

Formation and Essence of Turkey's Security Strategy

Murtalibova Malika Mirmaksudovna

Astrakhan State Technical University, Tashkent regional branch, assistant

Abstract: The purpose of this study is to analyze the latest developments in Turkey's defense and security policy. The events of the "Arab Spring" have caused many political changes in the Middle East region and radically changed Turkey's security strategy. The study highlights the main driving forces, goals and principles of Turkey's policy aimed at expanding its influence in the international arena as a regional player, increasing its ability to combat threats and strengthening its military potential. It also analyzes in detail the external and internal factors underlying this strategy.

Keywords: NATO, European Union, Middle East, Black Sea, Mediterranean, Afghanistan, North Korea.

Introduction It is safe to say that the events of the Arab Spring, which caused many changes in the political life of the countries of the Middle East region, also brought a radical shift in the defense and security strategy of Turkey. Changes in Turkey's defense and security policy in recent years are associated with its desire to expand its sphere of influence in the international arena as a regional player and to increase its military potential to combat the threats observed around it. Accordingly, as part of our research, we consider it appropriate to provide detailed information on the nature of Turkey's security strategy, its main driving forces, goals and principles.

In 2009-2014, Ahmet Davutoglu, who served as the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, brought many interesting analytical facts about the economic and political situation observed in Turkey at the beginning of the 21st century. According to the scientist, the stagnation in foreign policy observed during the Cold War, as well as the fact that Turkey fulfilled NATO's strategic tasks in the region, are the main reasons for the internal crisis observed in the country.[1].

Turkey continued to play the role of a minor player in the region with favorable geopolitical opportunities. However, the changes in the balance of power in the years after the Cold War led to the need for a sharp turn in Turkey's domestic and foreign policy. According to Ahmet Davutoglu, the current changes are primarily related to the development of a comprehensive foreign policy concept concerning the Middle East, the Black Sea and the Mediterranean basin.

Ahmet Davutoğlu writes in his book "The Post-Davutoğlu Era in Turkish Foreign Policy": "The first step in strengthening the foreign policy position of the Turkish Republic is cooperation between its strategic allies and neighboring regions. It has begun to strengthen." [2] In developing its foreign policy strategy, Turkey has not blindly followed the path of European integration in terms of its values. Although it is important for Turkey to strengthen political and economic relations with the EU and the Western world in general, it is deeply aware that this is an integral part of the values of the Near and Middle East. During the Cold War, Turkey's rapprochement with the Western world led to the weakening of its relations with the Middle East region.

Currently, the task of maintaining a unique balance in relations with the Western and Eastern worlds has begun to emerge in Turkey's foreign policy. Thus, it has become clear that Turkey can gain greater opportunities for the future political and economic development of its country. Accordingly, Turkey has begun to feel responsible for ensuring security and stability not only at the national but also at the regional level. The main emphasis has been placed on the peaceful resolution of existing problems with neighboring countries and strengthening of relations. Among the important steps taken in this direction is the radical reform of domestic policy, in particular, strengthening democratic values in society, ensuring the rights and freedoms of citizens. Ahmet Davutoglu said about these reforms: "Democratization of domestic policy is impossible without democratization of foreign policy. "In building a new Turkey, it is important to respect the rights and freedoms of citizens not only at the local level but also in neighboring countries, to enter into stable relations with these countries, to establish effective economic and humanitarian cooperation," he said.[3].

Methodology A number of principles were developed based on the foreign policy doctrine "Zero Problems with Neighbours" put forward by Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu.[4]. Thus, it can be concluded that Türkiye seeks to strengthen its geopolitical position by establishing close cooperative relations with the European Union, Central Asia, the Baltic States and the Middle East.

In order to improve the effectiveness of the implementation of the above principles, three "methodological" and five "operational" principles were also introduced.[5] Here we will discuss each of these principles in detail.

Result and Discussion The first methodological principlea "prospective" approach to the problem that rejects the "crisis-oriented" approach that gained priority during the Cold War[6] means finding a solution based on We can see this in Turkey's policy towards the Middle East. Turkey's unique approach to this region and its diplomatic activities in this regard show that it can act effectively in the region. We can see this in Turkey's policy towards Lebanon, its mediation between Israel and Syria and its attempts to resolve the Palestinian issue, its constructive views on Iran's nuclear program, and its efforts to ensure Sunni participation in the Iraqi parliamentary elections in 2005.

To the second methodological principlewhich envisages a consistent and systematic dissemination of Turkey's foreign policy throughout the world. Particular attention is paid to the fact that Turkey's foreign policy towards the Middle East does not contradict its policy towards Central Asia, Africa or the Balkan Peninsula.At this moment,Türkiye also seeks to establish active cooperation with neighboring countries such as Iraq, Greece, Russia and Syria.

