



The Contributions of Turkey to Global Security

Ali ÇAĞLAR*

Abstract

The main purpose of this study is to discuss the contributions made by Turkey to the global security. In order to reach this goal, today's concept of global security has been handled first within the context of historical and conceptual background, and then Turkey's contributions to the global security has been explained and discussed. As known, Turkey has made important contributions to UN and OSCE missions throughout the world in recent decades. The data needed for this paper have been collected from the related literature and the security institutions, both military and police, of Turkey.

1. Global Security

The word "security" is related to the concept of self-protection. Security need is a *sine qua non* requirement which is basically of a three-folded nature: first, ensuring the survival of the human being; second, protecting him/her against the nature surrounding it and the other living creatures; and third, preserving his/her existence and identity shaped by the fundamental rights and freedom.

In order to cope with the insecurity posed by the nature in which he/she lives in, and the other living things, human being uses knowledge and theoretical awareness, which makes him/her different from the others. By using knowledge, human being creates tools and techniques, which minimize the insecurity posed by nature or/and by its fellow creatures. Through those tools and techniques, human being advances in science, arts, commerce, etc. It is obvious that individual

* Hacettepe University, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, 06800 Beytepe/Ankara/TURKEY.

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security perceptions or perceptions of threat(s) to security may show differences from person to person. Furthermore, it is possible to claim that there are different units of analysis than individual in security studies. At individual level, it is about a person's security or security perceptions. Individual person as human being is the unit of analysis. However, at societal level, individual unit earns a relationship within a larger unit: Society itself. The form and the characteristics of the society under study may change but, in political realm, as it was stated by Thomas Hobbes, the most important tool for security is to form a government. He based his political thoughts on the concept, which is called "state of nature". According to him, humans are equal and capable of rational thought, but human nature is aggressive and greedy, and human life is "brutish and short". The state of nature is ruthless and frightening. In this state of humanity, no development in science, arts, commerce, etc., is possible because existence itself is so fragile. In order to let the human cope with threats posed by both the nature and its fellows, and thus be able to advance in science, first and foremost, there is a need for a strong authoritarian government to control humans' violent passions. For Hobbes, providing security is the basic pillar and the sole purpose to the political thoughts on forming a government (Hobbes, 1994).

Hobbesian security approach has been echoed, to a large extent, in the works of the Realists in International Relations as an academic field of study, such as Hans Morgenthau. Wars are inevitable and forever in international system because of this brutal human nature. Hobbes assumes that the "state of nature" is an extremely hostile nature in which there is a permanent "state of war" of every man against every man. Human beings can cooperate with each other because of this "fear of death" and so they can develop political institutions with this aim namely "sovereign state." However, this creates another state of nature between states. This is referred as "the security dilemma" in world politics.

As for the insecurity posed by governments and states to others, Kant argues the requirement for a stable, perpetual peace among states. To achieve this goal, he suggests that states join together in order to constitute a league of nations. Nations in form of state can be appraised as individuals, who in their natural conditions are already aggressive and greedy and, each of them, for the sake of its security, can and ought to require the others to enter with it into a constitution similar to a civil constitution, in which each can be assured of its right (Kant, 1996:8).

Contrary to Kant, Hegel criticizes the hopes of a possible peace among nations resulting from a Kantian pact of peace saying in "Philosophy of Right";

Kant had the idea of securing 'perpetual peace' by a league of nations that would adjust every dispute. It was to be a power recognized by each individual state, and it was to arbitrate in all cases of dissension in order to make it impossible for disputants to resort to war in order to settle them. This idea presupposes an accord between states which would rest on moral or religious or other grounds or considerations, but in any case would always depend ultimately on a particular sovereign will and for that reason would remain infected with contingency (Hegel, 1982:333).

Borges, on the other hand, argues that it is possible to see the streamlines of above discussion in contemporary international politics. The Hegelian way of thinking, which argues that the particular sovereign nation, who can dictate her will to secure so called "a higher degree of freedom", has the right to be the ultimate judge of the world¹. Contrary to Kantian school, the idea of League of Nations has inspired the creation of the United Nations which is still a vibrant institution for people who believe in an international league for peace (Borges, 2006:81-84).

Though there is a vast difference between these two approaches, the very basic concept of the "security within its international context" remains unchanged. Similar to the explanation at the very beginning of this work, it means to ensure survival of the population; to protect territorial integrity and, to preserve the basic identity of a nation, as shaped by political, economic, social and cultural traits.

Political, economic, social and cultural traits have changed dramatically over the years particularly after the end of the Cold War. It has began to be evaluated that we have stepped up to a new era; namely globalization and become fashionable to describe the world as a global village. Though the current security environment has to further strengthen above mentioned Kantian thought and, confirm that security is becoming truly indivisible, there are still doubts in the streamline of globalization whether; we will all be more secure in the future.

