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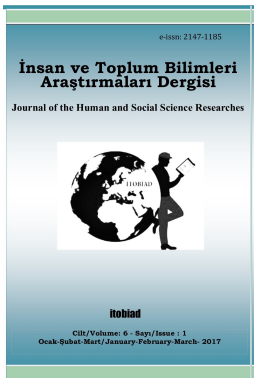

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Türk-Nato Savunma İş Birliği'nin Derinliği

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Öz

Soğuk Savaş döneminde ABD ve Sovyetler Birliği'nin ideolojik bakış açılarının farklılığı sebebiyle dünya iki ayrı kutba ayrılmıştır. ABD ve müttefikleri, Sovyet tehdidini ve komünizmi önlemek ve Batı'da kolektif güvenliği sağlamak amacıyla 1949'da NATO'yu kurmuşlardır. Türkiye 1952 yılında, güvenliğini sağlamak, Sovyet tehdidinden ve komünizm etkisinden korunmak, Batılı kimliğine kavuşmak ve ekonomiyi ve askeri kapasiteyi güçlendirmek gibi dinamiklerin etkisiyle NATO'ya üye olmuştur. 66 yıllık üyelik sürecinde Türkiye, iş birliğinin sağlanması için çaba sarf etmiştir. NATO'nun politikalarını kendi güvenlik ve savunma politikalarına entegre etmiş, sınırları içinde askeri üslerin kurulmasına, personel bulundurulmasına izin vermiştir. NATO müttefikleriyle düzenlenen ortak tatbikatlara ve uluslararası ortamda barışın sağlanması ve sürekliliği için operasyonlara katılmıştır. Bu çalışma, Türkiye'nin NATO'ya üyeliğinden itibaren yaşanan çatışma ve krizler göz önünde bulundurularak iş birliğinin derinliğini tespit etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Nitekim Türkiye-NATO ilişkisinde, çıkar çatışmasının krizlere yol açtığı ve gerçek bir ittifakın olmadığı, çıkarların öncelikli olduğu görülmüştür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Soğuk Savaş, NATO, Türkiye, Kolektif Güvenlik, İş birliği.

The Depth of Turkish-Nato Defense Cooperation

Abstract

When the world was divided into two blocs, the US and its allies formed NATO in 1949 to prevent the Soviet threat and communism, providing collective security in the West. Turkey has been a NATO member since 1952 to ensure the security, avoid Soviet threat and strengthen economic and military capacity. Turkey made efforts to ensure cooperation for 66 years. It has integrated NATO's policies into its own security and defense policies, allowing the establishment of military bases and facilities and keeping the personnel of NATO within the country. In addition to joint exercises with allies, it has participated in international peacekeeping operations. The aim of this study is to question depth of the relationship and cooperation between the two sides, considering conflicts and crises since Turkey's membership. Indeed, it is seen that there is no real alliance in Turkey-NATO relations, but only self interest.

Keywords: Cold War, NATO, Turkey, Collective Security, Cooperation

Introduction

From 1945, when the Second World War was over, the US and USSR's rise as two superpowers and enter into an absolute power struggle with the realist perspective have created security dilemmas and disturbances in the international community. In this struggle called Cold War, The North Atlantic Treaty was signed in 1949 for the purposes of preventing the threats that might arise from the USSR, protecting the freedom of the West and ensuring collective security, and taking deterrence and dialogue. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was formed by the 12 member states that signed the Treaty. This organization was aimed at using diplomatic and political channels and military force to make international security and peace lasting. There are now 29 members of the organization that expand over time. One of them is Turkey which a member of the organization since 1952.

During the Cold War, Turkey has stood by the western countries, reasons such as to prevent threats that may come from the USSR, to increase its military power, resume development assistance made by the US, to create a Western identity. In this context, Turkey which application was rejected twice, thanks to the outstanding success of the Korean War, was able to attain membership in 1952. As a part of the alliance, Turkey has acted together with NATO in international military interventions, conducted joint exercises and allowed the US to establish military bases and facilities in its territory until today.

