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MASTER THESIS

SİNEM USLU




T.C.

ANKARA YILDIRIM BEYAZIT UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

# TURKEY'S CHANGING DEFENSE DIPLOMACY APPROACH: THE CASE OF S-400S

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**Supervisor**

**Assoc. Prof. Dr. Merve Seren Yeşiltaş**

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# ONAY SAYFASI

Sinem Uslu tarafından hazırlanan "Turkey's Changing Defense Diplomacy Approach: The Case of S-400s" adlı tez çalışması aşağıdaki jüri tarafından oy birliği ile Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Uluslararası İlişkiler Anabilim Dalı'nda Yüksek Lisans tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.

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Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Uluslararası İlişkiler Anabilim Dalı'nda Yüksek Lisans tezi olması için şartları yerine getirdiğini onaylıyorum.

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Müdürü Doç. Dr. Seyfullah YILDIRIM

# STATEMENT

I hereby declare that all information in this thesis has been obtained and presented following academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work, otherwise I accept all legal responsibility. (25-02-2022)

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# ABSTRACT

**Turkey's Changing Defense Diplomacy Approach: The Case of S-400s.**

At the end of the Cold War, the search for a new world order transformed the threat perception in the international politics. It became versatile and multidimensional at the beginning of the 21st century, leading to uncertainties. The traditional concept of threat now comes across as regional and ethnic conflicts, political and economic instability and uncertainties in countries, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, all kinds of arms smuggling and international terrorism. In the modern international security system, states are trying to create a ''security maximization'' across borders through military missions and bases. All these security issues are related to ''defense diplomacy'', which is a new concept that has been developing internationally in recent times.

Like many other countries, Turkey's defense diplomacy has evolved and its breakthroughs have been changed during the years 2000s. Although the phenomenon of ''defense diplomacy'' is practiced as a field of activity, it is understood that it has not received the attention it deserves in the literature. For this reason, the primary goal of this thesis is to shed light on the change in the historical course of the concept of 'defense diplomacy'; the secondary goal is to reveal the fractures and changes in Turkey's perception and practice of defense diplomacy in the 2000s. The main reason and motivation of this breaking point stemmed from Turkey's need and desire to have a more 'autonomous' defense structure. Turkey's defense diplomacy has been conducted in the context of localization, nationalization, and strategic autonomy. Turkey has a goal of progress in defense diplomacy by prioritizing self-development and strategic autonomy. The most important of the steps in this regard is the S-400 missile agreement with Russia. Given this information, this thesis examines Turkey's defense system within the context of the S-400 air defense system. Within the scope of this agreement, Turkey and Russia relations will be evaluated and possible threats and consequences will be discussed. The thesis will examine the implications of defense diplomacy on Turkey's foreign and security policy.



**Keywords:** Turkey, Defense Diplomacy, Russia, S-400 Deal

# ÖZET


**Türkiye'nin Değişen Savunma Diplomasisi Yaklaşımı: S-400 Örneği**

Soğuk Savaş'ın sonrasında yeni bir dünya düzeni arayışı, uluslararası politikadaki tehdit algılamasını dönüştürmüştür. Tehdit kavramı daha önceden kendini belli ederken, 21. yüzyılın başında çok yönlü ve çok boyutlu hale gelerek belirsizliklere yol açmıştır. Geleneksel tehdit kavramı artık bölgesel ve etnik çatışmalar, ülkelerdeki siyasi ve ekonomik istikrarsızlık ve belirsizlikler, kitle imha silahlarının yaygınlaşması, her türlü silah kaçakçılığı ve uluslararası terörizm olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Modern uluslararası güvenlik sisteminde devletler, askeri misyonlar ve üsler aracılığıyla sınırlar ötesinde bir güvenlik maksimizasyonu yaratmaya çalışmaktadırlar. Tüm bu güvenlik sorunları son dönemlerde uluslararası alanda gelişmekte olan bir kavram olan savunma diplomasisi ile ilgilidir.

