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**NAVAL
POSTGRADUATE
SCHOOL**

MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA

THESIS

**TURKEY'S SOFT POWER ASSETS IN PEACEKEEPING
OPERATIONS**

by

Nuri Sener

June 2015

Thesis Advisor:
Second Reader:

Victoria Clement
Tristan James Mabry

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TURKEY'S SOFT POWER ASSETS IN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

Nuri Sener
First Lieutenant, Turkish Army
B.S., Turkish Military Academy, 2007

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

**MASTER OF ARTS IN SECURITY STUDIES
(STABILIZATION AND RECONSTRUCTION)**

from the

**NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL
June 2015**

Author: Nuri Sener

Approved by: Victoria Clement
Thesis Advisor

Tristan James Mabry
Second Reader

Mohammed Hafez
Chair, Department of National Security Affairs

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ABSTRACT

The concept of power has always been a complex term and debated by numerous academic schools. The end of the Cold War and the occurrence of a new multilateral international environment resulted not only in new power structures, but also in new problems and conflicts. Therefore, understanding the new power structures and evolving nature of international conflicts has become necessary in order to establish a stable and secure environment. Located in a geographical position where there are various types of conflict, Turkey stands as a leading figure, acting as both a regional soft power and an important contributor to peace operations. In this sense, this thesis explores the concepts of soft power and peacekeeping and the effects of Turkey's soft-power assets, using peacekeeping operations in Afghanistan as a case study.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. MAJOR RESEARCH QUESTION

The purpose of this thesis is to understand Turkey's soft power assets and demonstrate their use in peacekeeping operations. In this study, I examine the concepts of soft power, peacekeeping, Turkey's soft power assets and their effects, using Afghanistan as a case study. More precisely, I analyze Turkish soft power and its contributions to peacekeeping operations. My research question, thus, is this: What are Turkey's soft power assets and what are their effects on Turkey's participation in peacekeeping operations?

B. IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

The global power structure of the world changed drastically after World War II. After the war, the world was split between two competing powers: The United States on one side and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at the other. This period lasted for almost 50 years. However, with the disintegration of USSR, a new order occurred in which the United States arguably emerged as the only superpower. Different from the previous 50-year-long power balancing act between the U.S. and the USSR, the end of Cold War caused a new perception of power, security, and threat in international relations.

One of the major approaches to understand this new perception of power is the constructivist approach. According to the constructivist approach, all states are assumed to have some combination of power, security, and wealth. The independent variables that affect the interpretation of this combination are norms and social structures which include international norms, shared beliefs and discourse, culture and other mutual social values.¹

Developments after the Cold War have also brought new definitions of power and its structure. Power is literally defined as "the ability to act or affect something

¹ Martha Finnemore, *National Interests in International Society* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996), 18–31.

strongly.”² Joseph Nye defines power as “the ability to influence the behavior of others to get the outcomes one wants.”³ Among the different ways to use this power, Nye defines soft power as “getting others to want the outcomes that you want” and it is based on “the ability to shape the preferences of others.”⁴ While hard power is related to using coercive power such as a military, soft power is the use of intangible factors such as culture, history, and mutual values.

The new international system revealed the necessity for a new approach to solve problems. Rather than using only military power, other instruments such as “communications, organizational and institutional skills, and manipulation or interdependence” gained importance.⁵ In this context, the use of soft power became important for peacekeeping operations executed in various parts of the world due to the inadequacy and inefficiency of using sole hard power to solve conflicts.

Turkey is a country located at the cross roads of Europe, Middle East and Asia. Turkey holds an important role in the region with its strong cultural and historical background, democratic regime and attitude towards sustaining good relations with neighbors. In this context, Turkey is an important international actor for promoting peace and contributing to peacekeeping operations with its soft power assets in the region. Therefore, it is important to analyze the capabilities of Turkey’s soft power and its effects in peacekeeping operations.

C. PROBLEMS AND HYPOTHESIS

I have three hypotheses in this study. Before the Cold War, power was measured solely by the ability of a nation to coerce another nation into a desired action by using military or economic means.⁶ In this sense, the United States is a very strong country,

² “Power,” Oxford English Dictionary, accessed on January 27, 2015, http://www.oed.com/search?searchType=dictionary&q=power&_searchBtn=Search.

³ Joseph S. Nye, *Soft power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, 1st ed. (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), 2.

⁴ Nye, *Soft Power*, 4.

⁵ Joseph S. Nye, *Power in the Global Information Age: From Realism to Globalization* (London, New York: Routledge, 2004), 71.

⁶ Nye, *Soft power*, 28.

with a huge military and economic capacity. However, a strong country like the U.S. has experienced many strategic difficulties and been unsuccessful in preventing the many violent actions of extremist groups and terrorist organizations such as the bombing of the World Trade Center in 1993 and the brutal attacks on 9/11.

Although military power is a hard power asset, the context in which the military power is used can transform it into a soft power asset. Using military force, for instance, in humanitarian contexts such as peacekeeping and humanitarian relief operations is an example of this transformation. In this sense, my first hypothesis is that Turkish Armed Forces, which is a hard power asset, constitutes as an asset of Turkey's soft power in terms of its role in peacekeeping operations.

After the Cold War, technological advances and globalization enabled people, groups, organizations, states and non-state actors to show their powers in various means. New actors such as "Armed Non-State Actors" have become prevalent.⁷ Similarly, new environment of the post-Cold War era has transformed the scope and content of peace keeping operations. During the Cold War, peacekeeping mission was mainly about supervising ceasefire between states. However, establishing peace and security to internal conflicts, human security and socio- economic development were included in the scope of peacekeeping operations in post-Cold War era and sustainability of peacekeeping operations became a major challenge for states. In this sense, my second hypothesis is that peacekeepers are more likely to participate only if the costs and risks of peacekeeping diminish over time. At this point, soft power emerges as an important factor that helps to decrease the risks of new peacekeeping operations.

My last hypothesis addresses Turkey's soft power assets and their effects on peacekeeping operations. Turkey's soft power capacity stems from its history, culture, and strategic geography.⁸ Turkey's common history with the states that were part of the Ottoman Empire, economic prosperity, and a democratic regime are clear role models for

⁷ "Armed Non-State Actors," accessed on February 3, 2015, http://www.ciaonet.org/wps/dcaf/0033100/f_0033100_26951.pdf.

⁸ Ibrahim Kalin, "Soft Power and Public Democracy in Turkey," Center for Strategic Research, 5, accessed on February 4, 2015, http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/ibrahim_kalin.pdf.

developing countries in the region, and a majority Muslim identity provides advantages in terms of soft power. Evolving Turkish foreign policy, friendly relations with neighbors, utilizing the geostrategic position of the country, and treating its Ottoman heritage as a policy asset are the some reflections of Turkey's soft power exercises.⁹ The effectiveness of Turkey's soft power is mainly based on a strong Turkish understanding of its regional characteristics.¹⁰ Therefore, my last hypothesis is that Turkey has the assets of soft power which provide important advantages to be used in new nature of peacekeeping operations in the Middle East and Asia.

D. RESEARCH DESIGN

Two methodological approaches will be used in this thesis. The first methodological approach of this study will be a historical one. The historical approach is the appropriate approach to understand the shifting nature of power structures and peacekeeping operations after the Cold War. In addition, the historical approach is appropriate for understanding how international relations changed and new forms of power occurred with the technological advances and globalization in the world.

The second methodological approach will be a single case study. The aim of this study is to examine the effects of Turkish soft power assets and their effects on peacekeeping operations. In this sense, a single case study is the most suitable approach to measure tangible and intangible effects of Turkish soft power. The effects of Turkish soft power assets will be assessed in the case of Afghanistan. Afghanistan is an important case study among Turkey's contemporary peacekeeping operations, because Afghanistan is not a former Ottoman territory and has no common historical ties with Turkey.

I will utilize both primary and secondary sources in my study. These sources will be used to explain the evolution of peacekeeping and power structures in the post-Cold War era and Turkey's contribution to peacekeeping operations.

⁹ Jonathan McClory, "The New Persuaders II: A 2011 Global Ranking of Soft Power," Institute for Government, 22, accessed on February 12, 2015, <http://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/publications/new-persuaders-ii>.

¹⁰ Phar K. Beng, "Turkey's Potential as a Soft Power: A Call for Conceptual Clarity," vol.10, no. 2 (2008), 21, accessed on February 12, 2015, <http://www.insightturkey.com/insight-turkeyvolume-10-issue-2/issues/284>.

E. THESIS OVERVIEW

In my thesis, I will analyze Turkish soft power assets and their effects on peacekeeping operations. After the introduction, I will discuss soft power and Turkey's soft power assets. The second chapter will explain the changing power structures after the Cold War, concepts of power, and soft power from several perspectives. The third chapter will explain the nature, sources, and economic prospects of peacekeeping and how it has changed in the post-Cold War era. In the light of Chapters two and three, a fourth chapter will discuss Turkey's soft power assets and their effects to peacekeeping operations in Afghanistan. The thesis will finish with summary and conclusion.

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II. UNDERSTANDING NEW POWER STRUCTURES AND SOFT POWER

A. CHANGING CONCEPT OF POWER AFTER COLD WAR

The end of the Cold War was the start of a new era of international relations and power structures. Nye explains this new era as the result of shifting tectonic plates of world affairs.¹¹ Francis Fukuyama puts emphasis on superiority of “the combination of liberal democracy and capitalism” against alternative systems as the reason behind this shift.¹² Samuel Huntington forecast an international system after the Cold War as the division of civilizations into eight different parts and possible conflicts among these civilizations.¹³ In contrast to Huntington, Nye explains this process as the return of normal circumstances in which no superior ideology causes greater conflict in international politics.¹⁴

One of the key aspects of this new system is the multipolar and multilayered structure of the international system and power structures. After the Cold War, the international system turned out to be a three-dimensional chess game.¹⁵ In this three dimensional structure, military power constitutes the upper dimension in which United States seems to be the only hegemon. The middle dimension includes economic and strategic issues in which there are multilayered power structures in terms of complex trade and financial issues. Countries like China, Japan, India and the international organizations such as NATO, the European Union are among the examples of middle board players. On the bottom dimension, “terrorism, international crime, climate change,

¹¹ Joseph S. Nye, “American Strategy After Bipolarity,” WILEY vol. 66, no. 3 (1990), 513, accessed on February 9, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2623071>.

¹² Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and The Last Man* (New York, Toronto, New York: Free Press; 1992),5-16.

¹³ Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and The Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster: 1997),173.

¹⁴ Nye, *Understanding International Conflicts: An Introduction to Theory and History* (New York: Pearson, Longman, 2009), 266.

¹⁵ Nye, *Soft power*, 4.

and the spread of infectious diseases” are distributed among state and non-state actors.¹⁶ The result of this multilayered system is the necessity to evaluate power relations on these three dimensions rather than pure military power.

To better understand the concept of power, its new structures and the shift in the international system, three different approaches of international relations will be analyzed in the following section.

1. Understanding Power from Realist Approach

The term “power” has constituted a central role in international relations and is debated by various scholars. It has been used in various areas such as describing the actors performing in global arena as superpowers, emerging powers, regional powers, middle powers and small powers or describing theories such as balance of power. The definition of power has remained a controversial and complex one due to its various forms.

Realists interpret international relations in terms of power and they consider it as the *sine qua non* of international relations. However, the assumptions made about power vary greatly among realist scholars. Some of the issues that have been discussed among realist scholars are how states acquire power, how power is measured, and most importantly how the pursuit of power needs to be managed under acceptable limits.¹⁷ For example, Hans Morgenthau claims that international politics is a struggle for power because there is a lust for power in human nature and power is the ultimate aim.¹⁸ Max Weber defines power as “the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance.”¹⁹ Kenneth Waltz claims that there is anarchy in the international system because there is not a superior authority;

¹⁶ Nye, *Soft Power*, 4.

¹⁷ Brian C. Schmidt “Realism and Facets of Power in International Relations” in Felix Berenskoetter and Michael J. Williams, *Power in World Politics: Notes for a Soft Power Research Agenda*, with the Assistance of Joseph S. Nye (London: Routledge, 2007), 44.

¹⁸ Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, 5th ed. (New York: Knopf, 1972,) 24–27.

¹⁹ Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (New York: Free Press, 1997), 152.

therefore, every state should provide for their security.²⁰ Similarly, John Mearshimer claims that the international system forces states to maximize their relative power in order to compete against anarchy.²¹

The common point of realist approach and views of realist scholars discussed above is the central role of power in international relations. In this sense, realists interpret international relations as a struggle for power and interpret power in terms of material resources. The point that realists disagree on is the factors causing the struggle for power.

2. Understanding Power from Liberalist Approach

Liberalist scholars approach the term power from a different perspective than realists. The liberalist approach claims that the world has become a more complex and multilayered structure in which the use of military power decreased. Fast globalizations, developments in communication technologies, and fast growth of international trade have enabled states to establish mutual interests and prevented the use of military force. While realists interpret international relations as a struggle for power, liberalists claim that any state can improve their interests without harming other states' position.