In the cooperation that has been going on for 66 years, there is the impression that relations are progressing as good except for small roughness. But the perception has been affected negatively from reasons such as the transformation process of NATO, other member countries' bias against Turkey, Turkey's identity searching, the change of the international order, lack of fair sharing of responsibility. This perception between Turkey and NATO resulted in occasional disagreements and even crisis. In the face of these crises, the depth of this cooperation becomes an important debate. In this study, the depth of Turkey and NATO cooperation has been examined.

1.NATO and Turkey

1.1. Establishment of NATO

Until the establishment of NATO, an international defense alliance, was influenced by some of the contracts and agreements in the process. The first of these was the Atlantic Convention of 1941. This convention created an alliance between the US and the UK. It is important to the security policy for the Atlantic region to be determined. The second was the Article 51 of UN Charter in 1945, which recognizes the right to self-defense. With this article, interventions and measures to ensure international confidence and peace

have been legitimized. The third was the Brussels Treaty, signed in 1948, which envisaged economic, social and cultural cooperation and collective defense in Europe. The Treaty established the Western European Union and a common security alliance (NATO, 2016). Finally, the US abandoned isolation policy and accept the necessity of international cooperation for the international peace and security in 1948 with the Vandenberg Solution (CVCE, 2018). In the light of these developments, the North Atlantic Treaty (also known as Washington Treaty) and NATO were established by 12 states on April 4, 1949.

In the Cold War, which struggle of the US and the USSR, NATO members formed the Western Block. They were based on the UN Convention, the values of democracy and freedom, and the rule of law. NATO members, who foresee international peace and security protection, peaceful resolution of disputes, and, if unsuccessful, collective defense and military intervention, have joined and signed the Treaty. The North Atlantic Treaty is composed of 14 items and focuses on cooperation towards the provision of international peace and security in general. One of the most noteworthy among the articles is the 5th which states that if there is a security threat to a member or a armed attack it will constitute a countless and collective defense mechanism made to all members (MFA, 2018). This article was first used after the 9/11 attacks. In addition, NATO has taken collective defense measures during the civil war in Syria and after the Russian-Ukrainian crisis (NATO, 2017).

NATO has used diplomatic and political channels and military force to make international security and peace lasting. The organization has carried out many exercises and organized operations within the scope of cooperation. There was no military operation during the Cold War. Bosnia and Herzegovina intervention was carried out for the first time in the post-war period, followed by interventions in Kosovo and Afghanistan, Iraqi Training Mission, fighting pirates in the Gulf of Aden and intervention in Libya (Historical Events, 2018).

NATO acted in a more military perspective until the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Warsaw Pact. Over time with the change of security perception, besides state security, human security has begun to be taken into account in international relations. NATO has begun to focus on humanitarian issues with this transformation. Today, in addition to the military operations it continues to do, it also helps Europe's refugee and migrant crisis, performs disaster relief operations, and protects communities against natural, technological, or human catastrophes (NATO, 2016).

1.2. Turkey's Dynamics to NATO Membership

Today, NATO has 29 members and Turkey is admitted to the organization in 1952. Considering the Turkey's membership process, in the searching for foreign policy, empowering the economy, securing safety and obtaining modernization with Westernization were priorities. In this context, it was aimed to protect from the Soviet threat and communism influence during the Cold War period and to prevent possible security problems. In order to ensure security, it was desirabled to take advantage of the military possibilities of the NATO alliance. The threat was not only the danger of communist expansion posed by the Soviets. In addition, the end of 1945 Turkish-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Non-Aggression, negativities, like to territorial and to the status of the strait demands from Turkey, has increased military needs.

Moreover, as the policy of neutrality maintained during the Second World War will isolate the country, it was necessity to develop bilateral relations and to form alliances, thus responding to the search for identity. For this reason, close relations have been established with the Western countries, especially with the US (Akkaya, 2012, s. 1-4). Together with Turkey's targets, to be an important actor and having a Western identity in foreign policy and to be more democratic and modern in domestic policy have been considered with NATO.

On the other hand, when evaluated economically, it was expected that the NATO membership would reduce military spending for the army originating from the Soviet threat. The US created the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan to provide financial and military assistance to countries under communism and Turkey already has received millions of dollars help in this regard (Ekici & Baharçiçek, 2016, s. 151). The idea that if to be together with NATO will continuation of economic aid for Turkey, was get close Turkey to NATO and Western Block.