Diğer ülkelerde olduğu gibi Türkiye de bu alanda ilerlemiş ve atılımları 2000'li yıllarda değişikliğe uğramıştır. 'Savunma diplomasisi' olgusu, bir faaliyet alanı olarak icra edilmekle birlikte, literatürde hak ettiği ilgiyi görmediği anlaşılmaktadır. Bu nedenledir ki, bu tez çalışmasının öncelikli hedefi 'savunma diplomasisi' kavramının tarihsel seyrindeki değişimine ışık tutmak; ikincil hedefi ise Türkiye'nin savunma diplomasi algısı ve uygulamasında 2000'li yıllarda yaşanan kırılma ve değişimleri ortaya koymaktır. Söz konusu kırılmanın temel gerekçesi ve motivasyonu, Türkiye'nin savunmada daha 'otonom' bir yapıya kavuşma ihtiyaç ve arzusundan kaynaklanmıştır. Türkiye'nin savunma diplomasisi yerlilik, millilik ve stratejik özerklik bağlamında yürütülmüştür. Bu yönde atılan adımlardan en önemlisi Rusya ile imzalanan S-400 füze anlaşmasıdır. Bu bilgiler ışığında tez, S-400 hava savunma sistemi kapsamında Türkiye'nin savunma politikalarını incelemektedir. Antlaşma çerçevesinde Türkiye'nin Rusya ile ilişkileri değerlendirilecek, olası tehditler ve sonuçlar tartışılacaktır. Tezde savunma diplomasisinin Türkiye'nin dış ve güvenlik politikasına yansımaları incelenecektir.



**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Türkiye, Savunma Diplomasisi, Rusya, S-400 Antlaşması

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| | |
|---|---|
| **A2/AD** | Anti-Access and Area Denial Strategy |
| **ARCT** | Anti-Tank Remote Controlled Turret |
| **CAATSA** | Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions |
| **CPMIEC** | China Precision Machinery Import-Export Corporation |
| **HLSC** | High-Level Strategic Council |
| **ISIS** | Islamic State of Iraq and Sham |
| **LST** | Landing Ship Tank |
| **MILGEM** | National Ship |
| **MBRL** | Multi-Barrel Rocket Launchers |
| **NATO** | The North Atlantic Treaty Organization |
| **NEB** | Penetrating Bombs |
| **PFP** | Partnership for Peace |
| **PYD** | Partiya Yekîtiya Demokrat |
| **SIPRI** | Stockholm International Peace Research Institute |
| **SCO** | Shanghai Cooperation Organization |
| **SİHA** | Armed Unmanned Aerial Vehicle |
| **SSİK** | Defense Industry Executive Committee |
| **SSM** | Undersecretariat for Defense Industries |
| **STM** | Turkish Defense Technologies Engineering Inc. |
| **THK** | Turkish Aeronautical Association |
| **TOMTAŞ** | Turkish Motor and Aircraft Corporation |
| **U.S.** | United States |
| **U.S.S.R**. | Union of Soviet Socialist Republics |

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1. Conceptual Framework

In this section, the thesis topic is contextualized in the International Relations (IR). Within the framework of IR, this study is focused on International Security, more specifically, on the field of defense studies. Defense studies have made their presence felt in many different areas from past to present. Today, the primary purpose of political actors such as the state, international organizations and other non-state actors are to keep the defense field strong.

The research topic of this thesis is general, interdisciplinary and current. The concept of defense diplomacy, which is mentioned in the text, is a relatively new concept of security studies in post-Cold War era. And the research on this concept mostly consists of news sites, current international contacts, articles and agreements. Under these conditions, a newer sub-branch of diplomacy is compared to other fields is detail in the study. As a result, a wide-ranging analysis of past and future events has been made and these studies have been supported by academic resources.

## 1.2. Aims and Objectives of the Research

The field of defense diplomacy is a newer and more up-to-date subject compared to other fields of diplomacy. Diplomacy is a key element in defense autonomy and competence. There are one doctoral and one master thesis published in Turkey regarding the issue.[1] The purpose of writing this thesis is to fill this gap in the IR literature and to examine the issue in depth in the literature. Since defense diplomacy is very important, it has recently been a type of diplomacy that every state attaches importance to in foreign policy. It is aimed that the thesis will make important contributions to the academic field, especially considering the recent defense innovations of Turkey.