The third methodological principlebased on a unique diplomatic approach that has contributed to the spread of Turkey's soft power policy throughout the region. Despite the fact that Turkey is surrounded by large-scale threats, it is among the countries with powerful military potential, but refrains from using threats against other countries. After all, cooperation in the social and economic spheres is the basis of Turkey's foreign policy.[7].

Based on the above approaches, 5 important principles of Turkey's foreign policy activities were developed, which include the following:

First principle- based on the balance between security and democracy. According to him, the legitimacy of any political regime is determined by its ability to ensure the security and freedom of citizens. The existing security should not be ensured at the expense of the rights and freedoms of citizens. It is known that since 2002, Turkey has been striving to ensure civil liberties without compromising national security. Because after the events of September 1, 2001, in most countries of the world, the restriction of freedom from the point of view of ensuring securityas often as the trend is observed. Despite the intense internal political conflicts associated with the current situation in Turkey, significant progress has been made in ensuring civil liberties in recent years. Accordingly, it can be said with confidence that Turkey has been able to achieve

success in the fight against terrorism without affecting civil liberties. It should be emphasized here that the assertion of democratic values, in turn, serves the widespread dissemination of Turkey's soft power policy.

The second principle- based on the policy of "zero problems with neighbors". In recent years, it has been evident that Turkey's relations with neighboring countries are built on an economic basis. Since 2009, Turkey has been organizing high-level strategic meetings with countries such as Iraq, Syria, Greece and Russia. Within the framework of these events, bilateral dialogues on economic, political and security issues were organized. At the same time, Turkey has introduced a mutual visa-free regime with countries such as Syria, Tajikistan, Albania, Lebanon, Jordan, Libya and Russia.

The third principle- is based on proactive peace diplomacy, which envisages taking quick action before conflict situations arise, escalate and become deeply rooted. Turkey's regional policy is aimed at ensuring equal security for all, organizing high-level political dialogue, ensuring economic integration and achieving intercultural harmony.

The fourth principle - is based on a multi-vector foreign policy. Turkey's interaction with major players is not based on competition. In particular, mutual strategic relations with the United States are established within the framework of bilateral cooperation and NATO membership.

The fifth principle - is expressed in the idea of "rhythmic diplomacy", the main goal of which is to enhance Turkey's position as an important player in the international arena. In accordance with this principle, it is supposed to increase Turkey's activity in all international organizations dealing with issues of international importance. It is known that Turkey became a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council in 2009. During this period, he led the work of the commissions on Afghanistan, North Korea and the fight against terrorism. Meanwhile, Turkey is an equal member of the G20, an observer of the African Union, a country with a strategic dialogue mechanism with the FKADHK and an active participant in the ADL. All this points to Turkey's new outlook based on soft power.[8].

Overall, the years since 2002 have seen fundamental changes in the relationship between civilians and the military as a result of changes in domestic politics. During this period, as a result of intense political struggles between the government and the military, the government, composed of representatives of civil society, has become the decisive force in formulating security strategy. During the early years of the Justice and Development Party (2002-2008), the military became the only force with the right to make independent decisions, based on its strategic perspective, on matters of securitization of foreign policy.[9]. This party achieved that the balance between the military and the civilian population shifted towards civilization and democratization. At the same time, on the basis of the formation of new foreign policy views, the government developed priority directions for the development of the defense industry.

In May 2010, the American magazine Foreign Policy published an article titled "Turkey's Foreign Policy Without Problems," written by Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu.[10]. This article examines the initial stage of the formation of the Justice and Development Party (the "White Party"), that is, the content of Turkey's foreign policy doctrine, which has been implemented in practice since 2002. At present, "strategic depth" occupies a special place in political sciences. Valuable opinions are also expressed in the work "Turkey's Foreign Policy" (2002). The value of this work is determined by the fact that it provides detailed information about the first decade of the 21st century, which is considered the period of "flourishing" of Turkey's foreign policy.

In the context of the changing world order, it is appropriate to study this doctrine carefully in order to understand the essence of Turkey's efforts to increase its role in the region, especially its security policy in the Middle East region. With the help of "strategic depth", it will be possible to determine Turkey's foreign policy vectors, create an idea of the key to success in this regard, and form views on possible transformation processes.

The idea of "strategic depth" is based on the goal of restoring Turkey's influence in the economic, political and cultural spheres, which it lost in its relations with the Eastern world after its rapprochement with the Western world over many years. "Cold War". It is known that today Turkey has not abandoned the Kemalist approaches, adheres to moderate Islamic views and adheres to purely pragmatic views in international relations, and pursues a consistent policy to form its own geopolitical and geo-economic status. At the same time, there is no doubt that the theoretical basis of the idea of "Strategic Depth" performs a programmatic function.[11].