As a result of the reasons that make it necessary that NATO membership, and with courage of inclusion of the Council of Europe in 1949, Turkey made its first application for NATO in 1950. This application was supported only by Italy, and other states such as England, Norway, and Denmark opposed the application. The opposition of the countries stemmed from their unwillingness to withdraw the Soviet response, their avoidance of a possible attack, and their concern that the military aid they received from NATO would diminish (Yüceer, 2002, s. 79). Turkey's second application of NATO was repeated in same year by changing the ruling party and the application was rejected again. However, Turkey has been invitatied by the US as a participating member to participate defense planning for the Mediterranean. This invitation Turkey's totally not meet the requests but were accepted (Ekici & Baharçiçek, 2016, s. 158).

In 1950, the Korean War became a turning point for NATO membership. In response to a decision by the UN Security Council, it was requested that member countries be sent troops to intervene in the Korean War. Turkey has

responded positively to this request and formed a brigade of 5090 to fight with the US and South Korea, sent them to Korea (Alper, Arap and Değirmencioğlu, 2014, s. 76). The brilliant success of the Turkish brigade has changed the perception of NATO countries and contributed to the support of the membership. As a result of these developments, 12 member states was signed the North Atlantic Treaty protocol to an October 22, 1951 to invited Turkey to participate. This protocol was voted and accepted by the TGNA on February 18, 1952 and Turkey officially became a member of NATO (Yüceer, 2002, s. 82-87).

2.Depth of Alliance

2.1.Turkey-NATO Defense Cooperation

NATO has been the cornerstone of Turkey's defense and security policy since 1952. During the Cold War as part of the Western defense alliance, Turkey has contributed to preserving the south wing of Europe and also NATO. It was acted as a buffer in reducing the tension between the two polar. In the post-Cold War period, Turkey participated in crisis management and peacekeeping operations. Despite the changes in the international security perception of time, ensuring security on the basis of cooperation it has maintained its importance in the NATO and relations with Turkey (MFA, 2018). In this defense alliance and security based relationship, Turkey has acted to protect both the national and organization interests.

In the scope of Turkey-NATO relationship Turkey, which is very devoted, is criticized that it is the base of the US. Indeed, even before Turkey becoming a member of the organization in 1950, in the plan which the US sent Turkey, improving the airports and fuel tanks up to 1952 and construction of fuel tanks was expected to the devotion from Turkey. According to that plan, the construction of the airports in Adana, Balıkesir, Diyarbakır and Eskişehir would been suitable for jet operations. Balıkesir, Diyarbakır, Bandırma and Eskişehir would turned into hunting base and would established tanks in Eskişehir. Also Afyon and Adana's auxiliary fighter base and the opening of a flight school in Adana was on the agenda. Turkey did not give the right to use bases before becoming a member of NATO. Nevertheless, the Incirlik Air Base in Adana was began construction in 1951 and one step closer to membership (Nara, 1950; Bölme, 2012, s. 57-59).

Immediately after Turkey's membership in 1952, the Allied Land Forces Command has been active as the first NATO base. By the year 1954, the Status of Forces Agreement was signed between the US and Turkey and was accepted to establish the US' military facilities and bases and keep military personnel in Turkey. Within the scope of the agreement, a number of bases

have been established in the past 66 years. Afyon Main Jet Maintenance Base, İncirlik Air Base, İzmir Air Base, Şile Base, Konya 3rd Jet Main Base Command, Balikesir 9th Air Jet Base and Muğla Aksaz Naval Base, have been operating in Turkey in accordance with the agreements signed with NATO. In addition, there are Combined Air Operations Centers in Ankara, Amasya, Bartın, Diyarbakır, Eskişehir, İzmir, İzmit, Kütahya, Lüleburgaz, Sivas, İskenderun, Ordu, Rize, Erzurum, Van and Mardin (Hasançebi, 2013). Outside of these, military facilities include the NATO Rapid Distribution Corps (İstanbul), the Partnership for Peace Training Center (Ankara), the Center for Combating Terrorism (Ankara), Tasucu Harbor (Mersin), SAMP / T Battery (Kahramanmaraş), Missile Defense Radar Command Center (Diyarbakır), Kürecik Radar Base (Malatya) and Diyarbakir Air Base. (Sputnik News, 2017).

