attempted to resolve this crisis but could not find any interlocutor. Therefore, for Turkey the MV Struma Crisis is an example of unilateral foreign policy crisis. In the second case, known as MV Mavi Marmara Crisis, Israeli military forces launched an operation against an aid convoy organized by a number of NGOs. Following this operation, the action of the NGOs was appropriated by Turkish decision-makers. Therefore, the initial crisis between the NGOs and the State of Israel became a bilateral foreign policy crisis between Israel and Turkey. MV Mavi Marmara Crisis is a unique example in the history of Turkish foreign policy in that an NGO initiated action turned into a foreign policy crisis. Finally, the ISIS Hostage Crisis took place after Mosul had been occupied by ISIS militants on July 10, 2014. Turkish General Consulate in Mosul was captured by armed ISIS militants and diplomats and their families were taken hostage. In this case, Turkey was confronted by a crisis in which as a state it had to deal directly with an armed and violent non-state actor.

In this chapter, the main purpose is to analyze foreign policy crises with influential non-state actors focusing on three examples and with an actor-centered approach. Furthermore, the peculiar characteristics of each crisis that we deal with bring about the need to differentiate between the

non-state actors. As a matter of fact, it is relatively easy to fix or describe the direct interlocutor of the crises, which is the state itself. But it is not always that easy to fix the other party of the crisis, if it is a non-state actor. Another structural difficulty regarding the crises with influential non-state actors is to distinguish between a direct interlocutor and a triggering actor. In our cases, indeed, while in one case a non-state actor is the one which triggers the crisis, in another case it might be a direct interlocutor of the crisis. In what follows, we will deal with what kind of a crisis management strategy is carried out in the crises, in which non-state actors with peculiar characteristics got involved, namely in the MV Struma Crisis as a unilateral foreign policy crisis, the MV Mavi Marmara Crisis as a crisis triggered by the NGOs and, finally, the ISIS Hostage Crisis as a crisis with a violent and armed non-state actor. Moreover, the article also aims at discussing whether and to what extent Turkey diversified its crisis management strategy to cope with the crises that took place in different time periods, vis-à-vis different non-state actors etc. It is also worth noting that in the crisis cases that we address in this chapter while one party is always Turkey, it is not always clear who the counter party is. This makes it even more interesting to investigate how the crisis management process is shaped in those crises, where non-state actors are either direct interlocutors or triggering actors. Our basic hypothesis is that as the main conditions and decision-makers are different in each exemplary case, the crisis management strategy also differs.

Non-State Actors

As per international law, sovereign states with certain population within a defined territory and an independent government have the right to have international relations with one another. These basic elements of a state include, though indirectly, the recognition by other states.[4] However, recognition is a unilateral and explanatory legal transaction. Therefore, as per the international law, the recognized state no longer has an indefinite status before the state that recognizes it. In other words, the recognized state becomes an international legal person merely for the state that performs the transaction of recognition.[5] Even these criteria evidently

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[4] Eric A. Heinze and Brent J. Steele, "Introduction: Non-State Actors and The Just War Tradition", in *Ethics, Authority, and War: Non-State Actors and Just War Tradition,* (Eds.) Eric A. Heinze and Brent J. Steele, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009): 9.

[5] Huseyin Pazarci, *Uluslararasi Hukuk, (*Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi, 10. Basım, 2011)

show that states as political entities have many objective and subjective needs. Nevertheless, with the currently increasing importance of non-state actors, these criteria were called into question. It is therefore crucial to first define the non-state actors so that they can properly be explained.

As a concept, "non-state actor" refers to contemporarily prominent political, organized or institutional entities that absolutely do not have the qualities of a state. The concept of "non-state actor" includes either all newly emerged rivals that increase their potentials and challenge the existing authorities or, in a wider sense, a variety of actors that aim at filling the power vacuums within a weak area of authority. Among the rising non-state actors are various institutions with very different characteristics such as legal entities, intergovernmental organizations, international organizations, syndicates, terrorist organizations, multinational corporations, rebellion groups and NGOs. Therefore, organized armed groups like Hezbollah that use violence to shape and influence politics and terrorist organizations like Al-Qaeda are also counted as non-state actors.[6] As such, it is possible to divide non-state actors into two category: Armed/violent and peaceful.[7] In this classification, legal entities, intergovernmental organizations and international organizations are considered as peaceful non-state actors.

The non-state actors, whose number and varieties have considerably increased from the 1990s onwards, became an interesting matter for the academic world. In this process, the main discussion on non-state actors in the literature of international relations has evolved from "non-state actors are important" to "why non-state actors are important?". Nevertheless, the problematic of "non-state actors" is still under discussion.[8] Generally speaking, the term "non-state actor" is used to underline the "non-governmentality". In this respect, the term "non-state actor" can widely be used to refer to all kinds of actors that are not states but which have the ability to act in a relatively autonomous way in the international system. Herein, the main question under discussion is what means and methods the

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[6] Heinze and Steele, "Introduction: Non-State"…, 11-12.

[7] In the literature of international relations, whereas there are many classifications that evaluate violent/armed non-state actors as a whole, peaceful non-state actors have generally been analyzed with their peculiar characteristics. For more information on violent/armed non-state actors see Ulrich Schneckener, "Armed Non-State Actors and Monopoly of Force", *Re-visiting the State Monopoly on the Legitimate Use of Force*, Policy Paper 24 (2007): 10-19.

[8] Tim Büthe, "Governance through Private Authority: Non State Actors in World Politics". *Journal of International Affairs.* Vol. 58 Issue 1, (Fall 2004): 281 http://people.duke.edu/~buthe/downloads/Buthe_JIA_corrected.pdf, [12.05.2015].

non-state actors use while acting in the international system. The fact that some non-state actors use conventional peaceful or violent methods facilitates the classification of these authorities. However, the ambiguity on the limitedness of supranational actors, NGOs and non-state actors still continues.

