

ROUTLEDGE

ROUTLEDGE
HANDBOOKS



The Routledge Handbook of Turkish Politics

Edited by Alpaslan Özerdem and Matthew Whiting

THE ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF TURKISH POLITICS

Edited by Alpaslan Özerdem and Matthew Whiting

First published 2019
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2019 selection and editorial matter, Alpaslan Özerdem and Matthew Whiting; individual chapters, the contributors

The right of Alpaslan Özerdem and Matthew Whiting to be identified as the authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

Every effort has been made to contact copyright-holders. Please advise the publisher of any errors or omissions, and these will be corrected in subsequent editions.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Özerdem, Alpaslan, editor. | Whiting, Matthew. editor.

Title: The Routledge handbook of Turkish politics / edited by Alpaslan Özerdem and Matthew Whiting.

Other titles: Handbook of Turkish politics

Description: Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY : Routledge, 2019. |

Includes bibliographical references and index. | Non-Latin script record |

Identifiers: LCCN 2018049246 (print) | LCCN 2018051152 (ebook) |

Subjects: LCSH: Turkey--Politics and government--20th century. |

Turkey--Politics and government--21st century. |

Turkey--Economic conditions. | Turkey--Economic policy. | Turkey--Foreign relations. |

Kurds--Turkey--Politics and government--20th century. | Kurds--Turkey--Politics and government--21st century.

Classification: LCC DR576 (ebook) | LCC DR576 .R68 2019 (print) |

DDC 320.9561--dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2018049246>

ISBN: 978-1-138-50055-6 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-14384-2 (ebk)

Typeset in Bembo
by Taylor & Francis Books

CONTENTS

<i>List of illustrations</i>	ix
<i>List of contributors</i>	x
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiv
Introduction	1
<i>Alpaslan Özerdem and Matthew Whiting</i>	
PART I	
History and the making of contemporary Turkey	11
1 Turkish politics: structures and dynamics	13
<i>Samim Akgönül and Baskın Oran</i>	
2 Turkey's never-ending search for democracy	27
<i>İlter Turan</i>	
3 Turkish secularism: looking forward and beyond the West	37
<i>Murat Somer</i>	
4 Political Islam	55
<i>Kristin Fabbe and Efe Murat Balıkcıoğlu</i>	
5 The politics of Turkish nationalism: continuity and change	69
<i>Durukan Kuzu</i>	
PART II	
Politics and institutions	81
6 Elections, parties, and the party system	83
<i>Ersin Kalaycıoğlu</i>	

7	The presidency in Turkish politics: from independence to the AKP <i>Menderes Çınar and Nalan Soyank şentürk</i>	103
8	Civil–military relations <i>Metin Heper</i>	115
9	NGOs and civil society <i>Markus Ketola</i>	126
10	The media and media policy <i>Eylem Yanardağođlu</i>	138
PART III		
The economy, environment, and development		149
11	Political economy <i>Ali Burak Güven</i>	151
12	Energy security and policy: between bandwagoning and hedging <i>H. Akın Ünver</i>	163
13	The politics of environment and climate change <i>Ümit Şahin</i>	177
14	The economic role of cities <i>Stephen Karam</i>	190
15	Governing Turkey’s diaspora(s) and the limits of diaspora diplomacy <i>Bahar Başer</i>	202
16	Disaster management policy and governance <i>Helena Hermansson and Naim Kapucu</i>	214
PART IV		
The Kurdish insurgency and security		229
17	The Kurdish question <i>Zeynep N. Kaya and Matthew Whiting</i>	231
18	The Kurdish insurgency <i>David Romano</i>	242

19	The perennial Kurdish question and failed peace processes <i>Cengiz Çandar</i>	253
20	Terrorism, counter-insurgency, and societal relations <i>Gareth Jenkins</i>	266
21	The village guard system: counter-insurgency and local collaboration <i>Evren Balta</i>	275
22	The 15 July 2016 failed coup and the security sector <i>Yaprak Gürsoy</i>	284
PART V		
State, society, and rights		297
23	Human rights <i>Zehra F. Kabasakal Arat</i>	299
24	Gender politics and the women's movement <i>Sevgi Adak</i>	315
25	Religious minorities <i>Samim Akgönül</i>	328
26	Religious education <i>Bekir S. Gür</i>	339
27	The transformation of health and healthcare: transitioning from consuming healthcare to producing and maintaining health <i>Enis Banş</i>	349
PART VI		
External relations		365
28	Foreign policy, 1923–2018 <i>Mustafa Aydın</i>	367
29	Resetting Turkish foreign policy in a time of global turmoil <i>E. Fuat Keyman</i>	378
30	Turkey and its neighbours in the Middle East: Iran, Iraq, and Syria <i>Behlül Özkan</i>	391