Principally based on that doubt, policy discourses in academic studies have also begun to change by the end of the Cold War. According to Bigo, after the Cold War, the term regional security has been less visible under the impact of changing security understanding of leading powers. With this broadening and deepening comprehension of insecurities, security as a concept has also been increasingly deepening and broadening. Now, new threats are imposed by not only states but also by other actors and new sub-state/trans-state networks such as organized crimes, terrorist organizations and for some, by illegal/irregular immigrants. More importantly they target not only the state, or in more true sense, not "the" state but instead these new threats endanger three factors: border, order and identity that state got used to represent during the Cold War years (Bigo, 2001).

Recent debates among post-modernist political scientist such as Agnew (1994), Albert and Brock (1996), and Adler (1997) has also tended to focus on the fact that borders are no longer understood as self-evident, inevitable, invariable or ineradicable lines that have to be taken for granted. Even some scholars found different terms for this; -so called- borderless security understanding, ranging from securitization to post-security (Waeber, 1998; Joenniemi, 2007).

On the other hand some recent studies, like David Landes' take these optimistic views as a fallacy. Landes addresses in his recent book, "The Wealth and Poverty of Nations", very basic but utterly important question; "If the world became a global village so, the village elders must be pondering some very disturbing questions: why is it that some people are so rich and some so poor? Why do the rich get richer and the poor get poorer? (Landes, 1998).

¹ As stated by the former US Presidents, G. W. Bush in particular, in many occasions.

Similarly Pak says;

We have all been conditioned to acclaim the catchy term 'globalization'. But deep inside, many of us have come to harbor reservations about the sweeping changes the process entails. The idea of unimpeded contact between the peoples of this very special globe, the only biosphere we so far know of, sounds good. But, along with it, different sounds have come. Some of these were barely clothed bodies brandishing machetes. Some were state-of-the-art weapons designed and produced for wholesale butchery (Pak, 2001:1).

In fact, in the light of post-modernist policy discourses, we all expect to be less fragmented with the view under the US lead economic enforcement towards unification, liberalization, and globalization². Especially in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the political scene is witnessing the emergence of an increasing augmentation in nationalistic tendencies and approaches within the existing states. With the end of the Cold War a number of independent states have been formed on the territories of the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. In other words, at the end of Cold War, in accordance with the globalization discourse and search for being the leading power, a New World (Dis)Order is being discussed. This was a new hegemonic strategy to control and govern the world as much as possible.

It would be meaningful right here to recall the studies provided by the Copenhagen School. In their book entitled as *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, Barry Buzan, Ole Weaver and Jaap de Wilde described the term security on the basis of Constructivist Approach to international security. Accordingly, security as a concept can be constructed. Securitization is a process. Certain issues are transformed by an actor (generally the hegemonic power in the system) into a matter of security. (Buzan, Weaver and de Wilde, 1998: *passim*)

In the post-Cold War period, there were lots of racial, ethnical, tribal, religious and sectarian clashes in many countries. According to the Macionis and Plummer there were 80 armed conflicts between 1989 and 1992. Only 3 of them were between states. The others were interstate conflicts (Macionis and Plummer, 2002:257). As a consequence, the policy and strategy adopted was destroying nation-states and supporting micro-nationalism in targeted countries. For example, in Sudan: Muslim Arabs in North and Christians in South; in Sri Lanka: Hindu Tamils and Budists; in Indonesia: Indonesia and East Timour; in Ruwanda: Hutuies and Tutuies; in Afganistan: Taliban, Hikmetyar and Gn. Dostum, recently NATO and Taliban; in Irak: Kurds and Arabs, later Shias and Sunnies; in Pakistan: Shias and Sunnies; in Lebanon: Muslim Arabs and Christian Arabs; in Russia: Russians and Checenians; in Georgia: Georgians and Acars, S. Osetyans and Abhazs; in Azerbaijan: Azeries, Armenians and Lezgies; in Macedonia: Macedonians and Albanians; in Yugoslavia: Serbs, Croats, Bosnians and Albanians; in Czechoslovakia: Czechs and Slovaks; in

² Like in Hegelian school of thought: Particular sovereign nation who can dictate her will to secure so called "a higher degree of freedom" has the right to be the ultimate judge of the world.

Israel: Jews and Palestinian Arabs, etc... There have also been many other inter-conflicts in African countries.