Non-state actors' power consolidation in world politics has been a fact for 20 years. However, this consolidation of power or impact is not a zero-sum game for the non-state actors. "A gain of power by non-state actors does not necessarily translate into a loss of power of states."[9] Currently, the states are still main actors of the world politics and preserve their power. State-centered and realist approaches tend to regard and define international relations solely as intergovernmental. According to this approach, the issue of non-state actors is of a secondary importance in the literature of international relations. As Kenneth Waltz underlined, states are not and have never been the only international actors: "States are not and never have been the only international actors. But then the structures are defined not by all the actors that flourish within them but by the major ones."[10]

The pluralist approaches, on the contrary, evaluate non-state actors within a wider approach. According to these approaches, all kinds of actors can influence foreign policy outcomes. According to Robert O. Keohane and Joseph Nye, "politics reflects asymmetrical economic, social, and environmental interdependence, not just among states but also among non-state actors and through transgovernmental relations.''[11] States may also engage with non-state actors that challenge the authority of another state. Relations with such non-state actors include a parallel decision about how to consider the sovereignty of a state. Herein, it is normal and possible that a state develops relations with an armed terrorist organization within the territories of another state.[12]

The increasing impact of both peaceful and violent non-state actors in world politics is evident in many instances. A crisis, defined by Michael Brecher and Jonathan Wilkenfield as "a serious perception of threat

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[9] Anne Marie Slaughter, "The Real New World Order", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol: 75, No: 5, (September-October 1997):188.

[10] Kenneth Waltz, "Political Structures" in *Neorealism and Its Critics,* (Ed.) Robert Keohane, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986): 88.

[11] Robert O. Keohane and Joseph Nye, *Power and Interdependence,* Forth Edition, (Boston: Longman, 2012): 242.

[12] David Ray Andersen, *Foreign Policy Decision Making and Violent Non-State Actors,* (Graduate School of University of Maryland, Unpublished PHD Thesis, 2004), 10-11.

against fundamental structures and the norms of the social system and the processes taking place as a result of this perception"[13] cannot be expected to happen only between states. Non-state actors that cause similar threat perceptions can also be in the center of bilateral foreign policy crises, which are thought to arise only among states. Therefore, states have to reorganize the processes of crisis management and decision-making vis-à-vis non-state actors in foreign policy crises.

MV Mavi Marmara Crisis

According to literature of crisis management, MV Mavi Marmara Crisis is an action initiated by NGOs that resulted in a bilateral foreign policy crisis between Turkey and Israel. Moreover, it is a unique example in the history of Turkish foreign policy in terms of how the crisis was managed. The peculiar aspect of this crisis is that a conflict between a state and an NGO gradually became a foreign policy crisis between two states. This points out to an actor problem, since it is a non-governmental organization that initiated or caused the crisis.

Non-state actors and, particularly, NGOs have currently increased their impact and MV Mavi Marmara Crisis clearly indicates what consequences this increasing impact may have. In order to analyze how the crisis management strategy of Turkey proceeded, we should both address the peculiar features of the crisis and observe the keystones of this strategy.

A Short Summary of the MV Mavi Marmara Crisis

The main conflict behind the crisis arose after a coalition of a number of NGOs had announced on April 3, 2010 that an aid convoy would reach Gaza through a region blockaded by Israel. At that time the conflict was between Israel and the NGOs in the coalition. The first reaction of Israel against this plan was to meet the ambassadors of the countries, where the NGOs in the coalition were active and to inform them that the "activists would be stopped before they reach the coast."[14] In other words, before the crisis arose, Israel had warned all parties through both diplomatic channels and media.

Main conflict here is the attempt to deliver help to the Gaza Strip, a

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[13] Michael Brecher and Jonathan Wilkenfeld, *A Study of Crisis*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997): 3.

[14] Jack Khouri ve Barak Ravid, "Israel to Europe: Stop Your Citizens from Sailing to Gaza with Aid", *Haaretz*, May 17, 2010.

region blockaded by Israel, and thus to break the blockade. The Foundation for Human Rights, Freedoms and Humanitarian Relief (the IHH), one of the main organizers of the campaign and the owner of the greatest ship in the fleet is a UNECOSOC (United Nations Economic and Social Council) member, Istanbul-centered and internationally active NGO. In the first phase the conflict was between Israel and the IHH. But one can still talk about a bilateral conflict between two states, because Israel requested Turkey not to let the fleet get under way and Turkey rejected it. What is controversial here is who or which actor Israel addressed in to resolve the conflict. Since Israel first shared its concerns through diplomatic channels with Turkish, Greek, Irish ambassadors, it clearly preferred to address the states as main actors. In that phase, the official attitude of Turkey was not in favor of considering this conflict as a bilateral crisis with Israel and becoming a direct party in this crisis. As a matter of fact, even though Israel announced very openly through various channels that it would not let the fleet reach Gaza, the Turkish government and foreign ministry underlined that Turkey is a democratic state[15] and did not make an effort to prevent the fleet from going under way.

The fact that Israel resorted to military methods in order to manage this crisis can be explained by David Ray Andersen's analysis. To Andersen, the crisis situations where states face off against non-state actors support the idea that the stronger will also be the victor. Due to the existing power asymmetry, the states tend to act more violently *vis-à-vis* non-state actors. Therefore, the states generally come up with military reactions particularly against violent/armed non-state actors.[16]

It was in the later stages of the crisis that this peculiar conflict between Israel and the IHH became a foreign policy issue between Israel and Turkey. For Israel, the action that initiated the crisis was the departure of the fleet from Antalya to the destination of Gaza on May 28, 2010. For Turkey, on the other hand, the crisis began with the operation of Israeli Defence Forces (the IDF) against the MV Mavi Marmara, one of the ships in the fleet carrying many activists from various countries, resulted in the killing of ten activists (nine from Turkey and one from the US). Turkish decision-makers labeled the military operation of Israel, where it used disproportionate use of power, as an attack to their citizens' right to live

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[15] Ayse Kucuk, "Türkiye-İsrail İlişkilerinde Mavi Marmara Krizi: Kriz Yönetimi Açısından Bir İnceleme", (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, YTÜ Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2015): 163.
[16] David Ray Andersen, "Foreign Policy Decision Making and Violent Non-State Actors", (Unpublished PHD Thesis, Graduate School of University of Maryland, 2004): 25.

and thus considered it as an own issue. This consideration turned this crisis into a "bilateral foreign policy crisis" between Turkey and Israel and the process of crisis management continued between these two states. It further triggered the crisis that Israel took the activists, most of whom were predominantly Turkish citizens, in the MV Mavi Marmara to Israel by force and imprisoned them. With the intervention of the US, the activists imprisoned in Israel were released and brought to Turkey on June 3, 2010.[17] Therefore this date is the start of the softening stage for the crisis.