NATO, which had no military operations during the Cold War, was involved in post-war crisis management and peacekeeping operations. Turkey has stood by of NATO, considering the cooperation in these operations. NATO deployed early warning planes in Konya to monitor the crisis during Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and to protect the Southeast region from possible Iraq attack, before the crisis that broke out in the Balkans and interfered. Also it has placed ACE Mobile Force and air defense packages against the threat of Iraq at the request of Turkey. In the ensuing period, during the violent conflicts that began in Bosnia and Herzegovina, NATO's first combat operation was carried out by dropping four Bosnian Serb war planes. With the decision of the UN Security Council, NATO as Implementation Force (IFOR) was missioned to creating safe zones and heavy weapons disposal and Turkey was also active. As a result of the war finished, with the participation of also Turkey, Stabilization Force (SFOR) was created and supported peace. This partnership ended in 2004.

In another operation carried out by NATO and Turkey is Kosovo Force (KFOR) which was started in 1999 and still continuing. The aim was to stop the intense violence and human catastrophe applied, thus ensuring safety. International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), which was established after the war in Afghanistan, to provide security in the region and humanitarian aid from 2014 until 2001. It was directed by NATO, and was supported by Turkey. As a result of the continuing the crisis in the Balkans and assistance request of Macedonia, NATO and Turkey was conducted three operations in 2001-2003: Essential Harvest, Amber Fox and Allied Harmony.

NATO and Turkey's another operation is the Operation Active Endeavour, which was launched in order to prevent and disrupt terrorist activities in the Mediterranean immediately after the 9/11 attacks and to defend against these activities. It has been continued until 2016. This operation is very important in terms of being a collective defense operation under Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty. Operation Unified Protector was conducted in 2011 and Turkey have also participated. With this operation, the necessary

precautions were taken to protect the civilians in the end of the Arab Spring in Libya, forbidden zones were created, arms embargoes were laid and authorities were given to the member countries regarding the measures. Another operation of NATO with Turkey was Operation Ocean Shield in the Horn of Africa to against piracy in 2009-2016 (NATO, 2016).

In addition to the put into operations, Turkey has participated the NATO exercises. These exercises are carried out to prevent and prepare for possible attacks and insecurities, to reinforce management and cooperation, to mutually promote forces, to share their abilities, experiences and information. The exercises, especially in the Mediterranean, for ensuring the security of Turkey is of particular importance. In addition, NATO's transformation into human subjects has been observed in social problems such as natural disasters, earthquakes, hurricanes, and refugee crises, which have become important nowadays. Outside of the operations and exercises, Turkey-NATO cooperation also continues with humanitarian issues.

Turkey, are also included in NATO's partnership initiatives as well. One of them is the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council which was established in 1997. The council is complementary to the Partnership for Peace. It was intended to strengthen the political dialogue, develop security culture, facilitate and reform the reforms of the members' armed forces and defense institutions (NATO, 2007). For that intend, the Partnership for Peace Training Center (PPTC) was established in 1998 within the Turkish Armed Forces. Thus, the center contributes to the operational goals of NATO personnel and improves cooperation. It contributes to NATO and NATO Partnership Initiatives by training more than 16 thousands staff from 94 different countries through courses, seminars and mobile trainings (PPTC, 2018). In addition, Turkey opened the Centre of Excellence Defence Against Terrorism in 2005 and has been involved in the board. Through this center, they are responsible for supporting the transformation of NATO, fighting against terrorism, cooperating with common groups and sharing information (CEDAT, 2018).

There is a high level of cooperation thanks to both military bases and facilities as well as joint operations and exercises. But especially in the last 20 years, Turkey argues that could create a risk of automatic support to NATO policyIn the country where there is a dilemma of being left alone and fall into trap, the emphasis of the fall into trap has come to the forefront. In addition, with the changing circumstances, identity focus of NATO membership has left its place to interests. Therefore, a questioning approach is dominant (Oğuzlu, 2012, s. 100). In this context, the resulting conflict and crises in the NATO-Turkey cooperation can be argued that arised from conflict of interest.