Globalization had been expected to be beneficial because vast sums of money would have been transferred from rich to poor, and shared among the villagers. Whole libraries would have been open to researchers everywhere. There would have been no single source for information, and practically no way to control it. If knowledge had been a sole real power, then this power would have been shared more equitably, and to more people, than has ever been possible in the history of humanity. But we unfortunately observe the fact which ignores; not only the frontiers of states, but the very basic concept of security. Newly emerging threats such as, new and more organized wave of terrorism, illegal trade of small arms and weapons, mass migration, human trafficking and the laundering of money generated by these notorious activities, are all partly or wholly related to the magic word globalization. As a result, we are now becoming more convinced about the Kantian School of Thought that, those newly emerging insecurities cannot be broken by one state alone, or even by a group of states. It will require global awareness, global commitment, and global action.

In summary, we are becoming less and less powerless against new threats emerging in the era of globalization as former UN secretary General Boutros B. Ghalli said;

Globalization is characterized by the weakening of state control over a variety of sectors: finance, information, transport of goods and services, the environment, and population movements. Second, the strains of globalization have led to the fragmentation of states and societies, the rise of violence and civil conflict, the marginalization of entire groups within a particular society and of entire states in the globalised economy (Ghalli, 1996:4).

As again Ghalli pointed out, national security, regional security and global security are getting more and more linked to each other and UN may be a proper ground for developing measures related to the universal security.

United Nations must develop the means to prevent the fragmentation of states and societies. This can be through enhanced economic cooperation, through the development of regionalism... Above all, the UN will be central to reversing the marginalization of entire societies, and sharing with them the benefits of globalization... Essential building block of the international system must remain the state, which alone is capable of preventing the chaotic breakdown of order caused by the strains of globalization... The United Nations is responsive both to the needs of state sovereignty and to the increasing welfare needs of the world population (Ghalli, 1996:5).

Moreover, the end of the Cold War resulted in huge amount of surplus weapons becoming available illegally. There was a need to stop the spread of such weapons and offer assistance with

their destruction process. Border monitoring ranges from conflict prevention to post-conflict management and capacity-building. Institutional support was also required as an urgent action to intervene with the conflict and post-conflict areas. In other words, operations were required to prevent conflicts arising and to facilitate lasting comprehensive political settlements for current conflicts, making peace, keeping peace, forcing to peace and to help the process of rehabilitation and capacity building in post-conflict areas. There was also another need to provide a framework for political dialogue on military reforms.

These social, political, cultural, economical instabilities created a need for intervention to such countries to prevent massive human killings and massacres. The main question was that who must legally intervene to the conflicts and restore the peace again. In this process, of course, the first entity to come to mind at global level or as a universal organization was the UN. The OSCE³, as a regional organization, did also help in restoring peace in post-conflict countries.

Turkey, as a member country of both UN and OSCE, made substantial military and policing contributions to the security programs. Besides her military contributions, Turkey made also other contributions such as restoration and constructing of schools, roads, religious and historical buildings, monuments, and distributing food to the people in need. Now, the role of Turkey in this process will be discussed and explained in detail in the following section of the paper.

1. Changing Role of Turkey and Global Security

In the course and after World War II, Turkey's perception related to the international security was being shaped mainly on a problematic of military security. During the Cold War period and within the context of the previous concept of security, the overall role of Turkey has slightly changed. Her contribution to the global security was mainly stemming from her geostrategic position. Turkey together with Norway was serving as Western Block's flank, to hinder the southward passage of the Soviets, in return for a guarantee of territorial integrity.

Though above mentioned role of Turkey lost its importance after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Eastern Mediterranean region has acquired an even bigger significance in the post Cold War era in terms of security. Turkey began to be forced to abandon her role as geostrategic passive minor partner in an alliance of "developed nations". The policy discourses have begun to be preoccupied with the issue of "new global order".

As stated above, the global terrorism, the disintegration of states and increasing nationalism have changed the direction of theoretical approaches. Practical applications of the changing perception also began to emerge. This has been exposed with an increasing number of operations

³ The OSCE takes a comprehensive approach to the politico-military dimension of security, which includes a number of commitments by participating States and mechanisms for conflict prevention and resolution. These commitments can be given as follows: Arms control, border management, combating terrorism, conflict prevention, military reform and policing (OSCE, 2010).

aiming to send civilian/military units to insecure areas and, spending a great deal of money on cases which would be insufficient to guarantee a safer world.

With a view to this changing security posture, Turkey has begun to turn her face actively to the area from Adriatic to China, especially to the Eastern Mediterranean in order to explore her historical economic, social, cultural, political and ideological link as opposed to being a geostrategic passive minor partner in an alliance of “developed nations” and aimed to become a pivotal middle power⁴.

The “Pivotal State Theory” is a recently emerging theory of international politics mainly dealing with the issue of pivotal middle powers in today’s global order. The main question which they ask is how it could be possible for them to act together on global politics, while all of them are chiefly concerned with their own interests? To be a middle power, in addition to size, population, and geostrategic location, a state must have middle-rank economic and military capabilities and emphasize multilateral diplomacy and involvement in international organizations (Holbraad, 1984). Furthermore, a middle power could become active in second-order issues such as peacekeeping and peacemaking operations. In world affairs, middle powers act as catalysts, facilitators and managers (Cooper, 1997).