The military operation against the MV Mavi Marmara launched by Israel took place 72 sea miles away from Gaza and 64 miles away from the region blockaded by Israel.[18] In other words, the fleet did not in fact manage to break Israeli blockade. Therefore, the fact that Israel launched the military operation in the international waters confirms that it was for Israel, the attempt of the NGOs to break the blockade that triggered the crisis. In other words, what triggered the crisis in the eyes of Israel was that the fleet was proceeding to the region it had blockaded. For Turkey, on the other hand, it was the violent attack against the fleet by Israel that triggered the crisis.

Crisis Management Process *vis-à-vis* a State / a Definite Interlocutor

Even though the MV Marmara Crisis was triggered by a conflict between a state and an NGO, disproportionate use of power and the resulting killings led Turkey to consider this crisis as a bilateral foreign policy crisis with Israel. In this way, the crisis management process was conducted between these two states. Because the crisis management process was conducted between two definite actors, namely two states, possible problems that often arise in the foreign policy crises with non-state actors such as those related to power asymmetry, action flexibility and cultural differences were prevented. What enabled this was that the crisis turned into a bilateral foreign policy crisis between two states.

Following the Israeli operation against the MV Mavi Marmara in the

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[17] "Ağırlığımızı Koyduk, Taleplerimiz Karşılandı", *Habertürk,*
http://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/520097-agirligimizi-koyduk-taleplerimiz-karsilandi [31.7.2015]
[18] "Report on the Israeli Attack on the Humanitarian Aid Convoy to Gaza on 31 May 2010", *Turkish National Commission of Inquiry*,
http://www.mfa.gov.tr/data/Turkish%20Report%20Final%20-%20UN%20Copy.pdf, 17-18, [20.11.2014]

fleet, Turkey first called for a UN Security Council meeting through its UN permanent representative. And on the same day, on May 31, 2010, Security Summit was convened in Ankara with the attendance of the then Deputy PM Bülent Arınç, the then Undersecretary of the PM Efkan Ala, the then Chief of Staff Operations Lieutenant General Mehmet Eröz and the then Chief of Naval Forces Staff Nusret Güner.[19] In this Conference, the crisis was analyzed thoroughly. It was also considered that Israel had the power asymmetry that it had vis-à-vis the NGO and also *vis-à-vis* Turkey. The lack of official information on the nuclear capacity of Israel[20] and the claims that Israel had been the sixth state to generate nuclear weapons beginning from the 1960s[21] led Turkey to take Israel's more powerful position *vis-à-vis* itself into consideration. Therefore, despite its policy of engagement in the crisis, Turkey did not prefer to react militarily.

Turkey's crisis management technique aimed at a non-violent resolution of the crisis. In this context, Turkey asked the US, which is a close ally for both Turkey and Israel, for its support as a third actor. On June 1, 2010 the then Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu heavily criticized Israel in the UNSC meeting convened upon Turkey's call. In his speech, Davutoğlu defined Israeli operation against the MV Mavi Marmara as "piracy"[22] and requested the council to powerfully react to the incident with a statement that heavily criticizes Israel, asks for quick investigation and punishment of the criminals. On the same day, the UNSC came up with a statement, which did not satisfy Turkey's demands that it accepted with sorrow the killings and injuries of activists in the Israeli military operation against the aid convoy within the international waters and requested Israel to quickly release the civilians and ships that it captured.[23] Furthermore, Turkey tried to take the support of international public opinion convening NATO and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) to publish statements that publicly criticize Israel.

In the light of these initiatives we may say that Turkey's way to manage this crisis was to bring it to the agenda of the international public

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[19] Toygun Atilla, *Sakıncalı Amiral,* (İstanbul: Kırmızı Kedi Yayınevi, 2014): 118.
[20] Former President of the International Atomic Energy Agency El Baradey stated in 2004 that Israel was among the states that have nuclear weapons.
[21] Erdem Denk, "Bir Kitle İmha Silahı Olarak Nükleer Silahların Yasaklanmasına Yönelik Çabalar", *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi*, (Cilt: 66, No: 3, 2011): 106.
[22] "Davutoğlu'nun BM Konuşması - Tam Metin",
http://www.haber10.com/haber/204878/#.VJxmZl4AA , [25.12.14].
[23] "Security Council Condemns Acts Resulting in Civilian Deaths during Israeli Operation against Gaza-Bound Aid Convoy, Calls for Investigation, in Presidential Statement", http://www.un.org/press/en/2010/sc9940.doc.htm, [25.12.14].

opinion as of the first day. In other words, in order to manage the crisis Turkey preferred to make this crisis an international issue through the channels of international organizations and particularly through the UN. With the internationalization of the crisis, many steps were taken in the UN Institutions to clarify the incident. In this context, firstly, the Report of the UN Human Rights Commission on the MV Mavi Marmara Crisis was published and then it was decided that the incident be investigated by an independent commission. Israel shared the results of its own investigation with the "Turkel Commission Report" and likewise Turkey also delivered the outcomes of its own investigation conducted by Turkish National Research and Investigation Commission to the UN. Following these reports, Palmer Commission, scrutinizing both states' reports and arguments, completed its own report revealing the international law dimension of the incident.

Following the internationalization of the crisis, all the reports followed one another and were occasionally even responsive to one another's questions. Varying approaches in each report with a different take on the legal aspect on the incident clearly indicated that the reports considered political balances rather than the background of the incident.