[1] See ''Bir güvenlik ikilemi aracı olarak savunma diplomasisi faaliyetleri: Güney Çin Denizi'nde ABD-Çin rekabeti (2010-2019)'', Yaşar, M, 2021; ''Türkiye'nin savunma diplomasisinin etkinliğinin arttırılması kapsamında yabancı dilin rolü: Bir model önerisi'', Altınsoy HH, 2015.

Turkey's defense policy has been changed significantly after 2002. The main reason for this change is to conduct a more independent behavior in foreign policy. From this point of view, it is explained in this study that Turkey's innovations in the field of defense in recent years has been carried out in the context of localization, nationalition, and strategic autonomy in recent years. It has been tried to explain that it should gain this strategic autonomy by developing a successful defense policy strategy without ignoring its engagements in regional and international organizations and disturbing its allies. Strategic autonomy is based on hard power instead of soft power and brings the military field to the fore; claiming to be a regional leader-global actor; does not have a main axis in foreign policy and acts on the basis of an independent nation state; preferring selective globalization through flexible alliances and relationships over active globalization; which aims at ''balancing'' in the relations between the great powers; sees security and economy before democracy; and a foreign policy understanding and practice that adopts the understanding of community management based on the principle of state survival and absolute loyalty to the leader (Keyman, 2021). In this way, Turkey has pursued a deterrent and defensive policy and regardingly will not be associated with an offensive position in international area. It is explained how Turkey carried out these defense diplomacy activities, which would be conducted without disturbing the relations with its allies avoiding sanctions such as sanctions exposed by NATO due to the S-400 defense systems.

The study claims that, in a more globalized era, conflicts are becoming highly complicated, states are seeking different ways to keep their defenses strong. The research will contribute significantly to understand and interpret Turkey's recent transformation in defense diplomacy. The findings of the study will help to better understand the transformation in general, as well as Turkey's internal politics and foreign relations. This paper's goal is to enlighten the distinctive elements and changing dynamics of Turkey's defense diplomacy and how these factors influenced and shaped Turkey's defense diplomacy in the aftermath of the decision to procure Russian defense systems.

This study tries to analyze Turkey's defense diplomacy in detail and to explain its power in the international arena with the policies carried out. Considering the international context, it is essential that each state take independent decisions and have a strong defense against the dangers that may come from outside, therefore, the study explains the importance of this situation. In short, this study aims to explain Turkey's defense policy in crisis situations and opportunities, also generally explain Turkey's defense diplomacy of the last

twenty years. There is a lack of studies in the IR regarding Turkey's defense diplomacy. Therefore, this thesis was written with the aim of filling this gap in the literature.

### 1.3. Research Questions

The study tries to discuss Turkey's recent defense diplomacy. In the thesis, it has been tried to answer all the following questions in order for the thesis to achieve its purpose. More specifically, the research questions are:

- What are the elements and changing dynamics of Turkey's defense diplomacy and how these factors influenced and shaped Turkey's defense diplomacy in the aftermath of Ankara's decision to procure Russian defense systems?
- Is defense just a matter of technological?
- What are the differences between defense diplomacy and military diplomacy?
- Which methods are used in defense diplomacy and how are these methods used?
- What is Turkey's new defense diplomacy attempts and how does it implement them?
- What are the challenges and opportunities that Turkey faces in its new defense diplomacy?
- What are the potential problems which Turkey may face after the S-400 air defense system agreement and procurement?
- Considering the relations between Russia and Turkey, how did the relations carried out in the field of defense transform the relations between the two countries from competition to partnership?

### 1.4. Justification

Turkey has carried out a Western-oriented diplomacy since its establishment. Turkey has recently begun to abandon this understanding of diplomacy, albeit partially, and has aimed to pursue an independent foreign policy. As a part of the principle of autonomy, it has begun looking for alternatives and moreover, it has tried to create a better defense area by using its own technology. All the topics covered in the thesis are based on Turkey's efforts to establish its own defense industry and tried to be explained the implementation and development of its own defense policy. Turkey has more advanced relations with Russia in recent years, and despite all the pressure signing and procuring the S-400 agreement is a result of these approaches.

In this thesis, issues such as moving away from a Western-oriented diplomacy understanding and a diplomacy approach aimed at reaching defense competence are

mentioned. Explaining the defense diplomacy, which is known as a new field and comes to the fore, with examples from Turkey's S-400 agreement will contribute to clearer understand and analysis of the subject in a clear way. Therefore, it is thought that it will make an important contribution to the literature since there are fewer studies on this subject in the field of international relations.