Pivotal state theorists, Cooper, Higgott, Richard, and Nossal, pay special attention to military capability because middle powers can play a leading role in security issues both at regional and global levels. Pivotal middle powers are, furthermore, regional powers. They occupy the “heartland” of their regions. The role of the pivotal middle powers cannot, however, be limited to their regions. It is somehow a mixture of both. Another feature of pivotal middle powers is their ability to link between the regional and international issues (Ozkan, 2006, 79-83).

According to the information released in the web-site of Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), the Turkish understanding concerning the concept of the global security is exactly the same as expressed by former UN Secretary General Ghalli. Contributing to collective defense and crisis management operations such as peacekeeping, humanitarian operations and police missions, containing ethnic and religious conflicts are being listed among the factors needed to be taken into account in today’s concept of security. In addition to this, it has been stated in this web-site as follows:

Security can no longer be achieved solely through military means and policies. Since the definition of security has broadened as such, so should our approach in dealing with these threats. We need to be able to employ a broader combination of military, economic, social and political policies in confronting contemporary challenges. This is the only way to achieve sustainable peace and stability on a global scale (MFA Publications, 2010).

⁴ A state which is strategically located, have a large population and capable of effecting much larger population and, possess some -middle rank- military, economic power.

The basic principles of Turkish Foreign Policy were determined during the Atatürk era. It was declared by the signing of the Lausanne Treaty that Turkish Republic, a new actor as a nation state, was taking place now within the international system. In the pre-Cold War period, Turkey has followed a national, independent, and successful foreign policy in dignity. Rational and peaceful Turkish foreign policy basis was based on respect to the principles of international law, legitimacy, and cooperation with international organizations. Turkey never followed an aggressive foreign policy. Instead, Turkish foreign policy behaviors in that period could be defined as peaceful and humanitarian. Further striking point was that Turkish policy makers did prefer to follow a peace policy simply because they thought that it would be the only policy to serve Turkey's national interests.

To reflect the similar understanding, Turkish General Staff's web-site refers to M. Kemal Atatürk's words about world politics on the occasion of a visit by Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1937:

All of humanity should be viewed as a single body, and each nation should be regarded as an organ of that body. The pain that a finger suffers affects the entire body; thus, we should not disregard troubles occurring in any part of the world. If there is a disturbance anywhere, we should be involved in it as if it happened to us (TGS Publications, 2010).

Turkey is located at one of the most problematic region of the world, she has based her foreign policy upon the motto: "Peace at Home, Peace in the World" as laid down by M. Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic. The MFA's "zero problem policy" discourse in recent years is in accordance with this view. However, it is not easy to make it real because of conflicting national interests with neighbors.

2.1. Turkey's Contribution to Global Security

Turkey has been assuming an active part in global security just since the inauguration of the Republic in 1923. In her international relations scheme, Turkey actively promoted cooperation with her neighbors and other countries. Similarly, she also contributed to regional security cooperation efforts at the multilateral level by initiating the establishment of the Balkan Entente of 1934 with Greece, Romania and Yugoslavia, as well as the Sadabad Pact of 1937 with Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan. Turkey became the member of the NATO in 1952. While remaining committed to the security of the alliance, Turkey also continued her traditional security policies based on the promotion of cooperation in her adjacent regions. In this context, Turkey initiated security cooperation both in the Balkans and the Middle East. The Balkan Pact of 1954 with Greece and Yugoslavia and the Baghdad Pact of 1955 with Britain, Iran, Iraq and Pakistan were the concrete results of initiatives aimed at the consolidation of security in these regions. After the collapse of the

Soviet Union, within the atmosphere of increasing vulnerability to threats of global nature, cooperation and joint action surfaced as the most effective instruments. At present, a founding member of the UN, member of NATO and all leading European and Euro-Atlantic institutions, as well as a negotiating country for membership in the European Union, Turkey actively pursues a policy geared at enhancing friendship and cooperation in her region and beyond (MFA Publications, 2010).

According to the Turkish MFA Publications released in its web-site;

Turkey believes that the economic and social threats, particularly poverty, infectious diseases, environmental degradation, natural and man-made disasters should be addressed by the international community as an integral part of global collective security, without losing sight of benefits of development as a pillar by its own (MFA Publications, 2010).