31	US–Turkish relations in turmoil <i>Kemal Kirişci</i>	401
32	Turkey and Russia <i>Pavel K. Baev</i>	413
33	‘Will you marry me? Who proposes?’ Forgotten promises and the possibilities for reviving relations between Turkey and the EU <i>Füsun Özerdem</i>	425
34	Turkey’s Cyprus policy in transition <i>Bırol A. Yeşilada</i>	435
35	Turkey–NATO relations: strategic imperatives, identity-building, and predicaments <i>Müge Kınacıoğlu</i>	446
36	Turkey and UN peacekeeping missions <i>Haluk Karadağ</i>	459
37	Turkey as an emerging global humanitarian and peacebuilding actor <i>Alpaslan Özerdem</i>	470
38	Conclusion <i>Alpaslan Özerdem and Matthew Whiting</i>	481
	<i>Index</i>	491

TURKEY AND UN PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS

Haluk Karadağ

Introduction

Turkey has been participating in peacekeeping operations since the 1950s. The Korean War was the first international military action of the Republic of Turkey to support international peace and security and to fight against Communism. This move was highly consistent with its foreign policy motto of 'peace at home, peace in the world', which was first expressed by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder of modern Turkey, in 1931 (Eroğlu 1985, 439). Governments after him have followed the same path to contribute to, and maintain, global peace and stability through membership of international organisations. After World War II, Turkey joined the Western alliance, NATO, due to an increased Soviet threat, and Turkey decided to participate in peacekeeping operations to support humanitarian values together with the Western Bloc.

The term peacekeeping was coined in the 1950s after World War II, immediately after the establishment of the United Nations (UN) (Bellamy, Williams, and Griffin 2004, 1). Peacekeeping activities have sustained global peace and security all around the world and the logic behind this idea was simple; preventing mass casualties (Özerdem 2013, 62). Peacekeeping as a concept is generally defined in Westphalian and post-Westphalian terms. Those who see peacekeeping in Westphalian terms explain its role in international politics as an interstate phenomenon. According to them, disputes and conflicts between the states can only be resolved by states. However, the post-Westphalian conception of peacekeeping, which is simply based on liberal democratic theory, requires intervening in internal conflict situations as well as interstate conflicts. This can be achieved by creating liberal democratic and social entities as a solution to violent conflicts that contribute to the peace process within states (Bellamy, Williams, and Griffin 2004, 2). In international politics, while some states such as Russia, China, and some other lately independent states support the Westphalian peacekeeping operations, Western states including the US, Great Britain, France, Canada, and Turkey¹ are in favour of the post-Westphalian conception of peacekeeping (Bellamy, Williams, and Griffin 2004, 3).

1 'Turkey' added by author to the group.

In addition to the Westphalian and post-Westphalian conceptual thinking on peacekeeping, in the process of building peace and security environments, a legal basis was necessary for peacekeeping forces to operate. The UN Charter, Chapter 1, Article 1, developed a solution to the legality issue by explaining the purposes of UN as: 'to maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace' (United Nations 1945). However, in the Charter, there was nothing specific about the concept of a peacekeeping issue, which led to the start of the initial idea about collective preventive and enforcement action. To accomplish this mission, all members of the United Nations give assistance in any action to the organisation in accordance with the Charter (Hill and Malik 1996, 7).

There is an array of actors who deal with the peacekeeping issue in an international environment. However, the answer to the question 'who are the peacekeepers?' is complicated. In their study, Bellamy, Williams, and Griffin classify them into three categories. First, they may be *individual* or *pivotal states* with a certain power to intervene in the specific situations during inter-state or intra-state conflicts. These states, sometimes alone or sometimes as a leader of a coalition, can play an important role in response to a particular problem. *International organisations* and *alliances* are the second types of peacekeeping forces. NATO, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), and the EU are the most prominent examples. *The UN* is the last and the primary source of peacekeeping efforts as the main actor in the international community (Bellamy, Williams, and Griffin 2004, 34). Due to its legitimacy, it has been widely accepted that the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) is the main actor responsible for the use of force to support international peace and security (Morris and Wheeler 2007, 214). The *blue helmets* operations can be defined as a new kind of second-generation peacekeeping process that have been increasing their impact during recent years under post-Westphalian terms. Together with classical peacekeeping efforts, this new concept has also included protection and the delivery of humanitarian assistance, as was the case in Bosnia Herzegovina, Somalia, the preparation and execution of elections in Cambodia, and so on (United Nations 1996, 3).

While there is much written on the topic of peacekeeping in the literature, this chapter specifically aims to identify the support of Turkey, one of the defenders of post-Westphalian peacekeeping operations, as part of UN peacekeeping operations and other peace operations that take place in accordance with UNSC resolutions. It will also provide brief information on other types of peacekeeping operations that have been conducted under the category of international organisations and alliances.