2.2. Conflict of Interests in Cooperation

Cooperation between NATO and Turkey which was started in 1952 have led to conflicts and crises from time to time. These crises have brought some question marks about the depth of cooperation. The first event that led to the questioning of the depth of cooperation between the two sides occurred during the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. Jupiter missiles were agreed in 1959 and became operational in 1962 and Turkey felt safe against the Soviet threat. In contrast, Soviet missiles has deployed in Cuba. This has brought the world to the brink of nuclear war and has created a serious crisis. There was a bargain between the US and the Soviets for the solution of the crisis, and both sides discussed the removal of the missiles. The interesting point here is that the US itself would be subject to removed the missiles in Turkey to negotiation in crisis resolution and made secret interviews (Sever, 1997, s. 651-653). As seen here, The US left insecure and did not protect interests of Turkey which is part of the alliance and under the threat of Soviet.

Another NATO's conflict with Turkey has emerged during the Cyprus crisis in 1964. Two NATO members Greece and Turkey's conflict would be thought to damage NATO. The US, which wants to prevent conflict, if there is a conflict or interfere through Turkey, if it occurs as a result of any attacks against Turkey from the Soviet Union, NATO has stated in Johnson's letter, would not help Turkey. Johnson's letter clearly shows that; USA, as a NATO ally, not always, just acted together with Turkey in its own interests and has opted for commissioning NATO security and defense system (Eşel, 2017, s. 411-412). In short, Turkey has understood interests will be left alone unless compatible with the US and NATO.

In 1974, as a result of the increase in violence to the Turks by Greek Cypriots, Turkey acting independently from NATO and the United States has intervened to Cyprus. In response to the use of US weapons in this intervention, NATO countries began to the arms embargo on Turkey in 1975. In addition, 200 million dollars of aid was suspended which planned to be given to Turkey (Oran, 2001, s. 750; Eşel, 2017, s. 413). As a result, Turkey has closed 21 bases and facilities used by the US, in context of NATO alliance. While the use of the US is being hindered, the Incirlik Air Base has been left open for NATO use (Cıvaoğlu, 2017). The US has concerned about to Turkeys' towards meet countries outside NATO to the needs of arms and intelligence was not obtained by shutting down the base and facilities. The embargo was lifted partly in 1975, and totally in 1978, in order to put an end to these developments that had a negative impact on the interests of NATO and the US. Turkey has opened back in facilities (Eşel, 2017, s. 414).

Turkey has been struggling terrorism issues since the 1990s. But NATO does not receive the support it expects from this struggle. In the second half of 1990, the weapons in the fight against the PKK on the grounds that used against civilians Germany to Turkey embargo, or Turkey was left alone with the harsh response in cross-border operations, are examples of this situation.

Moreover, after the Gulf War in 1991, carried out in the territory of Turkey against Iraq during Operation Provide Comfort (also known as Poised Hammer) is increased PKK activity, there was the belief that has been helped by one (Yüksel, 2013).

The situation has not changed in the past years and NATO continues to support terrorist organizations which attacks against Turkey. Today, while the conflict in Syria, an ally which should help to Turkey, the US is military aid to PKK in Syria. It is even more striking that there are more than 5 thousands terrorists from the NATO member states in the PKK/PYD ranks, and that organizations that provide terrorist logistical support, arms and money transfers for help in Syria and Iraq are managed by former NATO troops (Takvim, 2017). The terrorist organization PKK weapons used against Turkey is obtained from NATO countries. It was previously detected. Moreover, the patriots, which were deployed for the Syrian border in 2013, withdrew in 2015. It is thought that the weight given to the fighting with the PKK instead of ISIS is effective in making this decision. Likewise, the weapons which YPG uses against Turkey, came up belonging to the US and NATO countries in the ongoing Operation Olive Branch (Sputnik News, 2018). There is no alliance-based relationship here. Instead, there based on interests and hostile attitude towards Turkey.