As was underlined above, Turkey's crisis management strategy was to bring the incident to the diplomatic, political and legal field (namely, to UN's agenda). Furthermore, Turkey came up with five demands for the normalization of the relations with Israel. These demands are: A formal apology, indemnity payment, and abolition of Gaza blockade, foundation of an international investigation commission and return of captured ships.[24] Out of Alexander George's crisis management strategies, Turkey preferred the strategy of limited triggering with its preconditions. According to George, the main goal of this strategy is to set the fundamental rules upon which the agreement may be based until two parties accept to come to the negotiation table.[25] Moreover Turkey applied the horizontal limited triggering, one of the two kinds of this strategy. Horizontal triggering is basically the defending party's attempt to damage the aggressor party in a variety of dimensions in order to increase its negotiating power.[26] In this context, Turkey supported the Palestinian UN application of September 2011 and helped Palestine get the status of 'non-

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[24] Nuri Yeşilyurt, "Ortadoğuyla İlişkiler", *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar (2001-2012),* Cilt III, (Ed.) Baskın Oran, (İstanbul: İletişim yayınları, 2013): 443.

[25] Alexander L. George, "Strategies for Crisis Management", *Avoiding War*, Ed. Alexander George, (USA: Westwiev Press, 1991): 388.

[26] George, "Strategies for"…,

member observer state' in the UN General Assembly voting on November 29, 2012.[27]

The fact that it was an NGO that triggered the crisis in the case of the MV Mavi Marmara Crisis led to a two-dimensional conduct of the crisis management process. In parallel to the crisis management process that Turkey conducted as a state, the IHH as an NGO used its right to legal remedies. In this context, the lawyers of the IHH appealed to the Public Prosecutor's Office of Istanbul that was carrying out the investigation on the MV Mavi Marmara Attack and declared the names of the Israeli soldiers that were mentioned in the Turkel Report prepared by Israel.[28] In the same period, US called both Turkey and Israel to develop solutions to the bilateral problems and normalize the relations.[29] On October 12, 2011, Public Prosecutor Mehmet Akif Ekinci appealed to Turkish Ministry of Justice to issue a red notice for 174 Israeli soldiers (to open criminal proceedings against all the suspects and the ones who ordered the attack).[30] Besides, from 2012 onwards certain new developments came about regarding Turkey's request of indemnity from Israel. In an interview with *The Guardian* on May 24, 2012, Ramazan Arıtürk, one of the lawyers of the IHH, declared that Israel had accepted to pay indemnity to the activists in the MV Mavi Marmara and their families adding that the total amount that Israel had planned to pay was £4 million GBP, and that the indemnities would be delivered to the activists through a Jewish foundation in Turkey. He finally told that the Israeli Government would end up making an official statement of regret.[31]

As a result of the legal proceedings opened in Turkey upon IHH's appeal, first trial was held on November 6, 2012.[32] Turkey's request of

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[27] "Türkiye-Filistin Siyasi İlişkileri", http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-filistin-siyasi-iliskileri.tr.mfa, [25.01.2015].

[28] Seyit Erçiçek, "İsrailli Askerlerin İsimleri Savcılıkta", *Hürriyet,* 10 Eylül 2011.

[29] "Beyaz Saraydan Obama-Erdoğan Görüşmesi Açıklaması", *Hürriyet*, September 21, 2011.

[30] Cem Tursun, "174 İsrailli İçin Kırmızı Bülten Talebi", *Hürriyet*, October 12, 2011.

[31] "Israel Offers Compensation to Mavi Marmara Flotilla Raid Victims", *The Guardian,* May 24, 2012.

[32] In the case number 2012/264, 490 activists from 37 countries took place as either complainant or victim as of 28.05.2012. The prosecutor limited the suspects of the case with Israeli chief commanders including Israeli Chief of General Staff Gabiel Ashkenazi that launched the operation against the MV Mavi Marmara. For more details see. "Mavi Marmara Davası Hakkında",
http://www.ihh.org.tr/tr/main/pages/mavi-marmara-davasi-hakkinda/160,
[25.01.2015].

"apology" came about with the teleconference between Erdoğan and Israeli PM Benjamin Netanyahu during US President Barack Obama's visit in Israel on March 22, 2013.[33] In that conversation, Netanyahu declared that the tragic consequences of the MV Mavi Marmara incident had not been intended by Israel and expressed Israel's "regret" for the killings and injuries. He added that the incident took place as result of '*a set of operational errors*' and that '*Israel apologizes Turkish society for the killings and injuries and expects to reach an agreement on the issue of indemnity'*.[34] As a response to Turkey's request of the abolition of Israeli blockade in Gaza, Netanyahu pointed out that *''some limitations on Gaza and Palestinian territory have already been abolished and will not be reinstated as long as security is maintained.''*[35]

Netanyahu's statements were considered to be the first step for the normalization process of Turkish– Israeli relations and thus welcomed.[36] In the trials held in Turkey, the court decided to issue warrant for the arrest with a red notice for Israeli Chief of General Staff Rau Aluf Gabiel Ashknazi, Commander of Israeli Naval Forces Eliezer Alfred Marom, Chief of Intelligence Amos Yadlin, and Commander of Israeli Air Forces Avishay Levi for not attending the trials. The court sent the case file to the Ministry of Justice for the execution of this decision. In the 8th trial, the court decided for further detection in the MV Mavi Marmara with the attendance of the court board, experts and victims of the attack.[37]

While legal proceedings on MV Mavi Marmara Crisis were continuing in Turkey, IHH's lawyers appealed to the International Criminal Court (ICC) on May 14, 2013 for a detailed investigation of the incident in the name of the flag state of the ship, the Union of the Comoros.[38] On March 6, 2014 the IHH appealed to the ICC to become a party to the legal proceedings as a victim of the attack.[39] In November 2014, the ICC completed its preliminary inquiry and decided that Israel's attack on the

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[33] "Türkiye-İsrail İlişkileri", http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-israil-siyasi-iliskileri.tr.mfa, [25.01.2015]

[34] "PM Netanyahu Speaks with Turkish PM Erdogan", http://embassies.gov.il/un/NewsAndEvents/Pages/Netanyahu-speaks-with-Erdogan.aspx , [22.03.2013].