Historical and political background

As mentioned earlier, Turkey has been participating in peacekeeping operations since the 1950s. The Korean War was the first international military action of the Republic of Turkey following the UNSC call with Resolution 84 (1950) and 85 (1950). Sixteen UN members, including Turkey,² sent troops to Korea to fight under US command (Harp Akademileri Komutanlığı 1994, 183). Turkey participated with a brigade level of 4,500 troops. Considering the fact that the UN Force in Korea was under national (US) command rather than UN

2 United States, Turkey, Great Britain, France, Greece, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxemburg, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, Philippines, Canada, Colombia, South Africa, and Ethiopia sent troops to Korea.

command, it was not regarded as a peacekeeping force (Whittaker 1995, 37). However, this humanitarian operation paved the way for Turkey's future peacekeeping operations. According to the records of Turkish Armed Forces General Staff, there have been 17 international peace operations and nine observer missions supported by Turkish troops to date (Turkish Armed Forces General Staff 2018).

The Korean War was a major paradigm shift in Turkey's participation in international peacekeeping efforts since 1923. Turkey became a NATO member in return for its participation on the side of US-led coalition forces in the Korean peninsula against Communism in 1952. The Soviet or Communist threat was the primary reason for Turkey being actively part of the Western bloc. However, there were few engagements by Turkey in peacekeeping processes during the Cold War period. The bipolar international political system did not allow states in general to put direct efforts on peace processes during internal conflicts. In that period, Turkey became one of the non-permanent members of UN Security Council three times to play constructive and conciliatory roles for the issues on the UN agenda between 1951 and 1961 (MFA 2018a).

However, this growing international enthusiasm faded and fell into a deep sleep in the years between 1960 and 1990. The end of the Cold War was a wake-up call for almost all of the nations in the world, including Turkey. With the help of successful economic development strategies by successive Turkish governments, it started to play a significant role in intergovernmental organisations. In UN peacekeeping and NATO missions especially, Turkey became a significant contributor. We can see two major contributions to UN peacekeeping missions by Turkey when we look at Figure 36.1 (UN Peacekeeping 2018). The main reason for the first peak in 1994 was due to contributions to the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia Herzegovina. During the dissolution period of Yugoslavia and due to increased ethnic and violent tensions upon Bosnia's declaration of independence, Turkey decided to dispatch to the region an Armoured Mechanised Infantry Regiment to work under UN command with Resolution 743 on 4 August 1993. Turkish Armed Forces (TAF) contributed 1400 personnel to UNPROFOR and they were deployed in Zenica and Kakanj in central Bosnia until 31 December 1995 (Çakmak 2012, 193). This was the highest

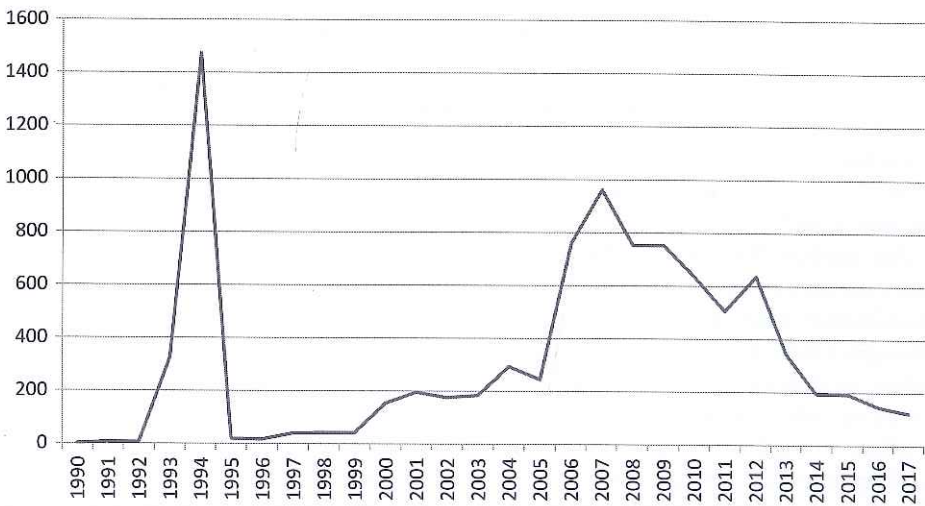


Figure 36.1 The number of Turkish personnel supporting UN peacekeeping missions (1990–2017).

contribution of TAF to an international conflict under a UN mandate in the UN's peacekeeping history. The importance of Bosnia lies in the near history of Turkey. As a Balkan state this country was part of old Ottoman territory, forming the biggest Muslim community in the Balkans, with Turks looking to Bosnia as a cultural heritage of the Ottomans.