Another event that leads to questioning the depth of the cooperation between NATO and Turkey, in 1992 NATO exercise Display Determination-92, the Turkish ship named Muavenet was shot with SeaSparrow air defense missiles by the US ship. The fact that the event took place at midnight, area outside the exercise and the missiles had a system that could not be fired accidentally, created the impression that it was intentionally shot. In this incident the US gave messages to the idea that post-Cold War era also leader is the US, and there are can not be denied the presence of the Poised Hammer in Turkey (Ertürk, 2015). It was also seen that the US is acting on its own interests over NATO, the US sold the 8 ships instead of in exchange for the ship which was shot.

By the year 2003, the US has asked for permission to send Turkish Armed Forces in northern Iraq and the deployment of foreign troops on the territory of Turkey. The rejection of the 1 March Memorandum by the TGNA caused a new crisis. The US and NATO's response to Turkey to move in an opposite approach was 11 Turkish soldiers' were put sacks over their head in Sulaymaniyah in northern Iraq by the US occupation forces. With these events, the US has acted to their own interests and wanted to benefit from Turkey's military forces and the geo-strategic position. Turkey did not support the United States with the changing approach to foreign policy. Here, rather than cooperating, the two sides are in conflict of interest.

As a member of the NATO alliance, Turkey has agreed to take the S-400 missiles from Russia. This decision was met with a negative reaction by NATO. Because both the S-400 system is not compatible with NATO systems and also has created the image that Turkey is closer to Russia. Turkey has thought its own interests, not interests of the alliance, and showed that want to have an independent military capacity and defense systems from NATO (Deutsche Welle, 2017).

The other negative event in the cooperation between Turkey and NATO was that Mustafa Kemal Ataturk who is the founder and leader of the Republic of Turkey and President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan have been realized by selecting the target enemies in the NATO exercise in Norway. After the event, which was described as a scandal in the Turkish public opinion, 40 Turkish troops participating in the exercise were immediately withdrawn (Sputnik News, 2017). With this scandal, it is seen that Turkey-NATO cooperation is quite frayed. Although NATO apologized later, the realism and depth of the alliance relationship were again questioned.

Conclusion

After the Second World War, the US and Soviet rise and power struggle created a bipolar world and the countries were divided into blocks. NATO was founded in 1949 with the aim of providing collective security and ensuring peace in this international system where security dilemmas exist and ideologies conflict. In 1949, Turkey had a 26-year history and was just beginning to basics living. It became a member of NATO in 1952, as a result of protecting the Soviet threat and ideological disturbance from the influence of communism, attaining Western identity and thus modernizing, increasing economic and military power.

Turkey, from the date when a member of NATO, has adopted the organization's policies of its own security and defense policy and has begun to integrate with the organization. Membership in NATO has ensured cooperation, and the use of common base and military facilities, exercises and operations have been realized. However, some negative developments in Turkey between NATO and has led to the questioning of the depth of the relationship. The conflicts and crises seem to have moved in the direction of 'bon pour l'Orient', meaning 'enough for the Orient'. Turkey, seen as part of the NATO alliance but it is not taken so seriously. NATO (and indeed the USA) leaves Turkey alone when its own interests are concerned. Even as it is about terrorism, it supports the opposite side. In short, Turkey is used in order to serve their interests by the US and NATO.

On the other hand, especially in the last 20 year period, Turkey has realized that repeatedly left alone by NATO. For years, NATO policies were being applied as its own policies in order not to be alone in the alliance by Turkey. But now Turkey is careful not to be used by NATO. In this context, Turkey has started to think only in its own interests rather than serving the interests

of the US. The desire to have a Western identity has taken its place in its own interests, along with changing international systems and political goals. Turkey approaches more question to NATO and its policies and takes several steps to reduce its dependence. So now, in the NATO-Turkey cooperation is not a deep alliance relationship, but there is more interest-oriented profile.

Turkey is aware of that will continue to conflict of interest rather than a true alliance relations of cooperation. It has begun to move away from NATO and alternatively to other defense systems in this context. Turkey's withdrawal from NATO possibility has become a hot topic and his possibility has been analyzed. However, the realization of this possibility will affect other countries' searches for defense and security systems and will distort the balances. Therefore, in such a situation it is not possible for Turkey, but it is possible to diversify defense systems based on the shallowness of the relationship.

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