Within above mentioned context, Turkey has been making voluntary contributions to United Nations Funds, Programmes and Agencies as well as other International Organizations⁵, such as UN International Drug Control Programme, UN High Commissioner for Refugees, World Health Organization, UN Development Programme, UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, World Bank Iraq Fund, UN Development Group International Reconstruction Fund Facility for Iraq, Special Court for Sierra Leone, UNIDO Centre for Regional Cooperation in Turkey, Regional Trust Fund for the Protection of the Mediterranean Sea against Pollution, UN Children's Fund, UN Development Fund for Women, UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, etc. The voluntary financial contributions of Turkey to the UN Funds and other international organizations and programs can be given by year as follows: 17.514.021 USD in year 2008; 8.766.375 USD in year 2007; 18.133.125 USD in year 2006, further, Turkey's official development assistance for the year 2006 has reached 700 million USD; 16.191.646 + 10.343.925 USD in 2005 (MFA 2010 and UN Publications, 2010).

Though MFA rightly states that, "security can no longer be achieved solely through military means and policies", this study will focus mainly on Turkey's military contribution to the Global Security, since military contributions are much more on the spot in terms of her pivotal middle power role in global security. Besides being a country with the second largest army in all aspects in NATO after the USA, being a member of NATO, European Council and OSCE make military and policing contributions of Turkey much more valuable to mention.

Turkey's contribution to the global security by means of her military assets started in 1950 with the Korean War in which Turkey participated with a brigade. Turkey, on a rotational basis, sent a total of 15,000 personnel to Korea from 1950 to 1953. To start from this point Turkey makes a substantial contribution to various international peace-keeping activities. Since the end of the

⁵ See the Annex I as an example, for the financial aid details of Turkey and the names of the UN agencies and other international organizations in year 2008.

Second World War, Turkish troops have served under numerous UN, OSCE, NATO and EU (ESDP) missions. It is possible to classify the security services of Turkey to the global security affairs and missions in four aspects: "The observation services, UN leading and governing peace force operations, the peace support operations of which is being committed, and the policing services" (Bagci and Kardas, 2004).

The main operations and missions Turkey involved can be given as follows: UN Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group (UNIIMOG) between 1988-1991 with 10 personnel; UN Iraq-Kuwait Military Observer Group (UNIKOM) between 1991-2003 with 75 personnel; Operation "Sharp Guard", aimed at monitoring the embargo towards Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1992-1996 with naval assets; Operation "Deny Flight", aimed at implementing flight restriction over Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1993-1996 with an F-16 squadron; UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1993-1995 with a mechanized regiment of 1450 troops; UN Mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina (UNMIBH) between 2000-2001 with one military advisor. UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM-II) between 1993-1994 with over 300 troops, and for more than a year, this operation was held under the command of a Turkish General.

Turkey has also made contributions to other UN Peacekeeping Operations. In other words, "Turkey is firmly committed to UN peacekeeping and currently participates in 11 UN peacekeeping missions. The most recent commitment of Turkey was to the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL). A Turkish Engineering Construction Company and Turkish Navy units have joined the UNIFIL, following the decision of the Turkish Parliament adopted on 5 September 2006" (MFA 2010a). Turkey participated and contributed to UN peace building operations in Burundi, Central African Republic and Chad, Haiti, Democratic Republic of Congo, Darfur, Lebanon, Kosovo, Liberia, Sudan, Timor-Leste, Cote d'Ivoire, with both police officers and military staff. The names of UN Missions Turkey took place can be detailed as follows: BINUB, MINURCAT, MINUSTAH, MONUC, UNAMID, UNMIK, UNMIL, UNMIS, UNMIT, UNOCI, UNTAES, UNOMIG, UNIPTF and UNTAET (MFA 2010a).

According to the MFA's official publications, Turkey currently has 296 police officers, and approximately 500 military officers serving in UN peace keeping operations in Europe, Asia, Africa and America. In this regard, Turkey is one of the leading countries in terms of contribution in police officers and military staff to such operations (MFA 2010b). Besides that according the data collected, Turkish Military has actively taken part in, IFOR and SFOR in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Essential Harvest, Amber Fox and Allied Harmony in Macedonia. Turkish military has also attended EU launched military crisis management operations called "Concordia" and "Proxima". For the time being, in total, over 750 Turkish troops are currently serving in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo.

On 11 August 2003, NATO assumed the leadership of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF – Afghanistan) in Kabul, under the existing UN mandate (UNSCR 1386), by assuming strategic coordination, command and control of the operation. Thus, ISAF became the first ever NATO operation conducted beyond the Euro-Atlantic area.

In this vein, Turkey first assumed the command of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan between June 2002 and February 2003 for a period of eight months, with 1400 troops. Turkey maintained its support to ISAF after it became a NATO operation in August 2003. Turkey once again had the leadership of the ISAF-VII operation, this time under the NATO banner, with over 1400 troops from 13 February till 4 August 2005. Turkey has also assumed the responsibility to maintain Kabul International Airport during her leadership of ISAF-VII. Turkey's role continued within ISAF. SEEBRIG (South Eastern European Brigade) assumed the responsibility of Kabul Multinational Brigade Headquarters between February and August 2006, in which Turkey has also participated actively.