### 1.5. Limitation of the Research

The main limitation of the study is the differences in the explanations of the leaders, at the same time the content of the treaties is not fully disclosed to the public. The topic of defense agreements requires more research and access to documents and treaty content that countries keep confidential. Further understanding of the topic necessitates more academic research and access to exact data and information, because some areas of the study were restricted due to the limited research article and the lack of detailed information on the subject in terms of country's safety. Therefore, this research work examined secondary data such as news sites, books, journals, magazines, newspapers, very few governmental official records, and other resources to lighten the gaps of required information for the research.

### 1.6. Methodology

This study is done by a qualitative research method aiming to find answers to research questions considering the ''Turkey's Changing Defense Diplomacy Approach: The Case of S-400s''. Turkey's recent defense diplomacy opportunities and crises has been tried to be evaluated by utilizing primary and secondary sources of information. Turkey is located in a very important area in terms of its geographical location. This study emphasizes the importance of becoming a more deterrent force in foreign policy.

The primary sources of information usually consist of news and articles from different media organizations. The media organizations used are Turkey's newspapers such as Daily Sabah, Hürriyet, Milliyet, and international media organizations such as BBC, DW, Anadolu News Agency, Euronews, etc. In addition to these, the utilized secondary sources are usually books, academic articles, and reports related to the topic. The sources used in this study are mainly in English and Turkish language, which allows us to look at the topic from a larger point of view.

This thesis uses primary and secondary sources to find the causes and motives in the advancement of defense diplomacy approach of Turkey. Formal resources statements,

declarations, agreements, speeches, meetings, bid output and tenders requirements have been examined in detail and benefited. As a result, the present research methodology would be interpretative, descriptive and explanatory.

### 1.7. Literature Review

Studies on defense diplomacy have not been given much place in the literature because the importance of this field has just been understood and research has yet to be directed in this direction. It has become a frequently mentioned concept in recent years. Turkey's giving more weight to defense policies and conducting a unique diplomacy in foreign policy have been the main elements in terms of defense autonomy. Defense policies cover a wide and important area in terms of states' self-sufficiency. Articles, books, and research on this field are also very limited in International Relations literature.

Lech Drab explained the concept of defense diplomacy in detail in ''Defence Diplomacy- An Important Tool for the Implementation of Foreign Policy and Security of the State'' article and revealed the differences between defense diplomacy and military diplomacy. According to Drab, the creation of the term ''defense diplomacy'' is related to the post-Cold War change in understanding international security and concerned national security policies. Then, explained the role, aims and task and instruments of defense diplomacy and stated that defense diplomacy develops within the framework of international and national law. Drab emphasized that defense diplomacy spreads over a wider area than military diplomacy and explained this with the following sentence:

''*Defense diplomacy incorporates the objectives and tasks of the military diplomacy, extending them to issues related to building trust, preventing crises and conflict resolution, defence dialogue, developing bilateral and multilateral cooperation (within international organizations), and also the use of armed forces in international missions and operations''* (Drab, 2018, 67)

Another publication that provides important information on defense diplomacy and deals with broad topics in its scope is ''Strategic Engagement: Defence Diplomacy as a Means of Conflict Prevention'' by Andrew Cottey and Anthony Forster. Cottey and Forster mentioned on the issues of defense cooperation in Europe, America and Africa and focused on the concept of defense diplomacy, which differs from military diplomacy and stated these regions and the defense diplomacy activities that they carried out. According to them defense diplomacy involves the peacetime cooperative use of armed forces and related infrastructure

as a tool of foreign and security policy. There has been a growing trend towards the use of defense ministries and armed forces as means of building cooperative relations. According to them, one of the most important bodies carrying out defense diplomacy is the Partnership for Peace (PFP) established by NATO. PFP was established in 1994 to facilitate political and military cooperation between NATO and Central and Eastern European countries (NATO, 1994). In the book, defense diplomacy activities carried out are mentioned within this framework. This paper argues that the new defense diplomacy suggests alongside their traditional role as an instrument for the use of force, armed forces and defense ministries also have an important role to plays a tool for cooperative peacetime relations with other states. The three new roles of defense diplomacy identified in this book, strategic engagement as a means of reducing the likelihood of conflict between former or potential enemies; promoting democratic civil-military relations; and supporting other states in developing peacekeeping capabilities (Cottey & Forster, 2004).