The second peak in 2007 was the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL). Lebanon is also another Ottoman heritage and sensitive issue for Turkish governments, and Lebanon's stability and security concerns have always been important to Turkey (MFA 2018b). With its complex cultural, religious, and ethnic structure, Lebanon has faced several conflicts in its territory. First civil war broke out, then counter-attacks between the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) and Israel Defence Forces (IDF) took place, beginning in 1975. Finally, Israel invaded South Lebanon as far as the Litani River and occupied the territory. In reaction, Hezbollah of Lebanon started to fight with the IDF. In 2000, the UN identified the 'Line of Withdrawal' (Blue Line) between Lebanon and Israel and deployed UN forces behind the line. Following UNSC Resolution 1701 (2006), the Turkish government sent troops and ships for military burden-sharing to support peace in Lebanon. Turkey has been supporting UNIFIL's Maritime Task Force with one frigate and providing support with two staff officers since October 2006 (BBC 2006). In addition, the Turkish Army deployed one Army Engineer Construction Company with a personnel strength of 310 to support military and local official buildings and other infrastructures in Lebanon. The engineering company completed its mission and returned home to Turkey in 2013 (Issacharoff and Staff 2013).

Turkey not only supported UN peacekeeping missions for the sake of a common good, but it also contributed to NATO missions based on UNSC resolutions. The geopolitical breakdown which occurred with the collapse of Soviet Union caused severe damage to the newly independent states of Balkans. The 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York in 2001 opened a new phase for these operations. After US military intervention against terrorist organisations in Afghanistan, NATO updated its mission statement and extended its area of responsibility to the middle of the Asian continent. In accordance with the new job description, Turkey increased its troop contribution in these regions. However, national restrictions have prevented the military from being deployed outside the area of its responsibility or to conduct counter-terrorism operations (Turkish Armed Forces General Staff 2018). These restrictions or national caveats do not allow the Turkish military to use arms against outer threats offensively except for self-defence, during peacekeeping missions.

Turkey's peacekeeping diplomacy

Turkey has initiated a new diplomatic campaign on the international stage after four decades of silence. Since the 1960s, Turkey has not been in the international arena, either as a UNSC temporary member or as a partner in peacekeeping missions. However, with the beginning of the 21st century, Turkey gave higher priority to being a regional and responsible power. Turkey declared its candidacy for UNSC membership, it took a role in peacekeeping missions abroad, and it organised and participated in international military exercises. As part of its diplomatic efforts it started to contribute actively to international peace and security. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey describes the country's positive approach to peacekeeping operations as follows: 'one of the main objectives of Turkish foreign policy is to contribute to establishing and maintaining peace and stability in its region and beyond. Peacekeeping Operations are the legitimate means to realize this objective' (MFA 2018c).

Based on its foreign policy principles mentioned above, the TAF contributed to 26 international peace operations, including observer missions. Turkey declared its candidacy for non-permanent

membership of the UNSC and was elected for the term 2009–2010 (Oran 2013, 811). Turkey has also made a financial contribution, contributing just over 1 per cent of the total UN's regular budget for the 2016–2018 term (MFA, 2018d). Economic indicators are also getting better for Turkey. Turkey's GDP was around \$863 billion in 2016, while it was \$13 billion in 1960s, and it has a stable and growing economy which ranks 17th in the world according to total gross domestic product in 2016 (World Bank 2016, 2017). As a democratic and secular country, Turkey is a bridge between the civilisations, religions, and cultures. With its strategic geopolitical position, it is a key actor in fighting against transnational terrorism and has become an energy hub of regional oil and natural gas resources. In addition, the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency with 60 programme coordination offices in 58 countries spent 800 million Turkish liras for humanitarian aid on the developing countries for the years 2015–2017 (TIKA 2017, 18–41). Last but not least, Turkey today has a military power which is the eighth in the world military strength ranking, supporting NATO and the Organization for Security and Co-operation for Europe (OSCE), in addition to the UN (Global Firepower Index 2017).

The above can be explained by Turkey's desire to be recognised as an absolute regional power. Her hard power asset, the TAF, has been serving as an influential actor in peace operations. Due to the complexity of separating the peacekeeping efforts according to the time periods here in this study it is going to be scrutinised by 'nature' of missions, which is identified under the title of *peace operations* and *observation missions* of the TAF.

Peace operations of the Turkish Armed Forces

Peace support operations in which the TAF participated can be grouped into two categories. While the first category involved direct UN-commanded peacekeeping operations, the second includes peace operations supported by other organisations such as NATO and the EU in accordance with UNSC resolutions. However, most of them took place in the geographies which belong to old Ottoman territories. So, it can be argued that cultural and historical ties motivated Turkey to be in hot spots such as Bosnia Herzegovina, Kosovo, Albania, Lebanon, and Libya. The rest of the missions have been conducted in geopolitically connected zones like Afghanistan, Somalia, and Sudan.