Under the new structure of ISAF with six regional commands, the leadership of the Central Command in Kabul (Regional Command-Capital - RCC) has been assumed jointly by Turkey, France and Italy, on a rotational basis for a two year term commencing in August 2006. Turkey commanded the RCC between April 2007 and December 2007 and the Turkish contingent serving there was raised to 1200 personnel, including the crew of the two general utility helicopters throughout this period. Moreover, France and Italy separated from RCC in November 2009 and Turkey has taken over the leadership. In addition to the present Turkish contingent (consisting of 1828 soldiers), Turkey has two PRTs, one in Wardak, one in Jowzjan. For the support of Afghan National Security Forces, Turkey deployed 5 OMLTs and 1 POMLT, also 159 mentor/instructors to various training facilities.

Alongside its troop contribution, the Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Speaker of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, Minister Hikmet Çetin, served with distinction in Kabul as NATO's Senior Civilian Representative from January 2004 till August 2006.

Another contribution of Turkey to the global security operations was NATO Training Mission of Iraq. At 2004, Istanbul Summit NATO Heads of State and Government agreed to assist Iraq with training of its security forces. Subsequently, the North Atlantic Council was tasked to develop the modalities to implement this decision with the Iraqi Interim Government. On 30 July 2004, a NATO Training Implementation Mission was established. The name of the mission was subsequently changed to NATO Training Mission-Iraq (NTM). The Iraqi Staff College was founded in Rustamiyah. Turkey currently has 2 staff officers in NTM-I. Also, more than 110 Iraqi personnel have been trained in Turkey since the inception of the mission.

Turkey has also made contributions to the NATO Humanitarian Assistance Operations. Some of the assistance operations are as follows: Hurricane Katrina in 2005, Pakistan Earthquake in 2005, floods that occurred in Algeria in February 2006 and, Evacuation of Turkish and other personnel from Lebanon during the war in August 2006.

Perhaps one of the assistance operations, namely Operation Provide Comfort (OPC) deserves the largest attention in terms of highlighting Turkey's perception of global security versus national security. It has become a thorny issue not only for Turkish domestic politics but also for Turkish foreign policy. It has been widely discussed among Turkish public opinion. Within these

discussions, some criticized presence of foreign troops both because of their role in Turkey and in the region. Similarly, it caused some disputes and tensions in Turkey's relations with its neighbors, particularly with Iraq.

As known, at the end of the 1st Gulf War, after the atrocity in Halapcha, more than 400.000 displaced people headed toward Turkey and more than 1 million to Iran in April 1991. Turkey accepted hundreds of thousands of people within her territory and provided humanitarian assistance. In this regard, Turkey built shelters and did her best to meet the fundamental needs of displaced people both along and inside Turkish borders and helped refugees to go back to Northern Iraq in safety. Turkey did also cooperate with foreign NGOs to use her territory to transmit aid materials to the north of Iraq. The no-fly zone over the north of Iraq was established and in accordance with UN Resolution 688 the Joint Task Force Provide Comfort was formed in 1991 and was deployed to Incirlik Air Base in Adana in order to provide immediate relief assistance for the people in the north of Iraq, who were suffering due to the economic blockade by the central administration, as well as to exterminate the influence of Saddam Hussein in the north of 36th parallel.

According to Gözen, OPC has been questioned basically because of foreign troops, staff and NGO presence:

Some questioned their role in Turkey and the region in general. They disputed the objective of the OPC forces in Turkey due to their alleged abuse of Turkey's national interests. In their opinion, the OPC forces were helping the Kurds to set up a Kurdish state in the region, and thus threatening Turkey's national and territorial integrity. They also argued that in order to achieve this objective, the forces were giving logistic and intelligence support to the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK). Therefore, they demanded their removal from Turkey sooner than later (Gözen, 1996:2).

OPC's original objective was to protect people of Northern Iraq but this soon become ambiguous. It seemed to become an instrument for US to achieve her objectives over Iraq that is, to keep control over Iraq and the region⁶. Despite discussions over its probable negative implications on Turkey's domestic and foreign politics because of their long-stay, the issue of OPC has not been discussed much enough in political scheme, except for the debates in Turkish General National Assembly (TNGA) at the time of the extension of duration. But all these criticisms remained as temporal reactions, and evaporated after the extension by TNGA. This made the discussions be low profiled.

⁶ Critics have focused on controlling the natural resources of the region.