Democratic peace theory constitutes an important role in the liberalist approach. Democratic peace theory posits that democracies are hesitant to engage in armed conflict with other democracies; and democracies rarely fight each other because they have other means of resolving conflicts.²² According to the cultural/normative model, violent conflicts between democracies will be rare because the decision-makers are expected to be able to resolve conflicts by compromise and nonviolence, and follow norms and peaceful conflict resolution, respecting the rights and existence of opponents.²³ On the other hand, violent conflicts between democracies and non-democracies are more

²⁰ Kenneth N. Waltz, "The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory" in Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb, *The Origins and Prevention of Major Wars, Studies in Interdisciplinary History* (Cambridge: University Press, 1989),43.

²¹ John J. Mearshimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: Norton, 2001), 21.

²² Bruce M. Russett, *Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for A Post-Cold War World* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993),4.

²³ Russett, *Grasping the Democratic Peace*, 35.

frequent because the decision-makers use, and expect their opponents to use violence and threaten to resolve conflict as a part of their domestic political process.²⁴ From the perspective of structural/institutional constraints, “democracies are limited to going to war by the need to ensure broad popular support, manifested in various institutions of government, and leaders must mobilize public opinion to obtain legitimacy for their actions.”²⁵ Currently, all great powers in international system are liberal and capitalist democracies, except China.²⁶ International relations between democracies, therefore, are expected to occur in peaceful environments.

Another approach to understand the changing concept of power after Cold War is the neoliberal institutionalism approach. Neoliberal institutionalism theory accepts realist arguments that states are the major actors in world affairs; however, it states that realism is wrong to discount the possibilities of international cooperation and the capacities of international institutions.²⁷ Because there is no common government to enforce rules, institutions can help states work together. These institutions can create cooperation by determining clear rules, decreasing uncertainty, providing more information and transparency, reducing transaction costs and establishing linkages between states. NATO, UN, OECD and WTO are some of these important institutions. Liberalism differs from realism in its interpretation of international relations in terms of cooperation rather than a power struggle.

3. Constructivist Approach to Power

Another major approach to understand the changing concept of power and international environment is the constructivist approach. Contrary to realism and liberalism, the constructivist approach claims that the fundamentals of international relations are based on socially constructed ties rather than a struggle for power.

²⁴ Russett, *Grasping the Democratic Peace*, 35.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 38.

²⁶ G. John Ikenberry, *America Unrivaled: The Future of the Balance of Power* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), 260–283.

²⁷ J. Joseph M. Grieco, “Anarchy and Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism,” no.3 (1988), 42, accessed on February 18, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706787>.

According to this approach, international relations are historically and socially constructed through ongoing social practice and interaction.

As a constructivist scholar, Alexander Wendt opposes the realist and liberalist views about power and state behaviors. He claims that the anarchic structure of international relations is not a top down system, but the result of the structure that is constructed by social practice. In this sense, he claims that the anarchic nature of international relations tells very little about the future relations of two states.²⁸ Instead, he claims that “intersubjective processes” which include “signaling,” “interpreting” and “responding,” constitute social structures in which states define their identities and interests.²⁹ In this sense, states can establish a level of predictability and order by knowing each other’s interests and identities.³⁰

Similarly, Martha Finnemore works to develop a “systemic approach to understand state interests and behaviors by investigating an international structure, not of power, but of meaning and social value.”³¹ In this sense, she claims that states’ interests “are constructed through social interaction” and she strengthens her discussion with three case studies; namely UNESCO, Red Cross, and World Bank to explain such social construction.³²

In contrast to realist and liberalist approaches, constructivists believe that international relations system is based on the social structures which lay emphasis on identities, cultures, norms, and social ties.

²⁸ Alexander Wendt, “Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics,” *International Organization*, vol.46, no. 2 (1992), 396–406, accessed on February 18, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2706858>.

²⁹ Wendt, “Anarchy is What States Make of It,” 396–406.

³⁰ Ted Hopf, “The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory,” *International Organization*, vol. 23 no. 1 (1998), 200, accessed February 18, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539267>.

³¹ Finnemore, *National Interests in International Society*, 2.

³² *Ibid.*, 2–5.

B. WHAT IS POWER?

As the realist, liberalist, and constructivist theories reveal, the concept of power has been at the center of international relations. In the broadest meaning, power is the “ability to act or produce an effect.”³³ In other words, it is defined “as the possession of capabilities or resources that can influence outcomes.”³⁴ At this point, it is useful to examine the concept of power from two different perspectives: relational and national power perspectives.

According to the relational power approach, power is interpreted as the potential to affect relationships.³⁵ According to this approach, power is the capability of A causing B “to do something that B would not do otherwise.”³⁶ In other words, power is the level of influence to get the desired outcomes. In this sense, there are various ways to get the desired outcomes. As Nye stated, “you can coerce them with threats; you can induce them with payments; or you can attract or co-opt them to want what you want.”³⁷

On the other hand, the national power approach depicts power in terms of a country’s resources.³⁸ The advocates of this approach relates power directly with the possession of critical resources such as population, territory, natural resources, economic size, military force, and political stability.³⁹ In this sense, being aware of the resources and having motives to use resources constitute the focus of the national approach.

Both relational and national approaches reveal that any country with large military and abundant resources can be considered as powerful. In this sense, the United States ranks first in the world with its strong military and abundant resources. However,

³³ “Power,” Oxford English Dictionary.

³⁴ “The Benefits of Soft Power - HBS Working Knowledge,” accessed on February 20, 2015, <http://hbswk.hbs.edu/archive/4290.html>.

³⁵ Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse-Kappen and Beth A. Simmons, *Handbook of International Relations* (London, Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE Publications, 2005), 185.

³⁶ Robert Dahl, “The Concept of Power,” 203, accessed on February 20, 2015, http://www.unc.edu/~fbaum/teaching/articles/Dahl_Power_1957.pdf.

³⁷ Nye, *Soft power*, 2.

³⁸ Carlsnaes, Risse-Kappen and Simmons, *Handbook of International Relations*, 185.

³⁹ Nye, *Understanding International Conflicts*, 60.

even a powerful country like the United States shows weaknesses in warfare. These different perspectives shows the shortfall of interpreting power in terms national and relational approaches and directs us to the search for new power definitions.

C. WHAT IS SOFT POWER?

1. Definition

Joseph Nye is arguably the father of the term “soft power.” He explains soft power as “the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments. It arises from the attractiveness of a country’s culture, political ideals, and policies.”⁴⁰ In this context, soft power is different from hard power which rests on military force or coercion, or in other words carrots and sticks. Instead, soft power uses the power of attraction by demonstrating values and cultures. Soft power is a new form of power that has become more important after the end of Cold War. As Nye explained, soft power can save a lot of military and economic power.⁴¹

2. Resources of Soft Power

Soft power is the power of attraction and the sources of soft power are the assets that produce this attraction.⁴² Soft power rests on three resources: culture, political values, and foreign policy.⁴³ This means that countries whose culture, values and policies have a similarity to international norms will have an attractive potential to shape issues in the international arena in terms of soft power. In this context, the credibility of a country constitutes a crucial element for the exertion of soft power.

Depending on the context in which they are used, economic and military power can also be sources of soft power. The strong economy of the European Union and

⁴⁰ Nye, *Soft Power*, 28.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

Turkey's desire to join the Union can be examples of soft power. Likewise, a military providing supplies for disaster areas and helping restore devastated by natural catastrophes can produce attraction. In addition, joint military trainings and operations may also result in this expected attraction.

3. Limits of Soft Power

The execution of soft power is limited in some aspects. First of all, the resources of soft power are dispersed among different power units, both governmental and non-governmental organizations.⁴⁴ While governments have control over public and foreign policies, civil society is more effective on cultural issues. In this sense, the use of soft power requires a unified action of different parts in order to establish sustainability. Secondly, it is hard to get the targeted outcomes within a certain timeline. Measuring the effects of soft power and making future plans is challenging which makes it hard for policy makers to support the idea.⁴⁵ Finally, the effect of soft power is highly dependent on the subject and its willingness to cooperate.⁴⁶

D. TURKEY'S SOFT POWER ASSETS

Turkey's soft power assets arise from various sources such as Turkey's democratic political structure, cultural and historical affinities with the neighboring countries in the region, extensive economic developments, and its strong and deep rooted military power. Fuat Keyman claims that Turkey's soft power sources comes from

its journey in modernity despite the continuing deficits in making itself multicultural, democratic and pluralistic; its political commitment to democracy, despite its deficit in making itself consolidated and deepened; its economic dynamism, despite its deficit in making itself an economy which is sustainable in terms of its success in human-development; and its

⁴⁴ Joseph S. Nye, "Notes for A Soft Power Search Agenda," in *Power in World Politics*, ed. Felix Berenskoetter and Michael J. Williams (London, New York: Routledge, 2007), 171.

⁴⁵ Nye, "Notes for a Soft Power Search Agenda," 171.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

proactive, problem solving and dialogue-based good neighborhood diplomacy, despite its deficit in making itself also realistic and effective.⁴⁷

In this sense, Turkey's soft power assets will be discussed in the following sections.

1. Democratic Basis

Democracy, as Philippe Schmitter and Terry Karl explain, is “a system of governance in which rulers are held accountable for their actions in the public realm by citizens, acting indirectly through the competition and cooperation of their elected representatives.”⁴⁸ In this sense, democracy is not necessarily a more efficient form of government, or more efficient administratively, or more orderly and stable.⁴⁹

Starting with the foundation of Turkish Republic in 1923, Turkey followed a modernization process in the light of Western ideas. As Graham Fuller stated, this modernization process followed a fluctuating path with its ups and downs.⁵⁰ Turkey's official recognition by the European Union as a candidate country in 1999 has started a new era in Turkey's modernization process.

At the Helsinki Summit in 1999, Turkey became an official candidate country to join the European Union. Since then, Turkey has followed a series reforms to meet the necessary criteria to become a member. The Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs shed light on this progress as follows:

The impetus created by Turkey's accession negotiations has been influential in this process as well. Large-scale reforms are being released in order to attain the highest norms and standards in the field of democracy, the rule of law and human rights in line with the needs and expectations of the society. The Constitutional amendment package adopted by the referendum held on 12 September 2010 was an important

⁴⁷ E. Fuat Keyman, “Turkish Foreign Policy in the Era of Global Turmoil,” *Seta Policy Brief*, no. 39 (December 2009), 4, accessed on February 26, 2015, http://setadc.org/pdfs/SETA_Policy_Brief_No_39_Turkish_Foreign_Policy_Fuat_Keyman.pdf.

⁴⁸ Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry L. Karl, “What Democracy is...and is not,” in *Essential Readings in Comparative Politics*, ed. Patrick H. O’Neil and Ronald Rogowski, 4th ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2013.), 204.

⁴⁹ Schmitter and Carl, “What Democracy is ... and is not,” 210.

⁵⁰ Graham E. Fuller, *The New Turkish Republic: Turkey as a Pivotal State in the Muslim World* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2008.), 54.

step in the reform process. On the other hand, work is also under way to prepare and adopt a new, progressive and comprehensive constitution.⁵¹

Turkey-EU relations and Turkey's modernization process have provided a model for Turkey in the eyes of former Soviet Union countries and the Middle East. In this sense, Turkey has constituted a three dimensional soft power resource. First, Turkey has proved that a country with a multicultural basis and Muslim identity can be a part of the modern West. Contrary to the Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations" theory, Turkey has been an example to show that people from multicultural and multinational identities can live together in harmony and peace.⁵² Second, Turkey has become a clear example to show that democracy and Islam does not need to be in conflict, instead the two can coexist in harmony. Turkey has showed that the principles of democracy are not unfamiliar to a Muslim society. As Bernard Lewis explained, "democratic institutions were neither imposed by the victors, as happened in the defeated Axis countries, nor bequeathed by departing imperialists, as happened in the former British and French dependencies, but were introduced by the free choice of the Turks themselves."⁵³ Third, Turkey has become a negotiator for the long-standing problems of its region. Turkey is located at the center of three continents where various ethnic, religious, and cultural conflicts happened throughout history. In this sense, Turkey's role as a model country holds a very critical position and makes it a regional power.

2. Cultural and Historical Background

The Ottoman Empire was a power center which reigned over three continents and lasted for six decades. In the Ottoman Empire, various ethnic groups and religious minorities lived in peace and harmony. The mosaic structure of the empire and the cohesion among the various people resulted in strong cultural ties and historical ties which were the legacy of Ottoman Empire. Those ties continue to exist today.

⁵¹ "Turkey-EU Relations" Accessed on February 26, 2015, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-the-european-union.en.mfa>.

⁵² For more information about the clash of civilizations, see Samuel P. Huntington *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remarking of World Order*. (New York: Simon & Schuster: 1997).

⁵³ Bernard Lewis, "Why Turkey is the Only Modern Democracy," vol.1, no. 1 (1994), accessed on February 26, 2015. <http://www.meforum.org/216/why-turkey-is-the-only-muslim-democracy>.