Article 92 of the Constitution (1982) of Turkey allows governments to dispatch military troops abroad upon ratification of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. In the text it says:

the power to authorize the declaration of a state of war in cases deemed legitimate by international law and except where required by international treaties to which Turkey is a party or by the rules of international courtesy to send the TAF to foreign countries and to allow foreign armed forces to be stationed in Turkey, is vested in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey.

(TBMM 1982, 39)

This article is the main pillar providing a national legal basis for sending Turkish troops abroad. Immediately after the Cold War, Turkey started to participate in international peacekeeping missions again by dispatching personnel to the Iran–Iraq border as an observer mission under the command of United Nations. The Iran–Iraq Military Observer Group (UNIIMOG) was the very first mission under a UN flag following the collapse of the bipolar world order in 1990. After that year, Turkey joined numerous peace support operations; some of them were under direct UN command, some were under NATO command. The operations under NATO command were also based on UNSC Resolutions.

The greatest and longest contribution of the Turkish military to an international crisis is its contribution to the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan. The ISAF mission started with the leadership of the UK on 16 January 2002, and came to an end on 31 December 2014. Turkey participated in ISAF operations from the very beginning, with a significant number of troops. Turkey successfully commanded ISAF troops between June 2002 and February 2003 (during the term of ISAF-II) with a personnel contribution of 1300 troops. During the term of ISAF-VII, Turkey commanded 8000 troops from 30 countries, including an additional 1450 Turkish military personnel, between the periods of February to August 2005. The command, control, and security of Kabul International Airport was also under the responsibility of Turkish troops during that period. A critical component of the NATO Force structure, the Rapid Deployable Turkish Force-Third Corps Command in İstanbul, supported the ISAF headquarters in Kabul between August 2008 and February 2009. During that period, a Turkish General assumed Command of Chief of Staff of ISAF HQ with the additional support of 100 officers. Turkey took the responsibility of Kabul Regional Command on 1 November 2009, and fulfilled its mission until the operation of ISAF ended on 31 December 2014. Thorough Provisional Regional Construction Teams, Turkey supported the Afghan people in the regions of Jowzjan and Wardak between 2006 and 2013. In addition to Turkish troops and staff officers, there were also Turkish advisors to the Afghan Military High School and National Military Academy. In accordance with UNSC Resolution 2189 (2014), the Resolute Support Mission (RSM) replaced the ISAF on 1 January 2015 (Turkish Armed Forces General Staff 2018).

Table 36.1 provides brief information regarding peacekeeping operations in which the Turkish military participated. However, there are some other international peace operations in support with TAF not listed in Table 36.1. For instance, the NATO Training Mission in Iraq (NTIM-I) was established in 2004 in accordance with the UNSC Resolution 1546 and NATO İstanbul Summit 'Iraq Declaration'. TAF provided personnel support to Iraq between 2004 and 2011. Besides, Turkey provided air and naval support for the UNPROFOR, IFOR, and SFOR (Turkish Armed Forces General Staff 2018). Operation Sharp Guard was one of the operations at the beginning of the conflict. This operation was carried out by Standing Naval Force Mediterranean, between 15 July 1993 and 2 October 1996, on the Adriatic Sea in response to UN Security Council Resolutions 713 and 757 to prevent military support to warring parties in Yugoslavia (Gade and Hilde 2016, 118). Turkey supported this operation with 18 frigates, two submarines, four gas carriers, and several anti-mine ships along with 5000 troops (Çakmak 2004, 195).

Operation Deny Flight was one of the operations to establish a no-fly zone over Bosnia and to provide close air support to UN peacekeepers on the ground, and it began on 12 April 1993 and was completed on 21 December 1995 in response to UNSC Resolution number 781 (NATO 2017). The Turkish Air Force participated in this operation on 25 April 1993, with eight F-16 fighter jets from the Combined Air Operations Centre at Vicenza, Italy, and executed more than 2000 sorties until the end of the mission. Operation Deliberate Force was another burden sharing operation organised by some NATO members to eliminate Serbian military targets with air assaults. Deliberate Force was NATO's first extended air operation and took place between 30 August to 19 September 1995 (Dittmer and Dawkins 1998, 1). Even though it seemed less risky compared to NATO's Deny Flight operation, all force members except Turkey reduced their commitment to this mission. Turkey participated with eight F-16 airplanes from an airbase in Italy (Cimbala and Forster 2010, 130–131).