Patrick Blannin analyses defense diplomacy in the ‘‘Defense Diplomacy in the Long War’’ and advocates that defense diplomacy as compliant mechanism to integrate and manage all military response in states. In this paper Fetic claims, ‘’the role of defense diplomacy is to manage military forces from a diplomatic point of view’’(Fetic, 2014). According to Blannin defense diplomacy has core relationship building characteristics, also a key element of defense diplomacy is its ability to signal and clarify intentions. This paper has emphasis defense diplomacy as a continuous, dynamic, and understated process for building and managing existing relationships. The article showing the applications and case studies of defense diplomacy with examples from many countries and regions, also, using a case study of U.S. defense diplomacy in Afghanistan from 2001-2014, the paper argues that the practice of defense diplomacy far outweighs current theories (Blannin, 2017).

Alice Hills article, called ‘’Defence Diplomacy and Security Sector Reform’’ mentions that Defense diplomacy is not a new concept, but it is a combination and rebalancing of several different activities that are different and expressed as a basic military activity expressed in political terms. Hills explains the defense diplomacy within the framework of the new defense mission established by Britain. According to Hills, defense diplomacy is seen as an suitable expression of the explicit foreign policy focus to defense policy recommended by the SDR (Strategic Defense Review) (Hills, 2000). Therefore, Hills explains defense diplomacy from the example of Britain.

Another related article is ‘’Defence Diplomacy: A Powerful Tool of Statecraft’’ by Muniruzzaman. According to author defense diplomacy has emerged as one of the most important tools of military statecraft effort to move past the use of force. It contains activities, such as officer exchanges, ship visits, combined training missions, and joint military exercises, all these are indicated under practices of defense diplomacy. Muniruzzaman discussed the fields and tools of defense diplomacy in detail and stated that states play a major role in the formation of security policies. As an example, he gave the diplomatic relations between Bangladesh and India taking on a more formal structure, also examined defense diplomacy as a field practiced in accordance with international law and reducing conflicts (Muniruzzaman, 2020).

The last of the studies in the field of defense diplomacy is the ‘’Defense Diplomacy’’ book section by Juan Emilio Cheyre part of The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy. Cheyre’s article discusses the development of defense diplomacy. According to the author, the origins of defense diplomacy lie in classical military diplomacy, which existed from ancient times and was revived during the Napoleonic era. Its evolution until the end of the Cold War was limited to the classical military field, focusing on military relations, but after the war, a new situation in international relations emerged, the rise of interdependence, the emergence of new actors on the global stage opened a new understanding of defense diplomacy. The most outstanding example of defense diplomacy was given as UN peacekeeping operations ((Cheyre, 2013) .

It is common for these six studies, which have made important contributions to the literature, to briefly explain defense diplomacy, to specify its features and to provide information on how it is used in important events. Situational analyzes have been made in the works, and each has examined in detail the relatively new field of defense diplomacy.

Different studies have been discussed regarding Turkey’s purchase of the S-400, the first of which is Dr. Can Kasapoğlu’s article named Turkey’s S-400 Dilemma. He asserts that S-400 deal is an important example of ‘political-military’ affairs. Politically, the supply of a NATO system marks Turkey’s uneasiness with its NATO Allies due to lack of cooperative defense industrial opportunities and ongoing political strains. Militarily, Turkey indeed needs to have strategic defensive weapon systems and capabilities. According to him, Turkey’s future strategic defensive weapons should address a wide-array of threats ranging from longer range interception of WMD-delivering ballistic missiles and separable warheads to effective C-RAM (counter-rocket, artillery, and mortar) capabilities in hybrid warfare situations.

Defense partnerships affected by political fluctuations and diplomatic considerations. Expressing different situations and scenarios in his work, Kasapoğlu stated that let alone the S-400 agreement, Turkey and Russia do not have a common opinion in all cases (Kasapoğlu, 2017a).