As mentioned above, the Middle East region occupies a special place in Turkey's foreign policy today. In this regard, before the "Arab Spring", a unique policy based on "soft power" was established in this regard. However, we see that the changes after the events of 2011 have set Turkey an important task of improving the political environment in the bordering countries. For this purpose, the idea of "zero problems with neighbors" was emphasized as a basis. After all, the Justice and Development Party ("White Party") from the first years of its activity was firmly committed to resolving "active" and "frozen" conflicts. These include Israel and Syria, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, the unstable situation in Iraq and Lebanon, and Iran's nuclear program. The specifics of the policy pursued by Turkey in the current situation are characterized by the lack of attention to the geographical factor as the main factor in resolving existing problems.[12].

The role of the White Papers in studying the essence of Turkey's security strategy is incomparable. After all, they describe Turkey's approaches to the main factors threatening security. It is noteworthy that in the current situation, the development of the defense industry has become a priority, given the special position of the military in public administration.

The White Papers provide detailed information on the driving forces behind Turkey's security strategy. According to him, the reason for reforming defense approaches was the changing political situation at the national, regional and international levels.

Internal factors include changes in Turkey's geopolitical views and gradual changes in the decision-making process. Internal factors include the special place of the Turkish Armed Forces (TAF) in the formation of state policy.[13].

It is known that back in the 1990s, the military occupied a central place in the formation of Turkey's security strategy. However, those who did not have the opportunity to strongly influence the government in this regard[14]. After 2002, as a result of the intense political struggle between the government and the military in Turkey, the military took the leading role in formulating strategy. The improvement of foreign policy activities required certain changes in the defense policy of the armed forces. In the initial stage of its activity (2002-2008), the Justice and Development Party (White Party) was the only force shaping the state's foreign policy based on a strategic view of military security. In this regard, TQK acquired special significance.[15].

On July 15, 2016, the Fethullah Terrorist Organization (FETÖ) attempted to overthrow the government in Turkey. It would not be wrong to say that radical changes have taken place in essence. As a result of the failed coup d'etat, certain changes were observed in the structural structure of the Central Committee. The Ministry of Defense has now established control over military decision-making.

It is known that as a result of the constitutional referendum held on April 16, 2017, Turkey was transferred from a parliamentary form of government to a presidential republic, the position of prime minister was abolished, the number of members of parliament was increased, and 18 amendments were made to reform the government. As a result, the president became the decisive force in the implementation of security policy.

Regional factors. Changes in Turkey's security strategy are directly related not only to national but also to regional political processes. Turkey's security strategy has undergone a unique transformation against the backdrop of geopolitical changes observed in the region in the years following the Arab Spring. At the same time, the change in the strategic situation observed at the

state level did not fail to have an impact. After all, the escalation of the civil war in Syria, as well as the increased activity of non-state armed groups and the expansion of the current conflict not only at the regional but also at the international level, have significantly affected the architecture of Turkey's national security.[16]. In addition, the widespread expansion of ISIS activities in Syria and the increase in the ranks of the PKK militants have become a serious strategic threat to Turkey's national security. While the PKK has put forward a new strategy to intensify its military operations in the southern regions of Turkey to achieve its goals of establishing "regional autonomy" within the framework of the Rojava project supported by the US and a number of Western countries, ISIS is expanding its local network in Turkey and is set to exacerbate the conflict situation with the Kurds.[17]. Thus, the situation with Turkey's territorial integrity was put at risk. The inclusion of the issue of territorial integrity, which occupies a central place in Turkey's traditional security policy, on the agenda set an important task of building up military potential as the only means of combating the existing threat.

The political situation between the regional power centers can be called another regional factor that influenced the content of Turkey's security strategy. The relations between them, which were conducted in the spirit of geopolitical antagonism, had a serious impact on the process of ensuring security. After all, it was noted that in a competitive environment, the parties resorted to forceful and militarized means to find a solution to the current geopolitical situation. While some power centers carried out direct military intervention against other states, others adopted an asymmetric strategy, using puppet elements to protect their interests or military support for militant groups based in extraterritorial territories. It would not be wrong to say that the three geopolitical axes that formed in the region after the "Arab Spring", consisting of Turkey-Qatar, Egypt-Saudi Arabia and UAE/Israel-Iran/Syria, fundamentally changed Turkey's strategic direction. At the same time, Russia became one of the players directly influencing the situation related to the Syrian crisis, and the United States began to show itself as a leading force in the fight against ISIS in Syria and Iraq. Ultimately, all this seriously affected the national security of Turkey and its neighboring countries.