[35] Yıldırım Turan, "İsrail 2013", *Ortadoğu Yıllığı 2013,* (Ed.) Kemal İnat ve İsmail Numan Telcii (İstanbul: Açılım Kitap, 2015):123.

[36] "Türkiye-İsrail İlişkileri"…,

[37] "Mavi Marmara Gemisi'nde Keşif Yapılacak", http://mavi-marmara.ihh.org.tr/tr/main/news/0/mavi-marmaragemisinde-kesif-yapilacak/2772 , [12.3.2015].

[38] "Mavi Marmara Davası Lahey'e Taşındı", http://www.iha.com.tr/haber-mavi-marmara-davasi-laheye-tasindi-276680/, [14.05.2013].

[39] "İHH'den UCM'ye 'Mavi Marmara' Başvurusu", *Hürriyet,* March 06, 2014.

MV Mavi Marmara "*can be evaluated within the scope of war crimes*" but "*is not intensive enough*" for an investigation to be conducted by the ICC.[40]

After the announcement of the ICC's decision, IHH's lawyers held a press conference and underlined that the ICC admitted the war crime committed by Israel in the attack against the MV Mavi Marmara. According to IHH's lawyers, ICC's ruling confirmed that a set of crimes such as "intentional killing", "intentional injury", "attack on human dignity" were committed both in the MV Mavi Marmara and Israeli prisons. The lawyers underlined that the ICC avoided opening a case due to "inadequate gravity of the offence"[41] and stated that they would appeal to the court for a revision of the ruling.[42] On July 16, 2015 ICC Justices called prosecutors, who decided not to investigate the attack against MV Mavi Marmara to revise this decision.[43]

A legal investigation on the attack against the MV Mavi Marmara was also initiated in the UK upon the appeal of the lawyers of British activists, who had been in the ship, to London Police Department and Prosecutor's Office on January 4, 2015.[44] British officials were reported to have stated that the investigation was being conducted by 'Department of Special Operations and War Crimes' and targets five suspicious Israeli commanders, Israeli Chief of General Staff Lieutenant General Rau Gabriel Ashknazi, Commander of Israeli Naval Forces Vice-Admiral Eliezer Marom, Chief of Intelligence Major General Amos Yadlin, Chief of Intelligence of Israeli Air Forces Avishay Levi and one of the commanders of the operation Tal Russo.[45]

In the MV Mavi Marmara Crisis, as opposed to most of the crises with the involvement of non-state actors, all the possibilities of the international

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[40] "UCM'den Mavi Marmara Davasına Takipsizlik Kararı", *Yenişafak,* November 6, 2014.

[41] "Mavi Marmara Avukatlarından UCM'ye Tepki",
http://mavimarmara.ihh.org.tr/tr/main/news/0/mavimarmara-   avukatlarindan-ucmye-tepki/2593, [07.11.2014].

[42] Fatih Erel, "UCM'nin 'Mavi Marmara' Kararı Temyize Götürülecek",
http://www.aa.com.tr/tr/turkiye/416831-ucmnin-quot-mavi-marmara-quot-karari-temyize-goturulecek, [07.11.2014]

[43] "Uluslararası Ceza Mahkemesinden Mavi Marmara Kararı", *T24,* July 16, 2015,
http://t24.com.tr/haber/uluslararasi-ceza-mahkemesiden-mavi-marmara-karari,303145 [20.11.2015]

[44] "Mavi Marmara Sanıkları İngiltere'de Yargılanacak", *Radikal*, January 4, 2015.

[45] "Mavi Marmara'ya Saldırı Davası",
http://www.haber7.com/guncel/haber/1263790-mavi-marmaraya-saldiridavasi, [04.01.2015]

arena were benefited because of the state identity of the interlocutors. Besides that, the NGO maintained its own struggle through legal means on behalf of the victims of the attack. In this regard, it may be concluded that the crisis management process in Turkey proceeded in two different ways, which aggravated the return to the 'status-quo ante'. Moreover, a lack of agreement with the IHH regarding the issue of indemnity further prolonged the crisis.

ISIS Hostage Crisis

ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) established under the leadership of Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi is not recognized by the states. It utilized the power vacuum in Iraq and Syria and increased its strength. While some consider ISIS to be a global jihadist movement, others see it a terrorist organization. The ultimate goal of the organization is apparently to establish an Islamic Caliphate with the unification of Iraqi and Syrian territories.[46] In this regard, ISIS can properly be considered as an armed/violent non-state actor in the process of becoming a state.

After the invasion of Iraq, ISIS emerged with the name 'Al-Qaida of Iraq' and set the stage for a guerrilla war with its resistance against the coalition powers and their local allies.[47] Therefore, ISIS is alleged to be a resistance movement founded by the Ba'ath Power against the invasion. ISIS started to utilize the power vacuum following the American exit from Iraq and the reflections of the Arab Spring in Syria. In that process, it benefited from the battle between Al-Qaida groups and consolidated its power. While Al-Qaida affiliated Al-Nusra Front focused on overthrowing Bashar al-Assad in Syria, ISIS headed for founding a state in the territories it controlled. On June 29, 2014 Al-Baghdadi declared caliphate, changing the name of his organization from 'Islamic State of Iraq and Syria' into "Islamic State".[48]

ISIS Hostage Crisis is a unique case, where Turkey faced an armed/violent

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[46] Aymenn Jawad al-Tamimi, "The Dawn of the Islamic State of Iraq and ash-Sham",
http://www.hudson.org/content/researchattachments/attachment/1389/tamimi.pdf, 8, [01.08.2015].
[47] Zachary Laub and Jonathan Masters, "The Islamic State", *CFR Backgrounders,* November 16, 2015, http://www.cfr.org/iraq/islamic-state/p14811 [26.11.2015]
[48] "Isis announces caliphate in 'declaration of war", *The Guardian,* http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/29/isis-iraqcaliphate-delcaration-war, [10.08.2015].

non-state actor in a foreign policy crisis.[49] In this case, as opposed to the common trend in similar crises where states face non-state actors, Turkey refrained from using violence against ISIS.