Another important work in the field of defense diplomacy is the Conference on ''Defense Diplomacy'' given by the Deputy Undersecretary of the Ministry of National Defense, Ambassador Basat Öztürk. At the conference, Öztürk states that the beginning of defense diplomacy is based on classical military diplomacy. He summarized the embassies in the Ottoman period diplomacy, and then gave important information about Turkey's domestic and foreign policy. At the same time, he gave information about Turkey's relations with NATO, the importance of the air defense system and the EUROSAM air defense system project produced by the Franco-Italian partnership and gave speeches on security (Öztürk, 2017).

In Latif Pınar's article titled ''The Reflections of Development of Defense Industry in Turkey to Turkish Foreign Policy'', Pınar explained the effects and development of the transformation in the defense systems that Turkey has been experiencing recently. Emphasizing that Turkey should attach special importance to the national defense industry, this study examined the impact of the development of the Turkey defense industry on foreign policy. The development of the Turkish defense industry has been analyzed from a very detailed point of view in this article, which is widely used in the section of Turkey's defense policies in the third chapter of the thesis. According to Pınar, maintaining the existence of states in international politics is the most important goal, and states establishing a self-sufficient national defense industry and developing this industry by following technological innovations will enable them to better protect their national security. Stating their importance, Pınar emphasized that Turkey's development in the defense industry has a positive impact on Turkish foreign policy (Pınar, 2018).

Finally, Merve Seren's article titled ''Politics, Industry and Academia: Examining Dynamics of Turkish Defense Industry's Great Leap Forward in the Post-2002 Era'' published in 2021 is also important for defense literature in International Relations. According to Seren, the rising level of political and societal awareness to meet the goal of localization, nationalization, and strategic autonomy as a part of national security strategy. It has been stated that breakthroughs in defense have been seen as a diplomatic tool and an international prestige to increase strategic flexibility in foreign policy. Turkey's defense

breakthroughs and its determination in this direction are written in detail in the article. Article has focused on Justice and Development Party's changing defense discourse in election manifestos, and the story of the national defense industry regarding the developments taking place within the last two decades. The article examined the election manifestos and discussed in detail the parts of the defense (Seren, 2021).

Some of these studies have paid attention to the field of defense diplomacy, while others have paid attention to both the field of defense and the dimension of defense diplomacy that Turkey has recently developed. This thesis, which was written on Turkey's defense diplomacy specifically on the S-400 agreement, was written to fill the gaps in the literature and to examine Turkey's defense diplomacy in more detail. Therefore, the thesis will both provide information on this field and present a more detailed perspective with citations from different articles and other resources.

### 1.8. Organization of the Chapters

This study consists of five parts. Theoretical framework, aims and objectives of the research, research questions, justification, and literature review are explained in the first part. In general, the scope of the research, its theoretical framework, its place in the International Relations literature and the aims of the study are explained in detail.

The second part focuses on about the historical background of defense diplomacy. This section covers the concept of defense diplomacy, defense policies of Turkey and Russia, differences in military and defense diplomacy, bargaining, implementation of defense diplomacy and foreign policy.

In the third chapter, Turkey's defense policies, the changing understanding of defense during the Justice and Development Party era, defense relations with other countries, the details of the S-400 agreement, and opportunities and challenges of Turkey's new defense policy in the current era.

In the fourth part of the study, how the S-400 case changed Turkey's defense diplomacy, Turkey's need for air defense systems, and crisis situations were examined and analyzed.

Finally, in the conclusion, each event and situation used in the study is summarized and important points are emphasized. Additionally, general evaluations were made on defense diplomacy and Turkey's political attitude was examined in detail.

# 2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF DEFENSE DIPLOMACY

## 2.1. The Concept of Defense Diplomacy

Considering the 17th century political environment, there were fewer states and actors. At the beginning of the international order, the number of actors were low and the conflict of interest between these actors were not frequent. The world has changed systematically with the evolution of international order, especially after the Cold War. With the formation of human communities, managing the differences became difficult between the societies. States and organizations sought to new solution to solve the irregularities. Domestic and foreign policy decisions that were formed because of the political, economic and military interests of the states shaped according to diplomacy. It is the new and important concept in international relations discipline for to solve these problems. It has been accepted that existed from the beginning of history to the present day and has come to different meanings with the changes that have occurred over time. Definition of diplomacy, in the broadest sense, is the most important and beneficial tools used by civilizations among their relations. In essence, it refers to the solution of foreign policy problems through peaceful methods and negotiations. It aims to create the best situation using all possibilities and basically to create the ideal environment while handling the complex situations.