Table 36.1 International peace operations of Turkey

<i>Mission</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Time period</i>	<i>Troops</i>	<i>Detailed list</i>
Unified Task Force/ United Nations Operation in Somalia II (UNITAF/UNOSOM II)	Somalia	1992–1994	300	Three mechanised infantry platoons, one fire support platoon, one quartermaster platoon, one transport and maintenance platoon, sections of a signal, medical and engineer division, one landing ship tank (<i>Ertuğrul</i>), one logistics ship (<i>Derya</i>), one destroyer (<i>Fatih</i>)
United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia (UNSAM)	Somalia	2013–2018	1	Military advisor
UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR)	Bosnia Herzegovina	1994–1995	1462	One armoured mechanised infantry regiment
Implementation Force/ Stabilisation Force (IFOR/SFOR)	Bosnia Herzegovina	1996–2004	327	One brigade downsized to one battalion
Alba	Albania	1997 (Apr.– Aug.)	753	Two amphibious ships, two frigates
European Union Force (EUFOR, Althea)	Bosnia Herzegovina	2004–2018	246	One manoeuvre company, five liaison/observation teams
United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK)	Kosovo	1999–2018	16	Staff officers
Kosovo Force (KFOR)	Kosovo	1999–2018	369	One manoeuvre company, six liaison/observation teams
United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL)	Lebanon	2006–2018	310	One army engineer construction company, one frigate
United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA)	Afghanistan	2012–2015	1	Military advisor
International Security Assistance Force (ISAF)	Afghanistan	2002–2014	1450	Kabul regional command, command, control, and security of Kabul International Airport, provisional regional construction teams in Wardak and Jowzjan, advisers to Afghan Military High School and National Military Academy and institutions
Resolute Support Mission (RSM)	Afghanistan	2015–2018	712	Train, Assist, and Advise Command Capital (TAAC-C), command, control, and security of Kabul International Airport, advisers to Afghan Military High School and National Military Academy and institutions

(Continued)

Table 36.1 (Cont.)

Mission	Country	Time period	Troops	Detailed list
Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC)	Democratic Republic of Congo	2006	5	One C-130 cargo airplane
United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS)	Sudan	2005–2010	2	Staff officers
United Nations–African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID)	Sudan/ Darfur	2006–2011	5	One C-160 cargo airplane
Operation Unified Protector (OUP)	Libya	2011	Several	Four frigates, one submarine, one logistic support ship, six F-16 fighter Jets, two KC-135 tanker aircrafts, ship-based helicopters, one special forces unit, one underwater demolition team, one amphibious team
Operation Ocean Shield/ Combined Task Force 151 (OOS/CTF 151)	Gulf of Aden	2008–2017	Several	One frigate

Source: Turkish Armed Forces General Staff (2018).

Observer missions of Turkish Armed Forces

Observer missions under the UN flag have been performed by the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO). UNTSO is the oldest peacekeeping organisation of the UN, established in 1948 (UNTSO 2018). The TAF participated in nine military observer missions throughout the UN's history. The first observation mission was at the borderline between Iran and Iraq. Turkish military observers joined UNIIMOG to control the implementation of the cease-fire agreement and monitor the withdrawal of forces between August 1988 and May 1991. The last one was in the neighbouring country of Georgia and Turkish military observers served in the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) until 2009 (Turkish Armed Forces General Staff 2018). In addition, the OSCE undertook the responsibility to monitor the flow of refugees during an operation of the Russian Federation with Chechnya on the Georgia–Chechnya border. Turkey deployed military observers for monitoring the situation between parties. Seven other observer missions are listed in Table 36.2 (Turkish Armed Forces General Staff 2018).

It is evident from the tables above that Turkey's peace operations are on the rise after the end of Cold War. This raises two crucial questions: what is Turkey's main motivation for participating in these operations and what kind of benefits does it get from its participation? Before answering these critical questions, we need to specify two main documents determining Turkey's official UN peacekeeping policy. As mentioned earlier, Article 92 of the 1982 Constitution authorises governments to support UNSC resolutions, including sending military troops abroad. The second one is the Concept on Turkey's Contribution to Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding Operations, signed by the Prime Minister in 2005. This document states the organising principles to guide Turkish decision-making on peacekeeping. For example, it requires international legitimacy (authorisation from UNSC) for Turkey using military forces in the international conflicts (Satana