Culture refers to “a particular society that has its own beliefs, ways of lives.”⁵⁴ It can be inferred that culture includes all the material and moral values that were produced within in the historical development process, and the tools that help to pass those values to following generations. In this sense, Turkey shares many linguistic, cultural, and historical relations with many countries that were once united under the Ottoman Empire.

After the fall of the Ottoman Empire, Turkey has followed a western path to modernization. In the light of Ataturk’s leadership and principles, many reforms were made in different areas including clothes, education, political system, religious matters, economy, and civil code. Until the end of the Cold War, Turkey’s relations with the countries in the Middle East and Asia followed a stagnant level due to Turkey’s western way of modernization. However, relations with those countries have developed significantly in the post–Cold War era.⁵⁵

With the fall of the Soviet Union, many nations in Asia declared independence and Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan became new states which preserved their close cultural and historical ties with Turkey. Following the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Turkey changed its policy toward those new states. These changes in foreign policy revealed itself in several respects. First of all, Turkey immediately announced that it recognized the new countries and decided to open embassies and send delegates to these countries. Second, Turkey’s democratic nature and Muslim majority with a secular system became a role model for the countries who got rid of Soviet suppression. Third, Turkey started bilateral agreements in many areas such as trade, transportation, and communications. Official broadcasting of the channel TRT Turk, the Turkish Airlines flights between the capitals of these Turkic countries and Turkey were some examples. Fourth, Turkey’s historical and cultural affinities with the region, and active role in the foreign policies got the attention of Western countries and

⁵⁴ “Culture,” *Merriam Webster Dictionary*, accessed on February 27, 2015. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/culture>.

⁵⁵ Kemal Kirisci, “Turkey’s Foreign Policy in Turbulent Times,” 2006, 62, accessed on February 27, 2015. <http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/cp092.pdf>

strengthened Turkey's role as a regional power that can act as a bridge between the West and Asia.

The relationship between culture and democracy constitutes another part of Turkey's culture as a soft power asset. As Nye stated, "When a country's culture includes universal values and its policies promote values and interests that others share, it increases the probability of obtaining its desired outcomes because of the relationships of attraction and duty it creates."⁵⁶ In this sense, the terms such as democracy, freedom, and human rights are generally affiliated with Western culture and these terms are the products of revolutions that occurred in western world through a long and bloody progress. At this point, Turkey emerged as a model country that adopted western originated values and integrated them with its cultural and historical background.

3. Economic Structure

The economy is one of the key elements that help states to accomplish their political goals. As Nye stated, an economy is also a kind of power just like the military and soft power.⁵⁷ Economic power stands somewhere between hard power and soft power. What makes it different is the context. The economy can be a way of exerting hard power against countries if it is used as a way of coercion such as economic sanctions. On the contrary, as Nye explained "a strong economy not only provides resources for sanctions and payments, but also can be a source of attraction."⁵⁸ It can be a source of soft power if it is used in terms of aid or any other kind of supportive purposes. In addition, a successful economy can be an attractive example for other countries.

After the War of Independence and foundation of the Republic, Turkey has followed many modernization processes including the economic sphere. The burden of the Independence War was devastating which consumed almost all the sources of the new republic. In addition, the debts of Ottoman Empire and lack of basic heavy industries worsened the economic environment. Although the economic future of the new Republic

⁵⁶ Nye, *Soft Power*, 11.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 7.

seemed negative, Turkey focused on establishing a self-sufficient economy without the help of foreign capital.⁵⁹ Although it includes many ups and downs, Turkey's economic outlook has shown a gradually developing progress since then and made a remarkable progress within the last decade.

Since 2000, Turkey has made important progress in economic development. It became a regional power, ranking the 18th largest economy in the world with its GDP reaching \$786 billion.⁶⁰ Its per capita income reached \$10,000, which tripled itself in the last decade.⁶¹ Turkey has shown significant advances in competitiveness level and Foreign Direct Investment has reached \$13 billion in the past five years.⁶²

Turkey has also important economic relations with leading intergovernmental organizations. Accession negotiations with the EU started in 2005 and still continue. "EU is Turkey's largest economic partner, accounting for 46% of Turkish trade in 2011."⁶³ Turkey is also a member of many other important economic organizations such as OECD, G20 and Official Development Assistance (ODA).

The effects of Turkey's economy as a soft power asset can be interpreted by examining Turkey's economic projects throughout the world. The Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA) is a prominent example of soft power execution. TIKA was established in 1992 to help the development needs of Turkic Republics after the disintegration of Soviet Union.⁶⁴ Since then, TIKA has increased its activities and carried out development assistance throughout the world. Figure 1 shows TIKA's projects by region in 2013.

⁵⁹ "Turkish Studies - Republic of Turkey: Brief History," accessed on February 28, 2015. http://www.umich.edu/~turkish/links/reptr_brhist.html.

⁶⁰ "Turkey Overview," *The World Bank*, accessed February 28, 2015, <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/turkey/overview#1>.

⁶¹ "Turkey Overview," *The World Bank*.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ "History of TIKA." Accessed on March 9, 2015, http://www.tika.gov.tr/en/page/history_of_tika-8526.

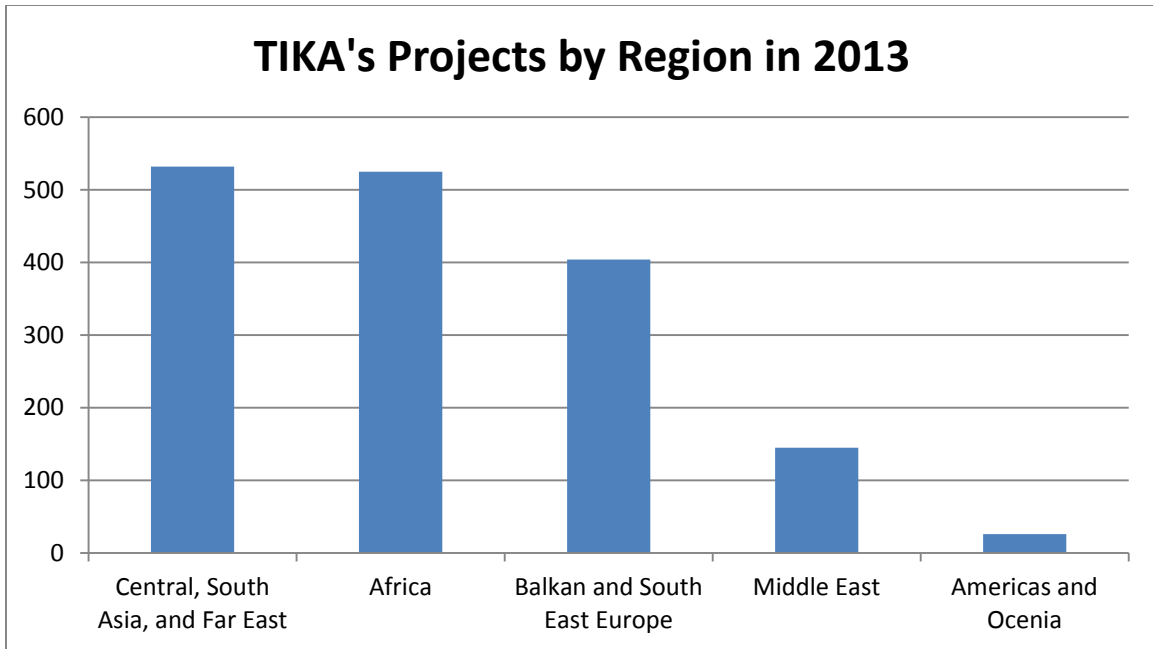


Figure 1. TIKA's Projects by Region in 2013 (from TIKA's World, 2014).

These projects throughout the world include a variety of different areas such as education, health, water and sanitation, administrative and civil infrastructure, and social infrastructure. These projects not only increase Turkey's respectability, but also reveal the Turkish economy as a success story and a role model for developing countries.

4. Foreign Policy

Foreign policies are the tools that regulate the interaction between sovereign states and are an important way to attract other states by using soft power. Nye argues this point by explaining:

All countries pursue their national interest in foreign policy, but there are choices to be made about how broadly or narrowly we define our national interest, as well as the means by which we pursue it. After all, soft power is about mobilizing cooperation from others without threats or payments. Since it depends on the currency of attraction rather than force or payoffs, soft power depends in part on how we frame our own objectives. Policies based on broadly inclusive and far-sighted definitions of the national

interest are easier to make attractive to others than policies that take a narrow and myopic perspective.⁶⁵

Foreign policies are an important source of soft power if the context in which they are operating is harmonious with international values and norms. In this sense, the basic principle of Turkish foreign policy is based on Ataturk's famous motto: "peace at home, peace in the world." Starting with the foundation of the new Turkish Republic in 1923, Turkey has sought peaceful foreign relations with neighbors, supported the peaceful solutions to the international problems, and chosen to act according to international laws.

In the last two decades, Turkey's foreign policy has become more active and started to undertake a role as a regional power. The challenging situations in Caucasus, Balkans, and Middle East not only forced Turkey to follow more active policies towards these states, but also revealed Turkey as a regional power which has the capability to resolve the conflicts by peaceful means.

According to Turkish officials, "Turkish foreign policy is founded on solid traditions and takes its strengths from Turkey's characteristics of being a democratic, secular, and social state governed by the rule of law."⁶⁶ As the world witnessed many developments, it becomes more challenging to anchor a stable and permanent peace, stability, and security. In this context, Turkey's "ability to pursue an active foreign policy, which pays attention to international legitimacy and regional concerns, with the aim of resolving region's serious problems" increases importance of Turkey's role as a soft power in the region.⁶⁷

5. Turkish Armed Forces

According to Turkish sources, the foundation of the Turkish Armed Forces (TAF) dates back to 209 B.C.⁶⁸ It is the only institution which continued its existence from

⁶⁵ Nye, *Soft power*, 60–61.

⁶⁶ "Policy of Zero Problems with Neighbors." Accessed on March 2, 2015, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/policy-of-zero-problems-with-our-neighbors.en.mfa>.

⁶⁷ Bulent Aras, "Turkey's Soft Power." Accessed on March 2, 2015. <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2009/apr/13/turkey-middleeast>.

⁶⁸ "History" Accessed on March 9, 2015, http://www.tsk.tr/20_ingilizce_tsktr/2_about_taf/history.html.

Ottoman Empire to Turkish Republic. TAF played a crucial role in the Independence War, paved the way for the foundation of the republic, and supported the modernization progress of Ataturk’s leading reforms and principles.

The Turkish Armed Forces is the 10th strongest army with an active 410,500 personnel and \$18 billion defense budget.⁶⁹ It is the second largest army in NATO after the USA and the largest one in Europe. The Army’s social status is very strong and deep-rooted that it has always been among the top institutions that are trusted by the Turkish society.⁷⁰

The Turkish Armed Forces have become an important soft power asset with important contributions to conflict resolution and peacekeeping operations. Turkey is currently attending to various peacekeeping operations ranging from Somalia to Afghanistan. Table 1 shows Turkey’s current peacekeeping operations.

Table 1. Contribution of the TAF to Peace Support Operations (from Turkish Army Chief of General Staff, 2014)

Name of the Operation	Country	Dates
EU Operation Althea	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Since December 02,2004
NATO Kosovo Force (KFOR)	Kosovo	Since July 01, 1999
United Nations Interim Administration (UNMIK)	Kosovo	Since June 10, 1999
International Security Assistance Force (ISAF)	Afghanistan	Since January 16, 2002
United Nations Assistance Mission	Afghanistan	Since 2012
United Nations Interim Force	Lebanon	Since October 15, 2006.
Combined Task Force 151 (CTF 151) and Standing NATO Maritime Group	Aden Gulf/ Somalia	Since May 2009

⁶⁹ Staff Writer, “Turkey’s Military Strength,” accessed on March 2, 2015, http://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country_id=Turkey.

⁷⁰ “The Most Trusted Institution: TAF.” Accessed on March 2, 2015, http://www.newsturkish.info/the-most-trusted-institution-taf_d409701.html.

III. WHAT IS PEACEKEEPING?

A. PEACEKEEPING DURING COLD WAR

The Cold War era witnessed a gradual change in the international system and power structures. Multilateral environments, various power centers, developing technologies, globalization, states' growing interdependencies, and the effects of two world wars on economies and human resources forced the states to find alternative ways to solve international problems and conflicts.

The necessity of approaching international problems and conflicts from different perspectives paved the way for the foundation of the United Nations in 1945. As the UN Charter reveals, one of the key missions of United Nations is to “maintain international peace and security,” “develop friendly relations among nations based on the principle of equal rights,” “achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character,” and “be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.”⁷¹

Article 25 of the UN Charter states that “the members of the UN agree to accept and carry out the decisions of Security Council with the present charter.”⁷² In this sense, UN Chapters VI and VII explain the methods to deal with threats to international peace and security. Chapter VI explains the “peaceful settlement of disputes.” In this method, parties seek to find a solution by means of “negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.”⁷³ In this sense, parties are encouraged to solve their problems on peaceful grounds and discuss possible disputes or problems which might cause new disputes.⁷⁴ On the other hand, Chapter VII addresses the “actions with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of peace, and act of aggression.” This chapter explains

⁷¹ “Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice,” 3, accessed March 6, 2015, <https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/ctc/uncharter.pdf>.