2.2. The Services Provided by the Turkish Forces in Missions of Global Security Operations

When the role and position of the Turkish forces in the security mission operations are analyzed, it is possible to summarize the work done, in accordance with the mission regulations, as follows⁷:

Security Service: The main aim is to stop conflict between sides, and to prevent destroying houses, official, religious and school buildings, lands and other type of properties. It also prevented other types of criminal activities, and enforced the law and made the judicial system work. In short, the first and main job they have to do is to provide peace and secure order in the conflicting and/or post-conflicting society.

Education and Training Service for Local Police and Military Forces: In accordance with the mission program, Turkey and her security officials take part in education and training programs of the re-establishing new political structure concerning police officers and military staffs' training and education. This helps to restore order in the country, and prepare the future policing and military forces.

Traffic Services: In this process, the security forces providing a smooth and proper traffic order both in cities and high ways. The local traffic officers are also educated and trained for the future to serve in the country.

Controlling Borders, Smuggling & Human Trafficking: The main aim is to prevent the illegal border crossings, smuggling and human trafficking across the borders of country. In addition, the custom affairs are organized and operated according to the legal regulations of the mission took place. The local custom staff are also trained and educated for the future, who will replace the international custom staff when the mission ended and they left the country.

Social Services: Although it is not the main duty, the security staff and the mission people help to local people and their non-governmental organizations to solve their social and economical problems such as restoring schools, common public houses, religious and cultural buildings, food distributions, etc. They also give health services such as checking up, treatment, vaccinations, Sunna (circumcision) to the local people from time to time. The Turkish army gives media services and trainings by helping and supporting local media such as running radio and TV stations and publishing daily or weekly news papers or journals. Besides that they organize cocktails and ceremonies in official dates, inviting local people and constructing good relationships with them.

As it is clear, implementation of peace restoring/keeping, enforcement operations, having a *sine qua non* characteristic, would be somewhat risky and in some cases there might even not be possible to find the best proper way or instruments. It would be better to discuss advantages and disadvantages of those missions.

⁷ The explanations given are based on the observation and interview notes of the author, when he was serving as an OSCE election department staff in the UN Mission in Kosovo between June 2001 and December 2002. It is also learned that from the interview done with the security staff who did serve in the different missions that Turkey took part over the World.

The advantages and disadvantages of mission operations to provide global security can be given as follows:

The advantages:

- Ending the conflicts and saving lives,
- Establishing a secure and democratic system,
- Rebuilding bombed houses, bridges, roads and to help people to re-establish own lives,
- Re-establishing all bureaucratic institutions, political parties, media which will serve to public,
- Establishing interaction between mission staff and local people, helping an understanding of multi-culturalism,
- Performing professionalism and show locals to do their jobs in a professional way without discrimination,
- Getting benefit of renting houses, giving different services to international staff.
- Member countries joining the mission or operation get an experience of close collaboration and working together.

The Disadvantages:

- The powerful countries occupy the country for a long period and they mainly struggle for their own interest, and establishing a system, regime and country as they want to get benefit.
- In UN operations, some police officers come from undeveloped countries, and have very bad communication and experience with the local people. They culturally, socially and politically are backward than the local people⁸.
- In case of danger, some military staff and police officers do not interfere the case,
- Corruption gets common in daily activities,
- Some mission people behave as the boss of local people, and imposing their cultural norms⁹,
- There is a great hope among the local people for the Mission. If the Mission does not solve the problems soon, people get frustrated /disappointed (e.g. More than 100 vehicles of UN put on fire on the 17 March 2003 after the Mitrovica event in Kosovo).

Although the best option is not to have a need for missions, it is consequently possible to say that mission operations have more advantages than disadvantages because of ending conflicts, killings, forced mass migrations, and restoring and keeping peace, re-building social, economical, political and judicial institutions.

^{8,9} The author has observed many such cases during his work between year 2001 and 2003 in United Nations and OSCE Mission (UNMIK OSCE) in Kosovo.

As a consequence, Turkey as an actor who contributes to the global security, i.e. preventing conflicts, peacemaking, peace keeping, rehabilitation, reforming and capacity building, plays an important role as one of the world leading countries. While these efforts cost a lot in terms of finance and human capital, Turkey would get benefit of political, military and economic aspects. In other words, the contribution of Turkey to global security makes Turkey internationally more respected one and gets an image of a country serving for the global peace process. This would also contribute to and develop the image of the country as a strong actor in the world political, economical and military affairs and disputes. It would also be possible to develop close cooperation with the countries the missions take place and the allied forces and countries serving in missions. In addition, the Turkish security forces get experiences of both serving in real conflict situations. Turkey would have more opportunities economically with the country the mission takes place, i.e. having new collaborations and markets for the future. The current world affairs unfortunately show that there would be more need for the security mission operations. It is hoped that the UN would be the only leading and governing power of the missions. Otherwise, as mentioned, the powerful countries taking place in mission put their interest at first. If so, while the mission is solving some problems in one side it creates new problems in the other.