Table 36.2 Observer missions of Turkey

Observer mission	Country/region	Time period	Mission objective
Temporary International Presence in Hebron (TIPH)	Hebron (West Bank)	1997–2008	Observe, report, and monitor the developments in the city
United Nations Iran–Iraq Military Observer Group (UNIIMOG)	Iran–Iraq border	1988–1991	Control the implementation of the cease–fire agreement and monitor the withdrawal of forces
United Nations Iraq–Kuwait Military Observation Mission (UNIKOM)	Iraq–Kuwait border	1991–2003	Monitor the demilitarised zone and deter border violations and report hostile acts
United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG)	Georgia	1994–2009	Supervise the cease–fire agreement between Georgia and Abkhazia
United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISSET)	East Timor	2000–2004	Ensure peace, security, and stability
United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH)	Bosnia Herzegovina	2001–2002	Coordinate UN activities such as humanitarian relief, human rights, refugees, demining issues, reconstruction issues
OSCE Kosovo Verification Mission	Kosovo	1999	Verify compliance by all parties in Kosovo
OSCE Border Monitoring Operation in Georgia	Georgia	2000–2004 2006–2009	Monitor the flow of refugees during operation of Russian Federation with Chechnya on the Georgia–Chechnya border
EUPOL Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo	Democratic Republic of Congo	2006–2007	Provide advice and assistance for security sector reform in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Source: Turkish Armed Forces General Staff (2018).

2013, 361). So, these two documents not only provide legitimacy for Turkish security forces taking part in peace operations but also help to develop strategy.

The end of the Cold War and elimination of the Soviet threat reduced Turkey's geostrategic importance in the international environment. However, conflictual situations in Balkans, especially in former Yugoslavia, paved the way for Turkey to become a visible actor again in the international realm. Its Muslim identity and aspiration to help Muslims in Bosnia and Kosovo were two sensitive issues for Turkey at that time. Security-seeking behaviour is also another reason for its desire to be part of these operations. The threat of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (*Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê*, PKK) and other terrorist organisations motivates Turkey to be part of stabilising operations for the sake of international peace and security. By doing so, Turkey can build considerable international support in her struggle with terrorism. In short, the primary motive of Turkey's participation in peace operations lies under the reality of 'visibility' and 'security-seeking' behaviour. In addition to that, during the 1990s, mostly Turkish military elites rather than civilian authorities were involved in the decision-making

process on peacekeeping issues. However, civilians took control over the military and become the sole decision-maker on peacekeeping concerns after 2005. The new arrangement of peace operations has aimed at promoting national interests and following cost-benefit-oriented policies compared to the former ones. There are some cases where the Turkish government possibly pursues peace operations in return for advancing economic interests with African countries. Turkey's participation in peace operations in the Democratic Republic of Congo is a notable example of increasing economic engagement with African countries (Satana 2012). Besides economic benefits, pursuing peacekeeping operations will be a positive factor in the EU membership process. Where participation of this kind improves relationships with other states, it also nurtures democratic norms.

Conclusion

The number of Turkish personnel supporting UN peacekeeping missions has been in decline in the last few years. The reason for the decrease in numbers indicates that Turkey is no longer giving higher priority to UN-led peace operations, instead focusing heavily on the more professional NATO-led missions. There are some possible explanations for this attitude change. Turkey does not request subventions or funding for the troops working under UN command from the UN regular budget, but rather Turkey pays for its personnel from the national budget and would like to use that budget more effectively on NATO missions (Satana 2012).

However, Turkey as a responsible regional power has participated in both large and small peacekeeping missions without hesitation and contributes to the Peacebuilding Fund in significant amounts. Since the establishment of this fund (2006), Turkey has spent 2.5 million US dollars for the peacebuilding budget (UN Multi-Partner Trust Fund Office 2018). The contribution of Turkish Armed Forces to 26 peacekeeping missions since the Korean War is the proof of Turkey's will to be in the 'ivy league' of developed countries. Turkey seems to follow a more comprehensive peacekeeping policy in remote areas of the world. The primary purpose of this is to support international peace and security and enhance Turkey's role in the world. Turkey has been providing support to the post-Westphalian conception of peacekeeping operations and is expected to participate in these burden-sharing, humanitarian missions in the future. But low-intensity domestic conflicts, especially the one with the PKK, keeps Turkish military forces busy with operations in and outside of the country. However, it is possible that if the internal conflicts and tensions decrease, more Turkish troops would be on the international stage for peace operations. Consequently, powerful motivations lay behind Turkey's participation in peace operations, namely fundamental security concerns, increasing its visibility, and a desire to be a responsible power in the international arena.

References

- BBC. 2006. 'Turkish Troops Arrive in Lebanon.' 20 October. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/6069126.stm
- Bellamy, Alex J., Paul D. Williams, and Stuart Griffin. 2004. *Understanding Peacekeeping*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Çakmak, Haydar. 2004. *Uluslararası Krizler ve Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri [International Crises and the Turkish Armed Forces]*. Ankara: Platin Yayıncılık.
- Çakmak, Haydar. 2012. *Kriz Yönetimi ve TSK [Crisis Management and the Turkish Armed Forces]*. Ankara: Kaynak Yayınları.
- Cimbala, Stephen J., and Peter K. Forster. 2010. *Multinational Military Intervention: NATO Policy, Strategy, and Burden Sharing*. Surrey: Ashgate Publishing.