⁷² “Charter of the United Nations,” Article 25.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, Article 33.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Article 34.

the possible actions in case any threat to peace cannot be defeated by peaceful means. According to the Chapter VII, United Nations can take measures such as “complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.”⁷⁵ If those measures are inadequate, UN may also follow additional measures including “such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security... demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations.”⁷⁶

There are also other means of conflict resolution that are not expressed in the UN Charter. Chapter VI explains the pacific settlement to existing disputes. However, there are other methods that UN may consider to use to prevent disputes before becoming more serious problems. These preventive methods can be “early warning systems, information gathering, fact finding missions, humanitarian assistance programs, and other forms of humanitarian diplomacy.”⁷⁷ While some of these measures can be initiated by Secretary-General under the UN Charter Article 99, others can be executed by Security Council or General Assembly under a specific mandate.

The basic principle of the Chapter VII of UN Charter is collective security. The collective security system depends on “volition and normative rules” and the idea of “all for one.”⁷⁸ Richard K. Betts states that “the design of collective security rests on the norm that states must subordinate their own immediate interests to general or remote ones.”⁷⁹

The collective security system is based on the idea that all states have an interest in maintaining peace and avoiding war; therefore, it brings a collective responsibility

⁷⁵ Charter of UN, Article 41.

⁷⁶ Ibid., Article 42.

⁷⁷ David Bakradze, “Analysis of the Different Models of Peace Support Operations and Forms of NATO Involvement, as a Part of a New Security Architecture,” 10, accessed March 5, 2015. <http://www.nato.int/acad/fellow/99-01/bakradze.pdf>.

⁷⁸ Richard K. Betts, “Systems for Peace or Causes of War? Collective Security, Arms Control, and the New Europe,” *International Security* vol.17, no. 1 (1992),12, accessed March 8, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539157>.

⁷⁹ Betts, “Systems for Peace,” 12.

against any aggressor to peace and security. However, problems such as acceptance of status quo in international system, lack of specific plans for possible future conflicts, and difficulties for states with various interests to make a mutual decision restrict the effectiveness of collective security.⁸⁰

On the other hand, collective security system can be a positive approach in some aspects. First, a collective security system is a positive approach to international problems. The failure of collective security causes an anarchic environment. While anarchy is the result of collective security's failure, anarchy and struggle for power is the definition of international environment from realist approach. The worst possible outcome of collective security system is the realist's natural interpretation of international environment.⁸¹ Second, this system enhances the establishment of strong relations between states and strengthens security and peace.⁸² Finally, it enables states to regulate their interests according to the common welfare.⁸³

Rather than the advantageous sides of the system, the problems of the collective security system come forward within the Cold War era. The confrontation of East and West and different ideologies within the UN preclude defining an aggressor or reaching a common ground. The U.S. intervention in Vietnam in 1974, Soviet intervention in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 were among the examples to which the UN failed to respond.⁸⁴ The rivalry and power struggle between the superpowers blocked the Security Council to make decision and act accordingly.

The problematic side of the collective security system is also evident in the numbers of vetoes that were cast by countries during the Cold War from 1945 to 1995 (see Figure 2).

⁸⁰ Betts, "Systems for Peace," 12–19.

⁸¹ Charles A. Kupchan and Clifford A. Kupchan, "The Promise of Collective Security" *International Security* 20, no. 1 (1995), 52–59, accessed March 8, 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539215>.

⁸² Kupchan and Kupchan, "Collective Security," 52–59.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ John Allphin Moore and Jerry Pubantz, *The New United Nations: International Organization in The Twenty-First Century* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2006.), 64.

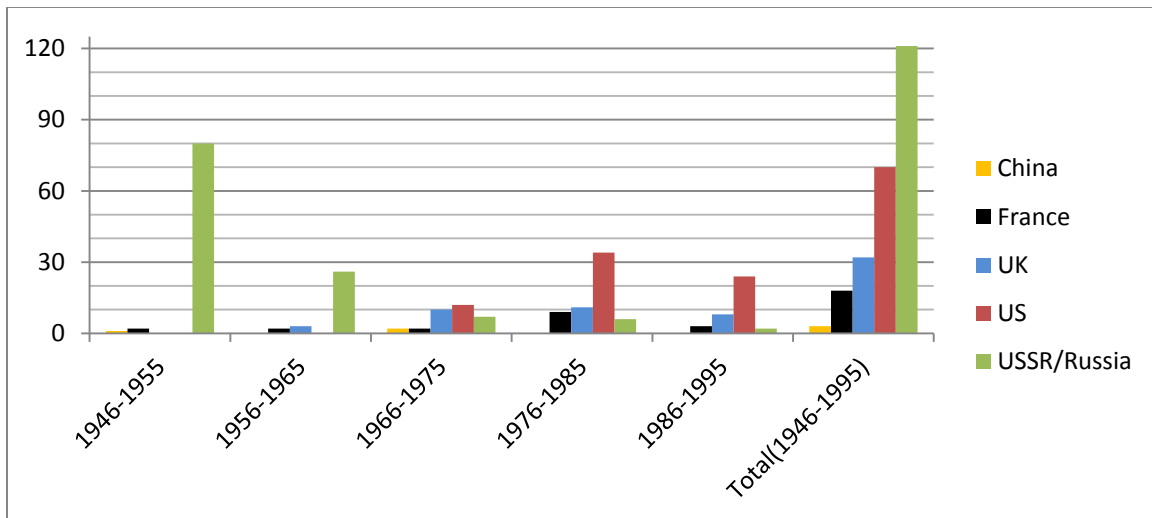


Figure 2. Changing Patterns in the Use of the Veto (from Global Policy Forum, 2014).

As the chart indicates, the UN Security Council witnessed a power balancing struggle of superpowers during the Cold War. In a fifty year period, the council succeeded to define an aggressor only twice. The first was North Korea’s invasion to South Korea in 1950 and the second one was in Iraq war in 1990. While the former case was succeeded by the absence of a Soviet delegate as an objection to the Taiwan’s participation in Council instead of China, the latter one coincided with the end of Cold War.⁸⁵

B. WHAT IS TRADITIONAL PEACEKEEPING?

The UN defines peacekeeping as one of the actions “undertaken by the United Nations to maintain international peace and security throughout the world” and “it is one of the most effective tools available to the UN to assist host countries navigate the difficult path form conflict to peace.”⁸⁶ In this sense, peacekeeping can be inferred as a leverage to overcome the inefficiency of the collective security system.

⁸⁵ Paul F. Diehl, *International Peacekeeping* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 25.

⁸⁶ “Peace and Security,” accessed on March 6, 2015. <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/peace.shtml>; “What is peacekeeping? United Nations Peacekeeping,” accessed February 3, 2015, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/peacekeeping.shtml>.

The definition of peacekeeping finds its place in the UN Charter between Chapter VI and VII. As previously mentioned, Chapter VI explains the pacific settlement of disputes. Since the peacekeeping operations include both the non-use of force and deployment of military forces, they are attributed to “Chapter Six and a half,” and constituted a place between pacific settlement of disputes (Chapter VI) and use of force (Chapter VII).⁸⁷

According to the UN’s official sources, the first two operations executed by the UN were the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) in 1948 and UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) in 1949.⁸⁸ Both of these missions were unarmed observation and monitoring type of missions. However, these two missions were criticized by scholars as being different than peacekeeping operations in terms of their size, mission, and area of operation.⁸⁹

The earliest armed peacekeeping operation was the First UN Emergency Force (UNEF I) deployed successfully in the Suez Canal in 1956.⁹⁰ Its mission was to “secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities, including the withdrawal of the armed forces of France, Israel and the United Kingdom from the Egyptian territory and, after the withdrawal, to serve as a buffer between Egyptian and Israeli forces.”⁹¹ The UNEF I is a good example of Cold War operations. Similarly, later peacekeeping operations also included lightly armed forces deployed in a buffer zone between conflicting sides. In this sense, UNEF was a model for all later peacekeeping operations during the Cold War.

During the Cold War, these operations, defined as “traditional peacekeeping,” were based on three main principles: consent of the parties, impartiality, and non-use of

⁸⁷ David M. Malone and Karin Wermester, “Boom and Bust? The Changing Nature of UN Peacekeeping” *International Peacekeeping* vol.7, no. 4 (2007), 38, accessed March 9, 2015. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13533310008413862>.

⁸⁸ “History of Peacekeeping - The Early Years-United Nations Peacekeeping,” accessed on March 10, 2015, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/early.shtml>.

⁸⁹ Diehl, *International Peacekeeping*, 6–29.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁹¹ “First United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF I),” accessed March 10, 2015. <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unefi.htm>.

force except self-defense and deterrence of the mandate.⁹² The consent principle reveals that the deployment of forces in conflicting areas requires the approval of the parties concerned. Not only does it provide important advantages for the success of peacekeeping forces, but also it bears great risks for peacekeepers in case any party withdraws their consent.⁹³ The second principle, impartiality, is related to the positions of peacekeepers as not supporting either conflicting sides and requires constituting a peacekeeping force from non-aligned states.⁹⁴ The last principle, non-use of force except self-defense, restrains peacekeepers' use of arms and forces them to carry out their mission by persuasion and negotiation. Thus, peacekeeping operations were mainly based on the diplomatic and political support and necessitated the use of light arms.⁹⁵

In addition to these main principles, there are two other noteworthy similarities of those operations. The first is the international character of the conflicts which involve governments and international actors rather than regional powers or NGOs to resolve the conflicts.⁹⁶ Second is the crucial role of the Secretary-General as the director of the operations on a daily basis, even though the operations are authorized by the General Assembly.⁹⁷

C. THE LIMITATIONS OF TRADITIONAL PEACEKEEPING

Peacekeeping operations during the Cold War were carried out according to the principles discussed above and the mandates supported by the consent of the concerned parties. However, the effectiveness of peacekeeping was questioned in several cases. In 1967, Egypt demanded United Nations Emergency Force to be withdrawn from Gaza and Sinai, where the UN forces withdrawal ended up a new war in the region.⁹⁸ The presence

⁹² "What is Peacekeeping?," United Nations Peacekeeping, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/peacekeeping.shtml>.

⁹³ Weiss, Forsythe and Coate, *The United Nations and Changing World Politics*, 52.

⁹⁴ Diehl, *International Peacekeeping*, 8.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁹⁶ Bakradze, "Analysis of Different Models," 14.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ "UN Emergency Force (UNEF I) - Background," accessed March 14, 2015, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unef1backgr2.html>.

of peacekeeping forces also “failed to prevent the military intervention of the Turkish Army in Cyprus in 1974, and the invasion of the Israeli troops in Lebanon in 1982.”⁹⁹

Those failures were affiliated with the basic limitations of traditional peacekeeping. For one thing, the necessity for the parties’ consent to operate in conflicting areas constricted the role of peacekeepers to establish peace and security. Peacekeeping operations were ineffective in intervening in immediate conflicts and changing circumstances. In addition, the nature of conflicts were becoming more diverse and complex, decreasing the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations. Furthermore, the support of two superpowers became a necessity for the success of peacekeeping operations during Cold War era. The rivalry between USA and USSR not only prevented the Security Council to act in terms of collective security, but also was seen in peacekeeping operations as a way of showing their own power and refraining from a direct confrontation with each other.

D. END OF COLD WAR AND NEW PROSPECTS FOR PEACEKEEPING

The end of the Cold War changed the international environment dramatically. This enormous change not only paved the way for new power structures, but also affected the nature of peacekeeping operations. The turning point for the new concepts of peacekeeping operation occurred in 1987, when the leaders of U.S. and the Soviet Union signed the treaty on the reduction of nuclear weapons and sought to focus on other topics such as regional conflicts and human rights.¹⁰⁰

The shifting nature of the international environment “led to the revitalization of the Security Council and revival of UN peacekeeping activities.”¹⁰¹ In 1988 and 1999, five new peacekeeping operations were executed by the Security Council in Afghanistan, Iran-Iraq, Angola, Namibia, and Central America.¹⁰² All of these operations dealt with international conflicts on the basis of the parties consent and superpowers’ support, and

⁹⁹ Bakradze, “Analysis of Different Models,” 15.

¹⁰⁰ “Reagan, Gorbachev meet in ‘Freeside Summit,’” CQ Almanac, accessed March 14, 2015, <http://library.cqpress.com/cqalmanac/document.php?id=cqal85-1147362>.

¹⁰¹ Bakradze, “Analysis of Different Models,” 17.

¹⁰² “History of Peacekeeping.”

all of them were successful.¹⁰³ The UN peacekeeping forces were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1988.¹⁰⁴

The scope of peacekeeping operations extended through different parts of the world and included a variety of missions such as organizing and supervising free and fair elections, monitoring arms flows and human rights obligations, and assisting the delivery of humanitarian relief.¹⁰⁵ While the traditional format of peacekeeping had provided missions such as supervision of cease-fires or controlling buffer zones, a new concept of peacekeeping started to become more multi-dimensional.