A Short Summary of the ISIS Hostage Crisis

On the first days of January 2014, ISIS started its consolidation of power in Iraq by capturing Ramadi and Fellujah.[50] On June 6, 2014, ISIS started to clash with security forces in Mosul and plotted on the same day a suicide attack against the intelligence center in Al-Qahira. Prior to the escalation of clashes with Iraqi security forces on June 8, ISIS cut off the electricity on June 7 and civilians living in the city started to leave their houses. On June 9, ISIS captured the state house of Nineveh and the hospitals in the city and on the next day, despite declaration of mobilization by Nuceyfi, the Governor of Nineveh, ISIS brought the entire city under control with the support of the Naqshbandi Army in Mosul. Iraqi security forces left their arms and escaped from the city.[51]

Increasing ISIS threat in the region created a big insecurity for the Turkish Consulate in the city.[52] In that period, many consulate buildings in the region were evacuated. However, 20 hours before the Consulate staff was taken hostage by ISIS militants, Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu had made the following statement from his twitter account: "…*we are in instant communication. All measures were taken for the security of our Consulate in Mosul.*"[53]

After it had got the entire city under control, ISIS first demanded the evacuation of Turkish Consulate in Mosul within 24 hours. According to Al-Jazeera Turkey's news, the consulate building was not evacuated and ISIS militants got in the building by force of bomb threat and they took hostage the staff and their families. According to some other sources, some 1000 ISIS militants got in the building by breaking the door of it.[54] Media reported that special operation forces that were in the building

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[49] Hostage-taking actions by the Palestinian Liberation Organization in the late 1970s and actions of ASALA at home and abroad can be counted as other examples with non-state actors.
[50] "El Kaide'ye bağlı Örgüt Ramadi ve Felluce'yi aldı", *Milliyet*, January 3, 2015.
[51] "Irak'ta IŞID İlerleyişi: 8-15 Haziran 2014 Irak Bülteni", http://improkul.impr.org.tr/?p=2888, [27.03.2015].
[52] On June 10, 2014, 31 Turkish truck drivers were hijacked by ISIS near Mosul. "Dışişleri: Irak'ta 80 Türk Rehin", *Hürriyet,* June 11, 2014.
[53] Ahmet Davutoğlu, @Ahmet_Davutoğlu, twitter hesabı, 10 Haziran 2014.
[54] "Arınç: Rehinelerle İrtibatımız Var", *Cumhuriyet,* June 16, 2014.

during the attack by ISIS were ordered not to react.[55] In conclusion, the ISIS Hostage Crisis is a crisis, whereby 49 consulate staff including Consul Yılmaz Öztürk was taken hostage with their families and the consulate building was captured by ISIS. Thereafter, the hostages were taken out from the building and brought to a headquarters in the region by ISIS militants.

Turkey's Crisis Management Strategy *vis-à-vis* ISIS, an Armed/Violent Non-State Actor

In the ISIS Hostage Crisis, Turkey faced an armed/violent non-state actor. Although crisis management process was a dynamic one, the institutions that got involved in that process were definite. In fact, conducting such as a process between states is always easier. However, the fact that ISIS is not a recognized state brought about a different conduct of crisis management. In terms of crisis management, therefore, ISIS is remarkably different from states as actors. This difference is not solely about geographical borders and the sovereignty of the non-state actor. Although ISIS has the control in some areas, it lacks the institutional structure, tradition and culture that a state is supposed to have. For this reason, the decision-making process was not as clear as in those confrontations with states, which is because of the perception that ISIS was an 'unpredictable' non-state actor.

Behind the acts of ISIS, there is a strong religious motivation. The rise of violent activities motivated by a religious imperative is one of primary cause of higher number of causalities in modern times.[56] In this context, ISIS can also be seen to be one of the contemporary religiously-motivated new terrorist organisations.[57] With an efficient activity in social media, ISIS made a big difference among the groups in Syria.

"However the idea of taking hostages and placing the responsibility for their fate into the hands of the opposing government is highly effective

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[55] "Bülent Arınç'tan İlginç Çıkış", *Hürriyet*, June 13, 2014.
[56] Adam Dolnik and Keith M. Fitzgerald, *Negotiating Hostage Crisis With The New Terrorists*, (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2008): 12.
[57] New Terrorism refers to the changing shell of terrorism with the changing conditions. Herein, the current novelty that creates the difference from the past is that terrorist organizations have access to communication and technological means and even mass media channels. In that respect, technological developments brought about new developments in the way terrorist organizations use violence. Dolnik and Fitzgerald, *New Terrorism and the Dynamics…*, 17.

tool in attracting international sympathy for the terrorist cause."[58] It is on the other hand both a challenge and a show of strength. Each hostage-taking operation has a certain goal. In the ISIS Hostage Crisis, ISIS' objective was to create a de facto situation in order to reach its goal on its own legitimate grounds. Evaluated from the perspective of the identity of the hostages, the ISIS Hostage Crisis was both a political and a humanitarian crisis because both the Consulate building was captured and the staff was taken hostage. Therefore, the crisis brought about a dilemma between a crisis management process and a hostage rescue operation.

Because of the different qualities its interlocutor has, Turkey preferred to take a different tack in the crisis management process. In the hostage crisis, the interlocutor is an armed/violent non-state actor. Therefore, Turkey had to follow its strategy without getting to recognize ISIS. The lack of regular communication channels and the peculiar nature of ISIS that is far from a state tradition made things difficult in the crisis management process. For communicating with a non-state actor that is active within a state, whose territorial integrity and sovereignty are officially recognized, may be perceived as an informal recognition, which brings about the danger of conflict between the sovereign states. In that case, Turkey's attempts to communicate with ISIS may have been also perceived as an intervention to the territorial integrity of Iraq. This led Turkey to act even more carefully in this process.