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ANNEX I: TURKEY'S VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE UNITED NATIONS FUNDS AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND PROGRAMS IN 2008 (MFA 2010 <http://www.un.int/turkey/page290.html>)

1. United Nations International Drug Control Program (UNDCP) - \$500.000
2. Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Fund (CPCJF) - \$100.000
3. United Nations Fund for Contemporary Forms of Slavery - \$6.000
4. United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) - \$50.000
5. United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (UN-INSTRAW) - \$25.000
6. United Nations Volunteers Fund (UNV) - \$10.000
7. United Nations Capital Development Fund (UNCDF) - \$100.000
8. United Nations Trust Fund for African Development (UNTFAD) - \$100.000
9. UN Fund for the Victims of Torture - \$10.000
10. United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) \$500.000
11. Asian-African Legal Consultative Organization - \$12.000
12. International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) - \$50.00
13. Least Developed Countries Fund (LDC) - \$200.000
14. The General Secretariat of the Organization of the Islamic Conference - \$413
15. "United Nations Peacebuilding Fund (PBF) - \$200.000
16. International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) - \$150.000
17. International Children's Centre - \$1.345.00
18. UNRWA Regular and Emergency Food Aid Fund - \$250.000
19. World Health Organization (Project on Polio Eradication) - \$50.000
20. United Nations Democracy Fund (UNDEF) - \$25.000
21. United Nations Regional Centre for Peace, Disarmament and Development in Latin America and the Caribbean (UN-LIREC) - \$20.000
22. United Nations Regional Centre for Peace and Disarmament in Africa (UNREC) - \$20.000
23. UNDP (Eradication of Poverty) - \$75.000
24. UNDP (for several other regional funds and projects) - \$200.000
25. Global Digital Solidarity Fund - \$50.000
26. Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights (UNHCHR) - \$100.000
27. The Hague Academy of International Law - \$2.000
28. United Nations Alliance of Civilizations Initiative - \$500.000
29. UNIDO (Master Budget) Contribution for 2008 - \$ 607.716
30. United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) - \$150.000
31. United Nations Development Program (Contribution to the master budget) - \$1.057.988
32. United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) - \$150.000
33. Central Emergency Response Fund - \$300.000
34. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees - \$200.000
35. World Food Program - \$100.000
36. Industrial Development Fund for United Nations
Industrial Development Program Projects Workshop and Study Tour on Food Laboratories - \$35.313

37. Framework convention on Tobacco Control 2008-2009 - \$43.179
38. International Organization for Migration - \$169.608
39. World Health Organization Main Budget - \$1.758.256
40. WHO- Tropical Disease Research - \$5.000
41. UN International Institute for the Unification of Private Law - -\$28.465
42. UN International Institute for Disarmament Research- \$5.000
43. United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS - \$1.000.000
44. For the meeting of United Nations Nuclear Non- Proliferation Treaty -\$4.251
45. United Nations Population Fund Elimination of Violence against Woman Project- \$1.897.056
46. Food and Agriculture Organization Main Budget- Initial Payment - \$1.079.659
47. Food and Agriculture Organization Main Budget- Second Payment - \$830.914
48. Food and Agriculture Organization - Central Asia sub- Regional Office - \$300.000
49. Food and Agriculture Organization - Contribution for Central Asia sub-regional Office- \$2.000.000
50. United Nations World Tourism Organization -\$234.975
51. United Nations Development Program -(project on e-consulate)-\$250.000
52. Drylands Development Center - \$10.000
53. United Nations Youth Fund- \$10.000
54. UN Voluntary Fund on Disability -\$10.000
55. UN Trust Fund for Ageing -\$10.000
56. Trust Fund For the Repertory Practices of the UN organs -\$5.000
57. Fund for the Classification of the United Nations Security Council Archives -\$5.000
58. The Doha Development Agenda Global Trust Fund -\$51.248
59. UN Voluntary Fund for Indigenous Populations -\$5.000.60. Fund for Reform of the United Nations Department of Political Affairs -\$50.000
61. UN Children Fund -\$100.000
62. Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights
Voluntary Contribution for 60th Anniversary of Universal Declaration of Human Rights -\$50.000
63. UN Regional Center for Peace and Disarmament - Asia- Pacific Region -\$60.000
64. Voluntary contribution for the deposit fund of
“ International Conference on Financing for Development ” which to be hold in Doha - \$50.000
65. Reform of the UN Department of the Political Affairs - \$40.000
66. Voluntary contribution for the deposit fund of the Landlocked Development Countries - \$200.000

Total : 17.514.021 USD.