However, the expanding scope of peacekeeping operations brought new problems to UN peacekeeping. The dramatic increase in the number of peacekeeping operations after 1988 started to push the limits of UN's peacekeeping capabilities in terms of budget and personnel. The Figure 3 shows the dramatic increase in peacekeeping operations.

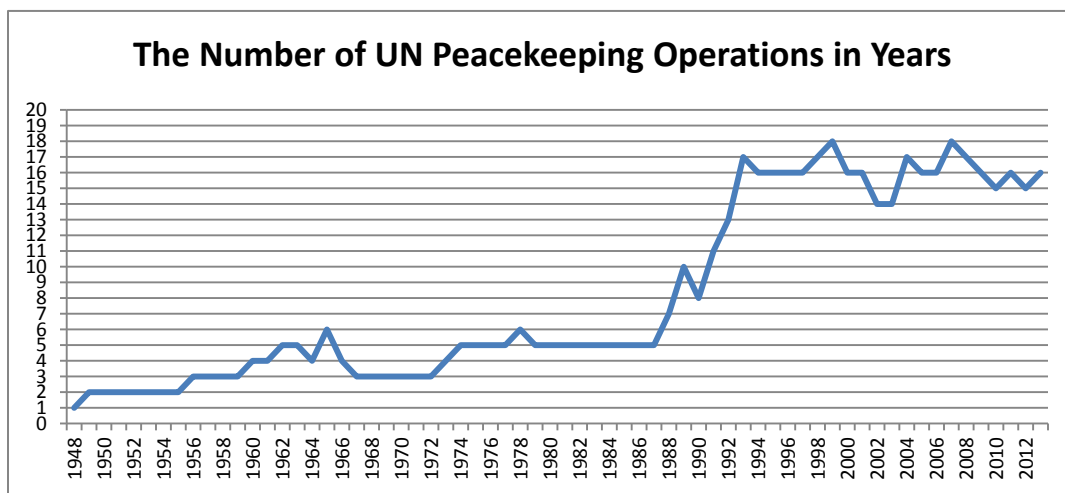


Figure 3. The Number of UN Peacekeeping Operations (from United Nations, 2014).

¹⁰³ Bakradze, "Analysis of Different Models," 17.

¹⁰⁴ "United Nations and the Nobel Prize," United Nations, accessed March 14, 2015, <http://www.un.org/en/aboutun/nobelprize/1988/index.shtml>.

¹⁰⁵ Bakradze, "Analysis of Different Models," 17.

While the UN deployed eighteen peacekeeping operations between 1948 and 1990, seventeen new operations were established in a wide range including El Salvador, Georgia, Tajikistan, Iraq, Kuwait, Cambodia, Somalia, Mozambique and former Yugoslavia (Croatia, Bosnia and Macedonia) between 1991 and 1994.¹⁰⁶

This over extension also caused the UN to run short of personnel and fiscal resources. Figure 4 shows the number of personnel attended to UN Peacekeeping Operations from 1948 to 2011.

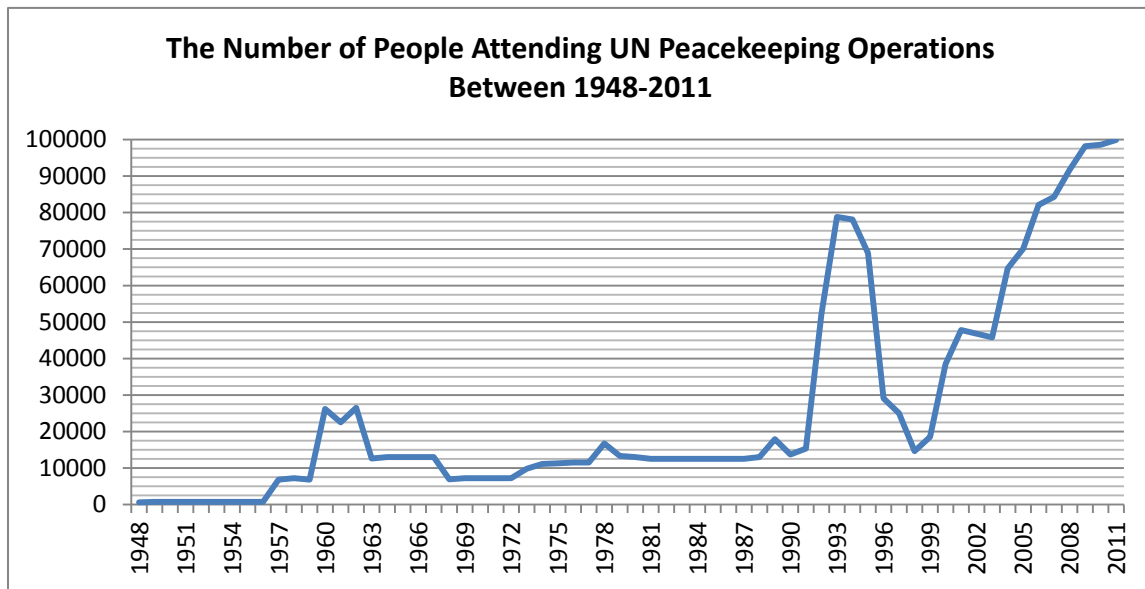


Figure 4. Size of UN Peacekeeping Forces: 1947–2011 (from Global Policy Forum, 2011)

While the peacekeepers were totaled 15,300 persons in 1991, the number increased to 78,800 in 1993. The fiscal situation was similar (see Figure 5).

¹⁰⁶ “List of Peacekeeping Operations 1948–2013,” accessed March 10, 2015. <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/operationslist.pdf>.

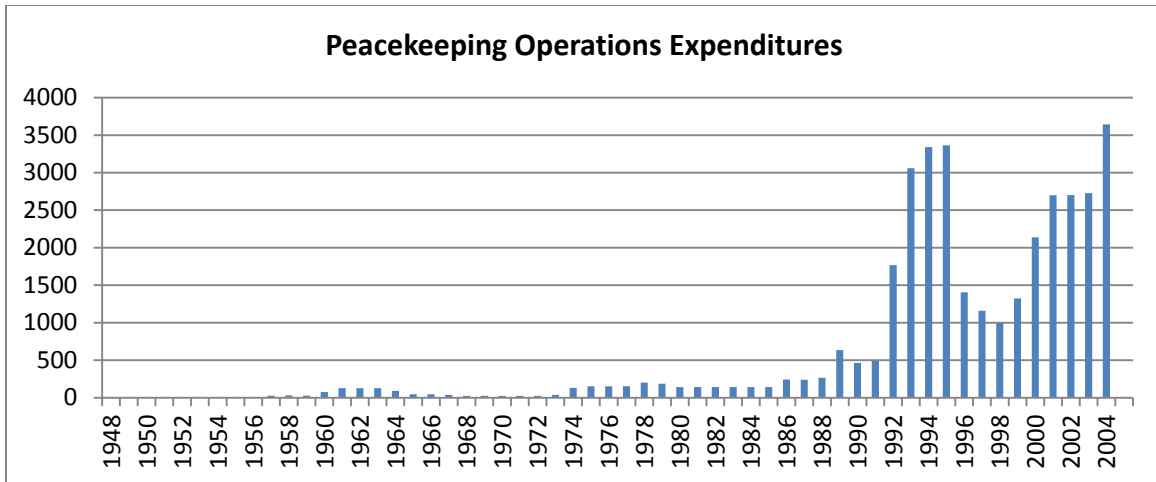


Figure 5. Peacekeeping Expenditures in Current versus Real Terms: 1947–2005 (from Global Policy Forum, 2005)

The sudden increase in peacekeeping operations, lack of fiscal support, and personnel shortages decreased the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations. Even worse, “the traditional principles of consent, impartiality, and non-use of force except in self-defense, which had been laid down for peacekeeping operations involved in international conflicts, became inadequate when the UN was confronted with internal conflicts and civil war situations.”¹⁰⁷

The developments in international relations and changing concept of peacekeeping operations not only necessitated the revitalization of peacekeeping operations, but also paved the way for new actors to participate in peacekeeping.

E. NEW PEACEKEEPING TYPOLOGIES

The end of the Cold War and gradual change of the international system from a bipolar to multi-polar environment changed the nature of peacekeeping drastically. This change became even more complicated with “globalization which led to the unprecedented movement of goods, peoples, ideas, challenges and threats, and made

¹⁰⁷ Bakradze, “The Analysis of Different Models,” 19.

countries more interdependent.”¹⁰⁸ In this sense, the new typologies such as peacebuilding, peace enforcement, and peace support started to become more prominent.

1. Peacebuilding

Peacebuilding is a complex, long-term process for creating the necessary conditions for sustainable peace and its measures address core issues that affect the functioning of society and state.¹⁰⁹ In this sense, peacebuilding operations focuses on long-term, stable peace by implementing peace agreements and strengthening institutional capacities to prevent any conflict from recurring.¹¹⁰ These missions include both NGOs and civilian personnel, and are executed in a wider scope such as disarming belligerents, monitoring elections and strengthening governmental institutions.¹¹¹

2. Peace Enforcement

“Peace enforcement involves the application of a range of coercive measures, including the use of military force.”¹¹² In this sense, peace enforcement entails the peacekeeping mission to creating a cease-fire that does not exist and preventing conflict between two or more belligerents. Since it does not ask for the consent of the parties, peace enforcement has been criticized for the use of arms with the lack of consent and casualties on both sides.

3. Peace Support

“Peace support missions are designed to undertake a range of civilian and military tasks, including the maintenance of public order, policing, mentoring the security forces, infrastructure reconstruction and national reconciliation.”¹¹³ The basic principle of peace

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 1.

¹⁰⁹ “Peace and Security.”

¹¹⁰ Karen A. Mingst and Margaret P. Karns, *The United Nations in the 21st Century*, 4th ed. (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 2012.), 113–116.

¹¹¹ Mingst and Karns, *The United Nations*, 116.

¹¹² “Peace and Security.”

¹¹³ “Peace Support: A New Concept for UN Peacekeeping?,” *United Nations University*, accessed March 15, 2015, <http://unu.edu/publications/articles/peace-support-a-new-concept-for-un-peacekeeping.html>.

support operations is its flexibility which allows peacekeepers to adapt their mission between peacekeeping and peace enforcement depending on the compliance of parties.¹¹⁴

F. NEW PEACEKEEPING ACTORS

In the post–Cold War era, the multipolar nature of the international environment decreased the effectiveness of UN peacekeeping operations in terms of the UN’s inadequate economic resources and personnel shortage; therefore, it became a necessity for UN to cooperate with regional organizations and NGOs to deal with the extended scope and heavy burden of peacekeeping operations. In this sense, the roles and contributions of the NATO, European Union, and NGOs to peacekeeping come forward.

1. NATO

NATO is an important contributor to protect peace and security on an international spectrum. It favors the peaceful resolution of disputes; however, it has the ability to use military force to operate in crisis- management situations alone or in cooperation with other countries or international organizations.¹¹⁵ NATO’s mission and current operations are explained as follows:

Since its first major peace-support operation in the Balkans in the early 1990s, the tempo and diversity of NATO operations have increased. NATO has been engaged in missions that cover the full spectrum of crisis-management operations – from deterrence and peacekeeping, to training and logistics support, to surveillance and humanitarian relief. Today, approximately 18,000 military personnel are engaged in NATO missions around the world, managing often complex ground, air and naval operations in all types of environment. They are currently operating in Afghanistan, Kosovo, the Mediterranean and off the Horn of Africa. NATO is also assisting the African Union, conducting air policing missions on the request of NATO member countries and supporting Turkey’s air defense system with the deployment of Patriot missiles.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴“Peace Support,” *United Nations University*.

¹¹⁵ NATO, “NATO Operations and Missions,” accessed March 15, 2015, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_52060.htm.

¹¹⁶ NATO, “NATO Operations and Missions.”

2. European Union (EU)

The European Union is a key contributor to peacekeeping, particularly in political and economic spheres of crisis management. EU foreign and security policy focuses on important issues such as preserving peace and strengthening international security, promoting international cooperation, developing and consolidating democracy, rule of law, and preserving human rights and freedoms.¹¹⁷ Table 2 shows European Union's missions and operations since October 2014.