According to the news reports as of June 14, 2014, Turkey put in Kirkuk's leading clan leaders as intermediary for the liberation of Consulate hostages.[59] The then PM Erdoğan made the first statement about this issue on June 16, 2014:

> I unfortunately see those who must have the sense of responsibility act provocatively at the risk of our citizens' life. They blast away with a provocative language but we will not be deceived by those provocations. We, as the responsible officials, our President in the first place, me, our ministers, intelligence officers, follow our citizens moment to moment. Our priority is to bring our citizens, brothers and sisters safe and sound to our country. For this goal, we will do all that is necessary and have all necessary talks.[60]

Erdoğan also stated that media coverage on that issue damages the critical process. On June 15, 2014 an extraordinary meeting with the

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[58] Dolnik and Fitzgerald, *New Terrorism and the Dynamics…,* 15.

[59] Ramazan Yavuz ve Felat Bozarslan, "Türk Rehineler Için Erbil'den Zırhlı Araçlar Gönderildi", *Hürriyet*, June 14, 2014.

[60] Ümit Çetin, "Durum IŞİD Ötesi", *Hürriyet,* June 16, 2014.

agenda of security was convened, led by Erdoğan with the participation of the then Deputy PM Beşir Atalay, the then Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu, the then Chief of General Staff Necdet Özel, the then Chief of Intelligence Hakan Fidan and the then Undersecretary of the FM Feridun Sinirlioğlu. The meeting, where the developments in Iraq were dealt with lasted approximately 2 hours and no decisions were released to the public. On June 16, 2014, the then Government Spokesman Bülent Arınç made the following statement after a cabinet meeting:

> We are in contact with both Consulate staff and the drivers. Our goal is to bring them home safe and sound. Regarding that issue we are in close cooperation with the US, the UN and the Iraqi Regional Government. The talks that we conduct are about to bring to a successful conclusion. Our people shall be sure that we will soon see our citizens come back home safe and sound.[61]

This discourse shows that Turkish decision-makers thought that the crisis was about to be resolved. On June 17, 2014, 9th Heavy Penal Court of Ankara imposed a broadcast and publication ban on the ISIS Hostage Crisis for the sake of safety of Turkish citizens detained by ISIS.

It is impossible to set an exact date for the beginning of the moderation phase, because two days after the incident, it was stated that Turkish National Intelligence Organization (MIT) agents had made contact with ISIS and received a positive reaction. According to Uriel Rosenthal and Alexander Kouzmin, "Ad hoc synthetic organizations can be highly effective in achieving complex or highly contingent tasks, but they are rarely efficient in resource terms. The overriding reason for this tension between effectiveness and efficiency is that the synthetic organization must simultaneously establish temporary structure and carry out non-routine operations."[62] However that ad hoc synthetic organization missions ends by the time end of the crisis. The peculiar characteristics of the interlocutor and the difficulties that official state channels face in the crisis management process caused the prominence of an ad hoc organization made up of MIT agents rather than top decision-makers like President, Prime Minister or Foreign Minister in the crisis management process. That certainly does not mean that this ad hoc organization made up of MIT agents made all the decisions concerning the crisis solely by themselves, however. The function of the ad hoc unit was rather a facilitative one. In

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[61] "Arınç: Rehinelerle İrtibatımız Var"…,

[62] Uriel Rosenthal and Alexander Kouzmin, "Crises and Crisis Management: Toward Comprehensive Decision Making", *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory,* (Vol: 7, No:2, 1997): 292.

that support, MIT took support also from the Kirkuk based clan leaders.

In hostage crises, 'saving time' is used as an efficient strategy. This strategy generally aims at saving time for collecting information in order to bring the opposite party to the negotiation table, for the emergence of new needs or for the minimization of opponent's expectations. In such processes it is possible to negotiate with terrorists within certain rules. It is in fact a necessity to conduct such negotiations in order to shape opponent's perceptions, opinions and actions. In such processes, whereas expectations like money, food-drink or transformation can be met, demands of arm and sub munition must absolutely not be satisfied. In the negotiation process, decision-makers should not be in the center, but on the contrary the process needs to be conducted by a moderator that gives the impression that they have taken a position of equidistance to both parties. During the negotiations, one should ask terrorists to do something in return for each single demand satisfied. It is always important not to put spotlight on the hostages, since it could increase terrorists' bargaining power.[63]

Turkey chose the strategy of 'saving time' *vis-à-vis* ISIS. This strategy is generally practiced by the defending party for the particular purpose of paving the way for an agreement acceptable for both parties, when the enemy/opposite party challenges the status quo or is ready to do so. In case the threats can be eliminated through negotiations in the favor of the defending party, saving time strategy may create new chances and possibilities in the conduct of foreign policy.[64]

Turkey, after giving a verbal reaction to ISIS' action, strove to limit organization's threat. Throughout the process of crisis management, Turkish decision makers continuously stated they were in contact with the hostages. However, on the other hand, they refrained from any discourse that would put a spotlight on the hostages at the risk of their life. The decision-makers took a different tack by even not calling the crisis a crisis. This strategy was remarkably reflected in the discourses and symbols of the decision-makers. Therefore, they preferred to call the Consulate staff and their families "guests" and rather than "hostages".

The fact that crisis management process was mainly conducted by the MIT shows that an *ad hoc* unit was created particularly for this crisis. There is no exact information concerning the dates of the negotiations.

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[63] Michael J. McMains and Wayman C. Mullins, *Crisis Negotiations: Managing Critical Incidents and Hostage Situations in Law Enforcement and Corrections,* (Dayton: Anderson Publishing, 2001): 37.
[64] Alexander L. George, "Strategies for Crisis Management", *Avoiding War,* Ed. Alexander George, (USA: Westwiev Press, 1991): 390-391.

According to the news, Turkey started to get in contact with ISIS through local clan leaders in Kirkuk as of June 14. The agreement on the release of the hostages was reached on September 13. According to what we learn from media, Consulate staff were closely followed from the first day on through GPS tracking and telephone conversations were made with Consul Yılmaz Öztürk. In addition to that, by means of "human intelligence", Turkish intelligence agents could constantly observe the places where the hostages were detained, although they were eight times relocated. As per the agreement (or negotiations), the hostages were to be received by MIT's special forces at the border gate in Tell Abyad. On September 20, 2014, the 49 hostages including Yılmaz Öztürk, Turkey's Consul General in Mosul, were brought to Turkey after 101 days.