Conclusion Along with the above-mentioned efforts to reform approaches to defense, one of the important steps taken in this direction was the further improvement of the security strategy, which began to undergo transformation processes. In 2016, under the influence of the political realities observed in Turkey, the army turned into one of the important instruments reflecting foreign policy goals, and the defense industry turned into an instrument representing "hard power" in the fight against factors threatening regional security.[18] Turkey's use of domestically produced drones not only against non-state military groups and terrorist organizations, but also against the ruling regime in Syria and the National Army in Libya, has served to define the interdependence of Turkey's defense and foreign policy, thereby turning it into a country with full defense capabilities.[19].

International factors including the deterioration of Turkey's relations with the United States and other supplier countries with defense industries. Tactical and strategic differences in approaches to the situation in the Middle East, especially in Syria, have not failed to have a certain impact on the content of Turkey's security strategy. The current situation has led to a loss of trust in the Western world among defense decision-makers.[20].

References:

1. The Post-Davutoglu Era in Turkish Foreign Policy – URL: <https://www.e-ir.info/2016/06/03/the-post-davutoglu-era-in-turkish-foreign-policy/>
2. The Post-Davutoglu Era in Turkish Foreign Policy – URL: <https://www.e-ir.info/2016/06/03/the-post-davutoglu-era-in-turkish-foreign-policy/>
3. The Post-Davutoglu Era in Turkish Foreign Policy – URL: <https://www.e-ir.info/2016/06/03/the-post-davutoglu-era-in-turkish-foreign-policy/>

4. Turkey's 'zero problems with neighbors' policy has transformed into 'zero neighbors' // URL: Turkey's 'zero problems with neighbors' policy has transformed into 'zero neighbors'
5. Turkey's Zero Problems Foreign Policy - URL: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2010/05/20/turkeys-zero-problems-foreign-policy/>
6. Turkey's Zero Problems Foreign Policy - URL: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2010/05/20/turkeys-zero-problems-foreign-policy/>
7. The visionary approach to the problem is management-oriented and involves using existing strengths and opportunities to achieve a bright and inspiring future.
8. Tretyak S.S. Ahmet Davutoglu's concept "Strategic depth": theory and practice <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/kontseptsiya-ahmeta-davutoglu-strategicheska-glubina-teoriya-i-praktika/viewer>
9. The Post-Davutoglu Era in Turkish Foreign Policy – URL: <https://www.e-ir.info/2016/06/03/the-post-davutoglu-era-in-turkish-foreign-policy/>
10. Kardash T., Balci A. The Changing Dynamics of Turkey-Israel Relations: A Securitization Analysis // Insight Turkey. - Vol. 14. - no. 2. - 2012. - PP. 99-120.
11. Ahmet Davutoglu. Turkey's Zero Problems Foreign Policy // URL: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2010/05/20/turkeys-zero-problems-foreign-policy/>
12. Tretyak S.S. Ahmet Davutoglu's concept "Strategic depth": theory and practice // URL.: <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/kontseptsiya-ahmeta-davutoglu-strategicheska-glubina-teoriya-i-praktika>
13. Safonkina E.A. Türkiye as a new actor in the policy of "soft power" // Bulletin of international organizations. - Vol. 9. - No. 2, 2014. - Pp. 147-152.
14. Yaprak Gursoy. The Changing Role of the Military in Turkish Politics: Democratization through Coup Plots? // Democratization. - Vol. 19. - No. 4. - 2012. - PP. 735-760.
15. "White Paper on Defense 2000," Ministry of National Defense, retrieved from https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/154907/Turkey_2000eng.pdf.
16. Tuncay Kardas, Ali Balci. The Changing Dynamics of Turkey-Israel Relations: A Securitization Analysis // Insight Turkey. - Vol. 14. - No. 2. – 2012. – PP. 99-120.
17. Savunma Sanayi Başkanlığı. Strategic plan for 2019–2023 // URL: <https://www.ssb.gov.tr/WebSite/contentlist.aspx PageID=43&LangID=1>.
18. Murat Yeşiltaş, Necdet Özçelik. When Strategy Fails: The Failure of the PKK's Urban Terrorism Campaign. – Ankara: CETA, 2018. – RR. 78
19. Arda Mevlutoglu. Turkey's Defense Reform: Analysis and Proposals // SETA Analysis. - no. 164 (August 2016) // URL.: https://setav.org/assets/uploads/2016/09/20160901200637_turkiyonin-savunma-reformu-pdf1.pdf.
20. Sibel Duz. Turkey's Rise as a Drone Power: History, Strategy, and Geopolitical Implications // SETA Analysis. - no. 65 (July 2020) // URL: <https://setav.org/en/assets/uploads/2020/07/A65En.pdf>.
21. Turkish Defense Industry Summit Held on Presidential Complex // Defense of Turkey, (December 12, 2018) // URL: <https://www.defenceturkey.com/en/content/turkish-defense-industry-summit-held-on-presidential-complex-3329>.