Table 2. EU Ongoing Missions and Operations (from European Union, 2015)

Name of the Operation	Location	Dates
EUFOR ALTHEA	Bosnia Herzegovina	Since 2004
EUAM	Ukraine	Since 2014
EUMM	Georgia	Since 2008
EULEX	Kosovo	Since 2008
EUPOL COPPS	Palestinian Territories	Since 2005
EUPOL	Afghanistan	Since 2007
EUBAM	Libya	Since 2013
EUBAM RAFAH	Palestinian Territories	Since 2005
EUTM	Mali	Since 2013
EUCAP SAHEL	Mali	Since 2014
EUFOR RCA	Central African Republic	Since 2014
EU NAVFOR	Atalanta	Since 2008
EUTM	Somalia	Since 2010
EUCAP SAHEL	Niger	Since 2012
EUSEC	RD Congo	Since 2005
EUCAP DESTOR	Djibouti, Somalia, Seychelles, Tanzania, Yemen	Since 2012

3. Non-Governmental Organizations

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) constitute an important place in supporting peacekeeping operations. With their own independent agendas, they contribute to peacekeeping operations in a wide range of missions such as humanitarian

¹¹⁷ "Foreign&Security Policy" *European Union*, accessed March 15, 2015, http://europa.eu/pol/cfsp/index_en.htm.

relief, demobilization of and resettlement, support for elections, and mine clearance. In addition, while some NGOs start to operate in conflicting areas before the crisis and stay after the resolution, others participate for short term developments. For instance, there are currently more than two hundred non-governmental and international humanitarian organizations operating in Afghanistan.¹¹⁸

G. PEACEKEEPING AND TURKISH ARMED FORCES

The Turkish Armed Forces (TAF) has been a key factor in executing Turkish foreign policy in peacekeeping operations. The TAF’s peacekeeping mission is based on the idea expressed in 1937 by Ataturk:

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.¹¹⁹

With the exception of a brigade during Korean War in 1950, Turkey’s active peacekeeping role began after the end of Cold War. Tables 3 and 4 show the number of personnel, TAF’s past and current peacekeeping missions, and the number of personnel in current operations.

Table 3. The Number of Soldiers in Current Peacekeeping Operations (from Turkish Army Chief of General Staff, 2011)

Operation Name	ALTHEA	KFOR	UNMIK	ISAF	UNAMA	UNIFIL	CTF-151 and SNMG-2
Country	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Kosovo	Kosovo	Afghanistan	Afghanistan	Lebanon	Somalia
Number	239	368	1	804+111	1	3 +1 frigate	1 frigate

¹¹⁸ “NGOs: Non-Governmental and International Humanitarian Organizations Operating in Afghanistan,” The Afghanistan Analyst, accessed March 15, 2015, <http://afghanistan-analyst.org/ngos/>.

¹¹⁹ “Contributions of the TAF to Peace Support Operations,” accessed March 15, 2015, http://www.tsk.tr/20_ingilizce_tsktr/5_international_relations/contribution-of-the-turkish-armed-forces-to-peace-support-operations.html.

Table 4. Turkey's Past and Current Peacekeeping Operations (from Turkish Army Chief of General Staff, 2011)

Institution	Operation Name	Country	Dates
United Nations	UNOSOM	Somalia	May 1993- January 1994
	UNPROFOR	Bosnia-Herzegovina	August 1993-December 1995.
	ESSENTIAL HARVEST, AMBER FOX, ALLIED HARMONY, CONCORDIA AND PROXIMA	Macedonia	August 2001- October 2001
	MONUC	Congo	July 2006- November 2006
	UNMIS	Sudan	April 2005- July 2011
	OUP	Libya	March 2011- October 2011.
	UNAMID	Darfur	2006-2011
	UNMIK	Kosovo	Since 2011
	UNAMA	Afghanistan	Since 2012
	UNIFIL	Lebanon	October 2006
	ALBA	Albania	April 1997- August 1997
NATO	NTM-1	Iraq	2004-2011.
	KFOR	Kosovo	July 1999-
	IFOR/SFOR	Bosnia-Herzegovina	December 1995- December 2004
	SHAPE GUARD	Adriatic Sea	July 1992- October 1996
	DENY FLIGHT/ DELIBERATE FORGE/ JOINT GUARDIAN	Bosnia-Herzegovina	July 1992- October 1996
	ISAF	Afghanistan	June 2002
EU	ALTHEA	Bosnia-Herzegovina	December 2004-

H. OVERALL ASSESSMENT

At the end of the Cold War, the international environment turned out to be a multilateral system in which new problems as well as new actors appeared. While the concept of conflict resolution depended on collective security and dealt with international conflicts during the Cold War, further developments and the disintegration of the Soviet Union required a new approach beyond collective security. An increase in the number of

operations in the 1990s and occurrence of new problems such as national and ethnic conflicts paved the way for the evolution of peacekeeping. In this sense, new actors such as international or non-governmental organizations and new typologies such as peacebuilding and peace enforcement became prominent. Furthermore, the complexity of the conflicts also revealed that the sole use of military power fell short in establishing a secure and stable environment.

IV. TURKEY'S SOFT POWER AND ITS EFFECTS ON PEACEKEEPING IN AFGHANISTAN

A. INTRODUCTION

Afghanistan became independent in 1919 with the Treaty of Rewalpindi and the first constitution of Afghanistan was introduced in 1923 by King Amanullah. In 1933, Mohammed Zahir Shah became the king and reigned the country for 40 years. In this 40 years period, Afghanistan stayed neutral in World War II and followed a modernization process under the leadership of Mohammad Daoud, and even a new constitution was introduced in 1964. However, worsening economic and political situations within the country facilitated communist factions to the overthrow the president and establish a communist backed government in 1978. The following year witnessed the threat of tribal insurgencies against communist government and the invasion of Soviets in 1979.

The Soviet invasion that started on December 1979 not only destroyed the stability and security in the country; but also demolished the infrastructure, political system, and economy. In the same period, two Soviet sponsored regimes were defeated by mujahedeen guerillas who opposed the Soviet invasion. In 1988, the Soviet Union accepted the sovereignty of a neutral Afghan state and completed its withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989. The total casualties of Soviet invasion were enormous: thousands were killed; the economy, industry, and agriculture were devastated; 5 to 6 million Afghans migrated.¹²⁰

The establishment of a neutral Afghan state did not settle the disputes within the country. Following the withdrawal of Soviet troops, the country descended into a civil war. "Among the leaders of the warring factions were Ahmad Shah Massoud, an ethnic Tajik; Gulbuddin Hekmetyar, a Pashtun; and Abdul Rashid Dostum, an Uzbek."¹²¹ The clashes between the factions continued until 1996, when a fundamentalist Islamic group,

¹²⁰ Glen E. Curtis, "Country Profile: Afghanistan," *Library of Congress-Federal Research Division*, accessed on March 27, 2015. <http://memory.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/Afghanistan.pdf>.

¹²¹ Curtis, "Country Profile: Afghanistan."

the Taliban, took control of the country.¹²² “The Taliban used an extremist interpretation of Islam to assert repressive control of the country.”¹²³ During the Taliban rule, the economy remained shattered and many government services were seized.

The Taliban rule in Afghanistan also caused great problems for international peace and security. The Taliban granted Arab terrorist organization Al Qaeda the opportunities to use Afghanistan as a base for training, education, and resources. “As Al Qaeda committed a series of international terrorist acts culminating in attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, The Taliban rejected international pressure to surrender Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden.”¹²⁴ Therefore, Great Britain and the United States started air strikes on Afghanistan on October 7, 2001.¹²⁵ The Taliban government collapsed and Al Qaeda leaders escaped outside the country.

The year 2001 was an important turning point for Afghanistan’s future. The Afghan leaders in exile gathered at Bonn for the reconstruction of the country, and they signed the Bonn Agreement in December 2001. The Afghan opposition leaders agreed on a new government structure, namely Afghan Transitional authority, under the leadership of the Pashtun moderate Hamid Karzai.¹²⁶ A UN mandated international force to help the reconstruction of the country was also launched with the Bonn Agreement to provide a secure environment around Kabul.¹²⁷ On 11 August 2003, NATO assumed the leadership of the operation and became responsible for the force, namely International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), for the command, coordination, and planning of force with a headquarters in Afghanistan.¹²⁸

¹²² “The Taliban in Afghanistan” *Council on Foreign Relations*, accessed on April 15, 2015. <http://www.cfr.org/afghanistan/taliban-afghanistan/p10551>.

¹²³ Curtis, “Country Profile: Afghanistan.”

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ “US Launches Air Strikes against Taleban” BBC, accessed on March 27, 2015. http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/october/7/newsid_2519000/2519353.stm.

¹²⁶ NATO, “ISAF’s Mission in Afghanistan (2001-2014),” accessed on March 27, 2015. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_69366.htm.

¹²⁷ NATO, “ISAF’s Mission in Afghanistan (2001-2014).”

¹²⁸ “NATO and Afghanistan,” *NATO*, accessed on April 15, 2015. http://www.nato.int/cps/de/natohq/topics_8189.htm.

The mission of ISAF is to “provide support to Afghan government and international community in security sector reform, including mentoring, training, and operational support to the Afghan National Army (ANA) and Afghan National Police (ANP).”¹²⁹ Additionally, ISAF also provided support for the reconstruction and development in Afghanistan through securing the reconstruction work of multinational Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs).¹³⁰

ISAF’s mandate in Afghanistan was first limited only within the borders of Kabul in 2001. “In October 2003, the UN extended ISAF’s mandate to cover the whole of Afghanistan, paving the way for an expansion of the mission across the country.”¹³¹ Currently, there are twenty eight NATO and fourteen non-NATO countries contributing to ISAF forces in Afghanistan.¹³²

To help the reconstruction of Afghanistan, Turkey has participated in peacekeeping operations from its very beginning. Several times, Turkey took the command of ISAF and contributed to reconstruction of state and establishment of a peaceful and secure environment. To better understand how Turkey’s soft power affected peacekeeping operations in Afghanistan, those assets and their affects will be discussed separately.

B. DEMOCRATIC BASIS

Democracy is a system in which rulers are held accountable for their actions in the public realm by citizens, acting directly through the cooperation and competition of their elected representatives. Similarly, democracy symbolizes the use and accumulation of power by the elected representatives to protect the rights and welfare of the individuals, public, and the state.

¹²⁹ NATO, “ISAF’s Mission in Afghanistan.”

¹³⁰ “Provincial Reconstruction Teams in Afghanistan – How They Arrived and Where They Are Going,” NATO Review, accessed on April 15, 2015. <http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2007/issue3/english/art2.html>.

¹³¹ NATO, “ISAF’s Mission in Afghanistan.”

¹³² NATO, “ISAF Contributing Nations,” accessed on March 27, 2015. <http://www.nato.int/ISAF/structure/nations/index.html>.

There has been a great discussion, both inside and outside of the Islamic world, about whether Islam and its principles are favorable or unfavorable with the principles of a liberal democracy that is a constitutional and representative government. Many scholars struggle to prove that Islam enshrines democratic values and has all the ingredients of a modern state and society.¹³³ Bernard Lewis claims that “from a historical perspective, it would seem that of all the non-Western civilizations in the world, Islam offers the best prospects for Western-style democracy.”¹³⁴ However, from a political perspective, the situation seems more complex and complicated.

Democracy is one of the best solutions to the problems of non-democratic regimes. However, there are severe difficulties: “even the best-informed and most sophisticated observers in non-democratic countries have great, often insuperable difficulties in understanding the political processes of Western democracies.”¹³⁵ As Bernard Lewis pointed out, “it is exceedingly difficult to grasp the meaning of limited government, of civic and human rights, and of participation...and few outside the existing democracies have had the opportunity to acquire such experience.”¹³⁶

The difficulties to understand the principles and political processes of democracies necessitate the existence of success stories or model countries which have a common background or shared history with developing or non-democratic states. In this sense, Turkey stands as a leading figure in its region. Turkey’s position as a model democracy comes from the success of its western way of modernization which provides a positive outlook to the states which share cultural and historical heritage with Turkey.

Turkey’s democracy is the most important soft power asset that comes from “its ability to achieve secular constitutional governance in a social setting with a

¹³³ David Bukay, “Can There Be an Islamic Democracy?,” *Middle East Quarterly*, accessed on March 30, 2015. <http://www.meforum.org/1680/can-there-be-an-islamic-democracy>.

¹³⁴ Bernard Lewis, “Islam and Liberal Democracy,” *The Atlantic*, accessed on March 30, 2015. <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1993/02/islam-and-liberal-democracy/308509/>.

¹³⁵ Bernard Lewis, “Why Turkey is the only Modern Democracy” *The Middle East Quarterly* vol. 1, no. 1 (1994), accessed on February 26, 2015. <http://www.meforum.org/216/why-turkey-is-the-only-muslim-democracy>.