- Dittmer, L. David, and Stephen P. Dawkins. 1998. *Deliberate Force: NATO's First Extended Air Operation: The View from AFSOUTH*. Alexandria, Arlington: Center for Naval Analyses.
- Erođlu, Hamza. 1985. 'Yurtta Sulh, Cihanda Sulh [Peace in the Country, Peace in the World].' *Atatürk Arařtırmaları Dergisi [Journal of Atatürk Research]* 1(2): 435–449.
- Gade, Jo George, and Paal Sigurd Hilde. 2016. 'NATO and the Maritime Domain.' In *International Order at Sea: How It is Challenged, How It is Maintained*, edited by Jo Inge Bekkevold and Geoffrey Till, 115–139. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Global Firepower Index. 2017. 'Military Strength Ranking.' <https://www.globalfirepower.com/countries-listing.asp>
- Harp Akademileri Komutanlıđı. 1994. *Barıř Destekeleme Harekatı [Operation to Support Peace]*. İstanbul: Harp Akademileri Basımevi.
- Hill, Stephen M, and Shahin P. Malik. 1996. *Peacekeeping and the United Nations*. London: Dartmouth Publishing.
- Issacharoff, Avi, and Toi Staff. 2013. 'Turkey to Withdraw Troops from UNIFIL in South Lebanon.' *The Times of Israel*, 10 August. <https://www.timesofisrael.com/turkey-withdraws-troops-from-unifil-in-south-lebanon/>
- MFA. 2018a. 'Relations Between Turkey and South Korea.' Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-guney-kore-siyasi-iliskileri.tr.mfa>
- MFA. 2018b. 'Relations Between Turkey and Lebanon.' Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-lebanon.en.mfa>
- MFA. 2018c. 'The UN Organization and Turkey.' Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/the-united-nations-organization-and-turkey.en.mfa>
- MFA. 2018d. 'Turkey's Approach and Contributions to the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations.' Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs. http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey_s-approach-and-contributions-to-the-united-nations-peacekeeping-operations.en.mfa
- Morris, Justin, and Nicholas J. Wheeler. 2007. 'The Security Council's Crisis of Legitimacy and the Use of Force.' *International Politics* 2–3(44): 214–231.
- NATO. 2017. 'NATO's Operations: 1949 – Present.' <http://www.shape.nato.int/resources/21/nato%20operations,%201949-present.pdf>
- Oran, Baskın (ed.). 2013. *Türk Dıř Politikası III [Turkish Foreign Policy III]*. İstanbul: İletişim.
- Özerdem, Alpaslan. 2013. *Barıř İnşası Kuram ve Uygulamaları [Peace Construction Theory and Practices]*. Ankara: Nobel Publishing.
- Satana, S. Nil. 2012. 'Peacekeeping Contributor Profile: Turkey.' 31 August. <http://www.providingforpeacekeeping.org/2014/04/03/contributor-profile-turkey/>
- Satana, S. Nil. 2013. 'Turkey.' In *Providing Peacekeepers: The Politics, Challenges, and Future of United Nations Peacekeeping Contributions*, edited by Alex J. Bellamy and Paul D. Williams, 355–376. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- TBMM. 1982. 'The Constitution of Turkey.' Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi [Grand National Assembly of Turkey]. https://global.tbmm.gov.tr/docs/constitution_en.pdf
- TİKA. 2017. *Faaliyet Raporu 2017 [Activity Report 2017]*. Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency. <http://www.tika.gov.tr/upload/2018/2017%20Faaliyet%20Raporu/TİKA%20Faaliyet%20Raporu%202017.pdf>
- Turkish Armed Forces General Staff. 2018. 'Contribution of the Turkish Armed Forces to Peace Support Operations.' <http://www.tsk.tr/InternationalRelations/ContributionToTafToPeace>
- United Nations. 1945. 'Purposes and Principles.' *Charter of the United Nations*. <http://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/chapter-i/index.html>
- United Nations. 1996. *The Blue Helmets: A Review of United Nations Peacekeeping*. New York: UN Department of Public Information.
- UN Multi-Partner Trust Fund Office. 2018. 'The Peacebuilding Fund.' <http://mpf.undp.org/factsheet/fund/PB000>
- UN Peacekeeping 2018. 'Troop and Police Contributions.' <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/troop-and-police-contributors>
- UNTSO. 2018. 'Background.' United Nations Truce Supervision Organization. <https://untso.unmissions.org/background>
- Whittaker, David J. 1995. *United Nations in Action*. Armonk, NY: UCL Publishing.
- World Bank. 2016. 'Gross Domestic Product 2016.' <https://databank.worldbank.org/data/download/GDP.pdf>
- World Bank. 2017. 'GDP in Current USD.' <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD?locations=TR>