In a news report highlighting the role played by the MIT, it is pointed out that the ISIS militants had first been willing to release the hostages but had been obliged to step back due to an order that came from the "central headquarter".[65] According to news report of Deniz Zeyrek from daily *Hurriyet,* ISIS militants were unwilling to leave the hostages in the Kurdish region because they thought it would risk their security. For this reason, we understand that the option of "delivery in a safe zone" came to the forefront. For the aforementioned delivery, one started off by bus on September 8, three local personnel were left in Mosul and two buses that were en route to Turkey from the ISIS dominated area were accompanied by "armed ISIS militants".[66] Takva News Portal that is known to be ISIS affiliated released the following news: *"Islamic State's sources stated that no ransom was levied and agreement was reached through bilateral negotiations between two states."*According to the same news portal, the negotiations were conducted between the MIT External Operation Officials and "Foreign Ministry of the Islamic State".[67] According to Al-Monitor, the operation was planned by Turkey's National Intelligence Organization (MIT) and closely coordinated with the Prime Minister's Office, the Foreign Ministry and the chief of the Turkish General Staff.[68]

After the hostages had been brought safely to Turkey, the then PM Davutoğlu made the following statement: *"... Shortly after midnight we came into initial contact and at around 5 am they entered into our*

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[65] Deniz Zeyrek, "Dakika Dakika Uydudan İzledi", *Hürriyet,* September 21, 2014.
[66] Zeyrek, "Dakika Dakika"...,
[67] "Türk Rehineler Nasıl Serbest Bırakıldı?" http://www.takvahaber.net/guncel/turk-rehineler-nasil-serbestbirakildi-h9846.html, [29.03.2015].
[68] Metin Gürcan, "How and Why Were 46 Turkish Hostages Freed?", *Almonitor* http://www.almonitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/09/turkeyiraqsyriaisisturkishconsulatehostagesfreed.html#, [18.05.2015].

territories. We closely followed the developments during the whole night and I have just informed our President. This good news prepared us all for a nice morning." Davutoğlu added that the operation was undertaken through the MIT's own methods.[69] Following Davutoğlu, the then Deputy PM Bülent Arınç's statement was as follows: *"Thank God, our National Intelligence agents used all local possibilities and brought our citizens safely and in a whole skin to Turkey. For sure, our 76 million citizens and friends are very happy about this nice development."*[70]

After the hostages had been safely brought to Turkey, some particularly in foreign media put forward the claims of 'barter' in the process of rescue operation. President Erdoğan's response was as follows: *"Even if we bartered for bringing them back, the life of our 49 citizens is priceless."* According to news released on September 23, Turkey gave ISIS 50 people from Al-Tevhid Brigade including Hacı Bekir and his family in return for its citizens. The *Times*, however, claimed that Turkey gave 180 ISIS militants to ISIS in return for its citizens.[71] President Erdoğan admitted that Turkey had negotiated with ISIS and stated that no ransom had been levied. BBC Turkish's news quoted from the *Times* confirms that the hostages were rescued by means of barter. On September 24, Turkey announced that it would provide all kinds of political and military support against ISIS.

Conclusion

The cases scrutinized in this work, namely MV Struma Crisis, MV Mavi Marmara Crisis and ISIS Hostage Crisis showed that in each particular case Turkey came up with a particular assessment for the conduct of crisis management. By "particular assessment", what we mean is that the cases were evaluated within the context of their peculiar conditions in order to develop and pursue an according strategy. It is an ordinary situation that the decision-makers evaluate available options and means by considering the peculiarities of each single case. In addition, there should obviously be a differentiation from conventional crisis management means and methods in the crisis where non-state actors are directly or indirectly involved. In the crisis management processes, political decision-makers of a democratic government are expected to

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[69] "Davutoğlu MüJdeli Haberi Bakü'De Verdi", *AA,* September 20, 2014.
[70] "Arınç: Burunları Bile Kanamadan Getirildiler", *AA,* September 20, 2014.
[71] John Simpson and Alex Cristie Miller, "UK Jihadists Were Traded by Turkey for Hostages", *The Times,*
http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/uk/article4227988.ece [17.05.2015]

choose the most appropriate one among the available options.

In the crises where non-state actors are direct interlocutors, one of the biggest difficulties arises from the lack of conventional communication channels between states and non-state actors. Therefore, the level of communication in the crises with non-state actors gets to be different from in intergovernmental crises. In such cases, the crisis management process is conducted through semi-formal or informal communication channels. In this context, the fact that Turkey came up with a particular assessment in each single crisis with non-state actors means that there is not an accurate and standard crisis management strategy to be pursued in such cases. In the crises where Turkey faced non-state actors, Turkey either managed the process with states, could not find any interlocutor or get in contact with non-state actor through ad hoc units. Moreover, despite the particular assessments made in each single case, not always desired results could be obtained.

The decision-makers that acted in accordance with the conditions of the day made a new and genuine assessment in each single crisis. This assessment process reveals that the crisis management unit has a flexible nature. Furthermore, the common view in the literature of International Relations that the states tend to use more violence in the crises *vis-à-vis* non-state actors does not confirm itself in the case of Turkey. In three closely scrutinized crises with non-state actors, we observe that Turkey avoided using violence as opposed to what is suggested in the literature.[72] This reveals that Turkey does not see violence as an appropriate means in the crises with non-state actors. As was clearly shown by three cases, it has been scrutinized that it was the civilians that the direct interlocutors of the crisis had to decide about. For this reason, the political decision-makers consider the military option as the last option to resort to while choosing the tactics and strategies in the crisis management processes.

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[72] In none of the 5 foreign policy crises with non-state actors that we scrutinized as the Group of Crisis Analysis in Turkish Foreign Policy (Bozkurt-Lotus of 1926, MV Struma of 1942, September 6-7 of 1955, MV Mavi Marmara of 2010 and ISIS Hostage Crisis of 2014), Turkey as a state did not use violence.

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