¹³⁶ Lewis, “Why Turkey is the Only Modern Democracy.”

predominantly Muslim population.”¹³⁷ Turkey’s democratic system depends on the balance between security and democracy. The legitimacy of the democracy comes from its ability to provide security and freedom to its citizens without violating human rights. Furthermore, although Turkey has a powerful military, it uses diplomatic and democratic methods to solve the problems in its insecure environment instead of making threats and enforcing policies to other countries.¹³⁸

Turkey’s position as a model democracy has important effects on the peacekeeping process in Afghanistan. In this sense, an important aspect is the history of political relations between Turkey and Afghanistan. Afghanistan established political relations with Turkey shortly after it became independent in 1921 and became the second country to recognize the Republic of Turkey after the USSR.¹³⁹ Since then, the two countries have signed numerous friendship and cooperation agreements and these friendly bilateral relations have continued until to the present. Historically, Turkey and Afghanistan have not been in any conflict with each other. Lack of a shared border, peaceful reciprocal relations, and the unifying effect of Islam has strengthened the bilateral peaceful relations.¹⁴⁰ In this sense, “Turkey’s presence in Afghanistan is not only a part of the NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) mission, but also a ‘brotherhood duty’ to help the Afghan people to restore the peace.”¹⁴¹ Afghan Ambassador to Turkey Amanullah Jayhoon has also stated that “Turkey’s policy is one of

¹³⁷ E. F. Keyman, “Turkish Foreign Policy in the Era of Global Turmoil,” *Seta Policy Brief*, no. 39 (2009), 9, accessed on February 26, 2015. http://setadc.org/pdfs/SETA_Policy_Brief_No_39_Turkish_Foreign_Policy_Fuat_Keyman.pdf.

¹³⁸ Ahmet Davutoğlu, “Turkey’s Zero-Problems Foreign Policy,” *Foreign Policy*, accessed on March 31, 2015. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2010/05/20/turkeys-zero-problems-foreign-policy/>.

¹³⁹ Aydemir Erman, “How Turkey Can Help NATO in Afghanistan,” *The Christian Science Monitor*, accessed on March 31, 2015. <http://www.csmonitor.com/Commentary/Opinion/2010/0209/How-Turkey-can-help-NATO-in-Afghanistan>.

¹⁴⁰ Erman, “How Turkey Can Help NATO in Afghanistan.”

¹⁴¹ Karen Kaya, “Turkey’s Role in Afghanistan and Afghan Stabilization,” *Military Review* 93, no. 4 (2013), http://usacac.army.mil/CAC2/MilitaryReview/Archives/English/MilitaryReview_20130831_art007.pdf.

friendship and brotherhood. Turkish-Afghan relations have withstood the test of time and Afghanistan has no doubt over Turkey's friendship."¹⁴²

Another aspect to understanding the effects of Turkey's democratic influence on Afghanistan is Turkey's political struggle to help the peacekeeping process in Afghanistan. In this sense, Turkey has contributed to peacekeeping by playing an important role as NATO's Senior Civilian Representative in Afghanistan. The mission of civilian representative in Afghanistan is "to carry forward the Alliance's political-military objectives in Afghanistan, and represent the political leadership of the Alliance in Kabul politically and publicly."¹⁴³ The Senior Representative liaises the Afghan Government, civil society, and the international community. This duty was first undertaken by Hikmet Cetin, a former Turkish Ambassador and Foreign Minister, on 19 November 2003. In his term as senior representative, he not only established the liaison between the Afghan government and international community, but also contributed to the foundation of the political and democratic structures of the Afghan state building process.¹⁴⁴ The post has been held by Ismail Aramaz, Turkey's current ambassador to Afghanistan, since January 2015.

Turkey's democracy is an important part of its soft power and it has important effects on the peacekeeping process in Afghanistan in terms of seeking peaceful solutions to the disputes. Therefore, Turkey's democracy as a role model and its historical benevolent approach to the relations with Afghanistan have indirectly contributed to the success of the mission. In this sense, Turkey's democracy as a soft power asset has important contributions to peacekeeping operations in Afghanistan.

¹⁴² "Turkey Has No Hidden Agenda for Afghanistan," *Today's Zaman*, accessed on March 31, 2015. http://www.todayszaman.com/interviews_turkey-has-no-hidden-agenda-for-afghanistan_291223.html.

¹⁴³ "NATO's Senior Civilian Representative in Afghanistan," accessed on March 31, 2015. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_50096.htm.

¹⁴⁴ "Hikmet Çetin Afganistan'a gitti [Hikmet Cetin went to Afghanistan]" *Radikal*, accessed on March 31, 2015. <http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=103843>.

C. CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL AFFINITIES

Turkey's historical and cultural heritage and strong ties with the states in Middle East, Asia, Caucasus, and Balkans constitute another asset of Turkey's soft power. In addition, cultural and historical affinities also reveal Turkey as an important contributor to the peacekeeping operations in which the majority of the contributors have no background in conflicting regions and face with severe criticism by the people of host countries.

Afghanistan's geographical position constitutes an important place in Turkish history. Its geographical position has been a place where Turkish and Turkic societies have lived together for centuries. In this sense, the common history of Turkey with Turkic countries in Central Asia constitutes an important part of its soft power assets. According to Chinese sources, the history of Turks in Asia can be traced back to 2000 B.C and the term Tu-kiu (Turk) was first used in sixth century A.D. to describe nomadic people who were stretching from China to Black Sea.¹⁴⁵ Within this time period, the Hun Empire, The Turkic Khanagate (Gokturk), and Uyghur Empire were founded and collapsed respectively in Central Asia.¹⁴⁶ After the collapse of the Uyghur Empire, Turkic tribes started to migrate through west and south, and those migrations paved the way for the formation of present group of southwestern Turks, "which belong to the Turkmen, the Azerbaijan, and the Anatolian Turks."¹⁴⁷ The Manzikert War in 1071 was a cornerstone in history that opened the way of Anatolia to Turks and the played an important role in foundation of the Ottoman Empire in 1299. After its foundation, Ottoman Empire reached to its farthest limits in sixteenth century including Western Asia and Caucasus.¹⁴⁸ Historical affinities with Turkic countries that started in sixth century A.D. continued after the fall of Ottoman Empire and the foundation of Turkish Republic in 1923 until today.

¹⁴⁵ Charles Warren Hostler, *The Turks of Central Asia* (Westport Conn.:Praeger, 1993), 7.

¹⁴⁶ "Turkic Peoples," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed on May 13, 2015, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/609972/Turkic-peoples>.

¹⁴⁷ Hostler, *The Turks of Central Asia*, 7.

¹⁴⁸ "Ottoman Empire," *Oxford Islamic Studies Online*, accessed on May 13, 2015, <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t236/e0611>.

This historical background provided important benefits to Turkey for the success of peacekeeping operations. As stated by Graham Fuller, all peacekeeping operations that occurred after Cold War have been in Muslim countries, where the necessity for a Muslim peacekeeper has become a major necessity.¹⁴⁹ In this sense, Turkey stands as a leading figure. The existence of Turkey as a peacekeeper in Afghanistan is desired and respected by Afghan people due to the cultural and historical ties and Muslim identity.¹⁵⁰ In addition, these cultural and historical affinities have also affected the nature of Turkey's peacekeeping actions in Afghanistan. Turkish soldiers have always behaved cautiously and respectfully to Afghan people and had strict orders to do so. They never wear sunglasses in order to sustain eye contact; they never brake down the doors or enter to houses with their boots; and they never touched the Afghan women.¹⁵¹ Consequently, Turkey's sensible approach towards Afghan people comes from the cultural and historical affinities. This position provides important credibility for the success of peacekeeping in Afghanistan.

The positive effects of cultural and historical affinities can also be traced by the activities of Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA). TIKA's mission is "to implement Turkey's development cooperation policy and coordinate development cooperation with national actors, international organizations, and bilateral donors."¹⁵² Figure 6 shows the number of projects and activities of TIKA in Afghanistan between 2005–2014.

¹⁴⁹ Graham E. Fuller and Ian O. Lesser, *A Sense of Siege: The Geopolitics of Islam and the West*, RAND (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995), 59–63.

¹⁵⁰ "Turkey Renews Its Agreement" *NATO Chanel 6*, accessed on March 31, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7hRh1X4YGpw>.

¹⁵¹ "Turkiyenin Afganistan'daki Yumusak Gucunun Gostergeleri [The Reflections of Turkey's Soft Power in Afghanistan]," accessed March 31, 2015, <http://www.npq.com.tr/icindekiler/arsiv/cilt/8/sayi/4/turkiyenin-yumusak-gucu-afganistanda-natoya>.

¹⁵² "TIKA: Institutionalism of Turkey's Development Cooperation," accessed March 31, 2015, http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey_s-development-cooperation.en.mfa.

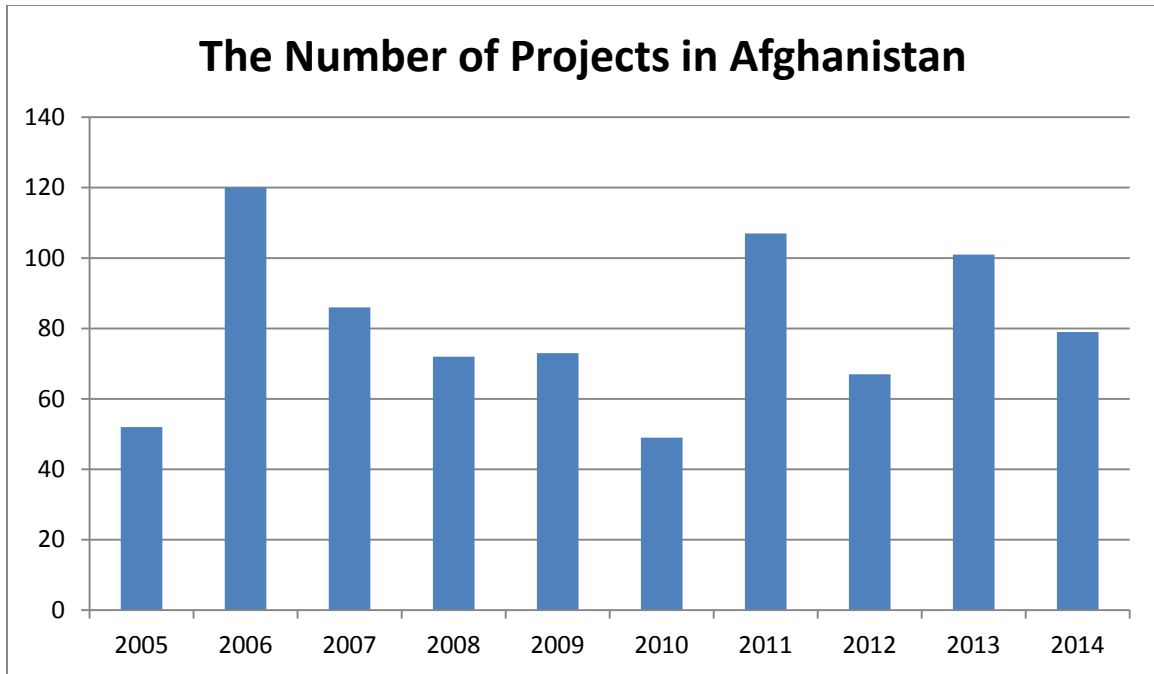


Figure 6. The Number of Activities and Projects held by TIKA between 2005–2014 (from TIKA, 2014)

As the figure reveals, Turkey held 806 activities and projects in Afghanistan. These activities range in different areas such as education, transportation, health, water and sanitation, communication, energy projects, trade and tourism. In these terms, TIKA completed fifty three cultural cooperation projects such as the reconstruction of historical mosques and buildings and organizing mutual cultural events such as the 23 April Children’s Day.¹⁵³

Turkey’s cultural and historical affinities constitute an important part of its soft power. TIKA’s existence and projects in Afghanistan has been a reflection of historical and cultural affinities. In this sense, Turkey’s cultural and historical affinities with Afghan people are important catalyzers for increasing the success of peacekeeping operations in Afghanistan.

¹⁵³ “What TIKA Did in Afghanistan in Last Ten Years,” http://www.tika.gov.tr/en/news/what_tika_did_in_afghanistan_in_10_years-15837.

D. TURKEY'S ECONOMY

Turkish economy is another important asset of Turkey's soft power and it constitutes the driving force for the efficiency of its soft power policies. Turkey's economy as a soft power asset shows its effects in Afghanistan in two aspects: first its strong and successful development process within the past decade makes it a desired model for developing states, particularly for Afghanistan; second, its bilateral economic relations and development assistance contribute to the foundation of a stable and secure Afghan government and international environment.

Turkey's economic development within the last decade has been noteworthy and impressed other states in its region. Turkey became the eighteenth largest economy with its GDP reaching \$786 billion, and per capita reaching \$10,000, which tripled in the last decade.¹⁵⁴ Significant advances in competitiveness and increasing foreign direct investment have been astonishing in the past five years. Close economic relations with the EU, OECD, and G20 countries have also contributed to its strong economic outlook. Combined together, Turkey's strong economy has been an example for the countries with economic problems.

Turkey's bilateral economic relations with Afghanistan have contributed enormously to the revival of economy. The trade volume with Afghanistan has grown thirty six fold within the last decade despite the negative effects of global economic crises in the world and Turkish exports comprise 90% of total trade volume of Afghan economy, as seen in Table 5.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ "Turkey Overview," *World Bank*, accessed on February 28, 2015. <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/turkey/overview#1>.

¹⁵⁵ Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Turkey and Afghanistan Economic and Trade Relations," accessed on April 3, 2015. http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey_s-commercial-and-economic-relations-with-afghanistan.en.mfa.

Table 5. Turkey-Afghanistan Trade Volumes (from Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014)

Years	Exports(.000\$)	Imports(.000\$)	Volume(.000\$)	Balance(.000\$)
2000	8.053	497	8.550	7.556
2001	6.983	420	7.403	6.563
2002	20.232	1.053	21.285	19.179
2003	36.489	2.684	39.173	33.805
2004	70.945	6.776	77.721	64.169
2005	113.401	8.301	121.702	105.100
2006	91.106	9.587	100.693	81.519
2007	109.270	12.493	121.763	96.777
2008	136.982	8.506	145.488	128.476
2009	233.675	4.649	238.324	229.026
2010	259.777	5.098	264.875	254.679

Turkish investments in Afghanistan have also been increasing during the last decade. The number of construction companies reached fifty and they have completed 330 projects with total volume reaching 2.8 billion dollars in Afghanistan.¹⁵⁶

Another important reflection of Turkey's economy as a soft power asset in Afghanistan is development assistance programs. Turkey put Afghanistan on top of its development agenda and focused on reconstruction of society, provision of basic services and reinstatement of domestic order. In this sense, Turkey operates two Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) in Wardak and Jowzjan provinces and these PRTs are led by civilian officials.¹⁵⁷ Turkey doubled its pledge for Afghanistan to support Afghanistan at the Paris Conference in 2008 and Turkey's official development assistance to Afghanistan reached \$400 million between 2005 to 2009.¹⁵⁸ Afghan Wardak Province Governor stated in an interview that "The Turkish Programs are very sympathetic to and acceptable to Afghans because they work within Afghan culture and they are sensitive to Afghan values."¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Turkey and Afghanistan Economic and Trade Relations."

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ NATO Chanel 3, *NATO in Afghanistan: A Turkish Civilian Solution* (2009), accessed on April 3, 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kYdVH0qT5po>.

Turkey's economic power is an important asset to support Turkey's soft power. This economic power and its reflections have contributed to the reconstruction of Afghanistan and its further developments.

E. FOREIGN POLICY

Foreign policy is another important asset of Turkey's soft power. It constitutes a critical position in terms of conveying Turkey's soft power in international relations. Turkish foreign policy as a soft power asset is mainly based on Ataturk's famous motto "Peace at home, peace in the world." This peaceful approach was redefined as "zero problems policy with neighbors" in the last decade.

The term "zero problems policy with neighbors" was first coined by Turkish Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu in February 2004. This policy envisions an international environment in which security, political dialogue, economic interdependence, and cultural environment are building blocks; all countries live in a state of welfare; and a peaceful and stable environment is established.¹⁶⁰ Multi-dimensional, pro-active, and visionary approaches and paying attention to international legitimacy even in the fiercest situations make this foreign policy an attractive soft power asset.¹⁶¹

Historically, Turkey's foreign policy towards Afghanistan has been peaceful. Starting from the foundation of Turkish Republic, the two countries signed several treaties to improve bilateral relations and recognize the sovereignty of each other. Sending ambassadors, student exchange programs, military cooperation and assistance, and even the foundation of the University of Political Science in Kabul are some of the important articles of bilateral treaties. Turkey served as a negotiator to the border dispute between Iran and Afghanistan in 1937, when Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq and Turkey signed the Treaty of Saadabad in order to establish better relations between the participants.

¹⁶⁰ Davutoğlu, "Turkey's Zero Problems Foreign Policy."

¹⁶¹ Rep. of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Policy of Zero Problems with Our Neighbors," accessed on April 1, 2015, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/policy-of-zero-problems-with-our-neighbors.en.mfa>.

Turkey's current foreign policy towards Afghanistan follows a similar pattern with its historical progress. Turkey is quite aware that an unstable Afghanistan makes an insecure region which poses high threats not only to Turkey, but also to other countries in the region. In this sense, Turkey's current foreign policy depends on the protection of Afghanistan's independence and its territorial integrity, and establishment of stability and security. Therefore, Turkey struggles to resolve any internal or external dispute that may threaten the success of peacekeeping operations in Afghanistan.

In the last decade, Turkey has shown its foreign policy commitment towards Afghanistan's security in several incidents. One of them was the triple summit initiative between Turkey, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. "The main purpose of this initiative is to improve relations between two countries, whose ties are strained due to Afghan belief that Pakistan supports Taliban...tribal regions are being used as a base for Taliban fighters to overthrow Afghan government."¹⁶² For the resolution of the conflict, the parties held meetings under the leadership of Turkey and agreements in the fields of military cooperation, intelligence sharing, struggle against terror and drug smuggling were reached in the summits between 2007 to 2009.¹⁶³

Another important commitment was the "Istanbul Summit for Friendship and Cooperation in the Heart of Asia." This summit "launched in 2011 brought together all the countries that border Afghanistan with the goal of involving all those countries in finding sustainable solutions to Afghanistan's security and stability problems."¹⁶⁴ Presidents of Turkey, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, vice President of Iran, representatives from China and Tajikistan, and other observers from the United States, the United Kingdom, Kyrgyzstan, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Russia, Germany, Japan, UN, EU, and NATO attended to the meeting in November 2011.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² Kaya, "Turkey's Role in Afghanistan," 24.

¹⁶³ Muharrem Eksi, "Turkey's Increasing Role in Afghanistan," *Journal of Global Analysis* vol.1, no. 2 (2010), 145, accessed on April 1, 2015. http://www.academia.edu/345315/Turkey_s_Increasing_Role_in_Afghanistan.

¹⁶⁴ Kaya, "Turkey's Role in Afghanistan," 26–27.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 27.

Turkey's historical foreign policy approach and its current initiatives show the importance of Turkey's soft power role and its contributions to the stability of the region. In this sense, Turkey's foreign policy towards Afghanistan has a critical role to reach the ultimate goal of peacekeeping operations and establish a secure and stable Afghanistan.

F. TURKISH ARMED FORCES

Turkish Armed Forces (TAF) is another Turkish soft power asset that plays a very active and crucial role for the success of peacekeeping operations in Afghanistan. Armies are referred to as hard power assets because they are basically used to coerce other states. However, the use of an army in benevolent roles such as humanitarian relief and peacekeeping operations transforms army into a soft power asset.

Turkey's presence in Afghanistan has three important missions: a) to support the Afghan government, b) train Afghan security forces c) help Afghan people with security, stability and development.¹⁶⁶ To achieve these goals, Turkey tries to provide the necessary development help and struggles to be equal to all segments of Afghan people regardless of their origin or ethnicity. "Turkish troops are not deployed outside the area of their responsibility and does not conduct counter-terrorism or counter narcotic operations."¹⁶⁷

ISAF's peacekeeping duty started on 16 January 2002 under the leadership of the United Kingdom. Since the start of the peacekeeping mission in Afghanistan, Turkey has been an active military power. TAF led ISAF's second term with 1300 personnel between June 2002 and February 2003. In this time, TAF executed important missions such as training Afghan military, military cooperation, and social-cultural activities. Among the Turkish activities, the abolition of the night curfew in Kabul was noteworthy that enabled Afghans to be in streets at night for the first time since 1979.¹⁶⁸ At this period, TAF

¹⁶⁶ "Contributions of the TAF to Peace Support Operations," accessed on March 15, 2015. http://www.tsk.tr/20_ingilizce_tsktr/5_international_relations/contribution-of-the-turkish-armed-forces-to-peace-support-operations.html.

¹⁶⁷ "Contributions of the TAF to Peace Support Operations."

¹⁶⁸ John C. K. Daly, "Afghanistan: The Turkish Advantage," accessed on April 6, 2015. <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Articles/Detail/?id=53227&lng=en>.

executed 175 civil service projects and trained different units from Afghanistan security forces.¹⁶⁹ Under Turkish leadership, “ISAF also established two radio stations: Radio Turkiyem and Sadahje Azadi (Voice of Freedom).”¹⁷⁰

Turkey also led ISAF’s VII term and commanded 8000 personnel from 30 different countries between February and August 2005.¹⁷¹ Kabul International Airport under NATO command and control was also constructed and operated by Turkish staff at the same period. In addition, Turkey supported ISAF Headquarters with 100 Turkish personnel of the Third Corps Command during the period between August 2008 and February 2009.¹⁷² In this term, TAF sustained its policies towards the peacekeeping process in Afghanistan. Furthermore, Turkey took the leadership of Kabul Regional Command on 1 November 2009, and this mission was extended for a one year period until 31 December 2014.¹⁷³ After the end of ISAF mission in 31 January 2014, Turkey started to participate in the Resolute Support Mission which was a non-combatant mission started on 01 January 2015.¹⁷⁴ Within the framework of this new mission, “Turkey assumed the Train, Assist, and Advise Command Capital; began to operate Afghanistan International Airport; provided advisors for Afghan schools/institutions; and contributed to the Train, Assist, and Advise Command Capital.”¹⁷⁵

TAF’s contributions have also been noteworthy in education and health. TAF provided the opportunities for Afghan commissioned and non-commissioned officers to follow military education in Turkish military high schools, military academy, Turkish Staff College. In addition, TAF also sent military instructors to train Afghan Army in

¹⁶⁹ Daly, “Afghanistan: The Turkish Advantage.”

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ “Contributions of the TAF to Peace Support Operations.”

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

Ghazi Camp situated at Kabul as well.¹⁷⁶ In addition, TAF supports the military hospital with medical staff and provides health support to Afghan society.

Although it has been considered a hard power asset and seen as one of the strongest armies of NATO, TAF's contribution to peacekeeping as a soft power asset has been important for the success of the mission. Turkey contributed to the operations in areas such as military training, education, health, security; and supported the role of other NATO countries.

¹⁷⁶ "TAF Military Cooperation and Training Activity," accessed on April 6, 2015, http://www.tsk.tr/20_ingilizce_tsktr/5_international_relations/turkish-armed-forces-military-training-and-cooperation-activities.html.

V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The end of the Cold War changed the international system entirely. The Cold War era witnessed the power struggle of two superpowers and the international environment was interpreted as anarchic in which the search for more material power was the states' ultimate aim. The end of the Cold War and the disintegration of the Soviet Union shifted that anarchic interpretation. Gradually, the world became globalized through technologic developments and states became more interdependent through the occurrence of new international or non- governmental organizations. The bipolar international structure turned out to be a multilayered system.

This multilayered system paved the way for new theories and interpretations of international relations. The new multilayered system brought new dimensions in which economic issues, trade, financial relations, the effect of international and non-governmental organizations, terrorism, international crime, climate change, the spread of infectious diseases and many other factors became important variables that affected the course of relations between states.

The concept of power is a complex term which has been researched by various academic scholars. The main theories of international relations, namely realist, liberalist, and constructivist theories interpret this concept differently and reveal different means to use power accordingly. In addition, national and relational approaches to the concept of power emphasized the material side of power and revealed policies. Combined all together, even the states that seem the strongest in terms of military power, like US, have been faced with serious challenges and severe results in dealing with international conflicts.

Joseph Nye first coined the term soft power in an effort to find a solution to the conflicts occurring in multilayered environment. Soft power is defined as the power of attraction which is based on the resources that produce this attractiveness. These resources can be the culture, political ideals, and policies of a country. Hard power assets such as military and economic power can also be the resources of soft power depending

on how they are used. Considered all together, the effects of soft power became critical and the countries possessing soft power assets started to become regional powers.

The end of the Cold War also shifted the nature of conflicts occurring in the international arena. While the conflicts were at the state level during the Cold War, conflicts became multilayered in which national and ethnic actors as well as the presence of internal factions and armed groups started to show their effects. The collective security approach fell short in addressing the necessary precautions for conflict resolution. In this sense, new international and non-governmental organizations started to participate in conflict resolution processes. Therefore, countries that possess the resources that contribute to conflict resolution beyond material power became crucial actors for the establishment of a stable and secure environment.

Turkey, as a country located at the crossroads of three continents, has strong cultural and historical affinities with the countries in its region. These affinities are the outcomes of the Ottoman legacy that has its roots several centuries back in history. Turkey's western oriented modernization progress for being a democracy not only paved the way for strong relations with western countries, but also provided a role model to developing states, particularly in its own region. Combined with the economic advances and TAF's peaceful policies, Turkey strengthened its position as a regional soft power.

Turkey has also been an active participant in peacekeeping operations in post-Cold War era. Turkey has participated in various peace support missions in accordance with its international responsibilities, national interests and capabilities. The missions have been in different parts of the world, ranging from Somalia to Lebanon, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, and Afghanistan. Following the principles of Atatürk, TAF has always been a contributor to the establishment of security and a sustainable peace environment.

The aim of this thesis study is to discuss the changing nature of power and conflicts in the post-Cold War era; and as a new power dimension, express the effects of Turkey's soft power assets in peacekeeping operations in Afghanistan. The five resources of Turkey's soft power have contributed to the peacekeeping mission, supported Afghan

government, and the reconstruction of Afghanistan. Turkey's soft power assets not only helped NATO to accomplish its mission in Afghanistan, but also revealed Turkey as a regional power whose participation became an important catalyst for the resolution of international disputes.

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