The most important purpose of a state's participation in diplomatic processes is to realize the political, economic, cultural and security interests. Problems and crises between states are resolved by diplomacy. Since the traditional role of diplomacy could not prevent world wars, states actors needed a new form of diplomacy. This diplomacy should be more open to public scrutiny and also it needed establishing an international organization for the peaceful solution and deterrent against another world war (Baylis& Smith, 2005, 391). Although it was called a new diplomacy, this diplomacy remained similar to traditional diplomacy in terms of states remained the major actors.

Diplomacy is a privileged aspect of information-gathering, representation and negotiation (Black, 2010, 2) and application of mutual relations between independent states.

It is concerned with advising, shaping and implementing foreign policy of states (Drab, 2018). It is considered only peaceful relations, but it may occur any time, for instance during the war, conflict, and crisis. Bolster divided task of diplomacy into six areas, ceremonial which includes protocol, representation and visits, management which comprised the cooperation, interest and problems, information and communication which are reporting and monitoring the problems, international negotiation, duty of protection and normative which includes mediation and rulemaking (Drab, 2018).

1648 the Treaty of Westphalia brought a huge change for the international order. Also, 1815 the Congress of Vienna provided a new solutions and negotiations to the world affairs. The states tried to apply diplomacy until World War I under the name of old diplomacy (Drab, 2018) with peace treaties, congresses and wars. In addition, the multilateral diplomacy, which is accepted to have started with the 1648 Westphalia Agreement, started to be implemented in the history of diplomacy with the 1815 Congress of Vienna and the Ad Hoc conference (Arı, 2009, 369). First World War brought an end to old diplomacy and caused new problems to the order. This war appeared as the turning point in the history of diplomacy, before this, states were the only actors that affect the international relations, but after that there were emerging non-state actors, organizations, terrorist groups and mercenaries. Therefore, with these new actors, the world has moved closer to diplomacy.

In the current climate, the ultimate goal of states is to lead diplomacy rather than war, one of the main advantages of this is to save time. Russia and the United States carried out summit diplomacy during the Cold War period. Thanks to these negotiations, both states were protected from hot conflicts and instead, they managed the crisis moments without any big and unresolvable disagreement. However, this method preferred by the states was not completely problem-free. Lack of expertise, lack of training or wrong decision of decision makers would raise such problems. For example, a great danger of war arose due to the flawed diplomacy applied by the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. in the Cuban Missile Crisis.

After the Cold War period, the bipolar structure of the international system collapsed, and the world met with new types of threats. The most prominent of these types of threats is the intensification of ethnic conflicts on a regional and especially global scale under the influence of the Cold War. The change that took place after the that War and the evolution brought about by globalization led to the intense of security threats. Thus, to prevent these threats, especially for defense purposes, it has become necessary to turn to diplomacy rather than military power. Security has been one of the most important concepts that states take

into account when making foreign policy decisions, from the Peloponnesian Wars to the 19th century, when international relations emerged as a discipline in the modern sense (Yılmaz, 2019, 4). Therefore, states have resorted to various means to ensure their own security, and after the wars, these roads have been resolved based on diplomacy rather than military.

With the transformation with globalization, security has gained a permeability from the state level to the individual level gaining an asymmetrical power; however, the state's most important actor has been preserved, this has led to the transparency of power balances and the prominence of many new actors (Bingöl, 2011, 21). At this point, states have increased their defense spending and focused on searching for new ways to ensure security. The importance of defense spending was stated in SIPRI (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute) data. According to SIPRI data, world military spending rises to almost $2 trillion in 2020 (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 2021). As a result, while states are implementing diplomacy, they act without completely breaking away from military diplomacy. They try to keep the military conditions sufficient to ensure their defense sufficiently.

Diplomacy began to include many new areas such as economic, environmental, humanitarian and cultural. Currently, the area of diplomacy is expanding day by day, for instance public diplomacy, cultural diplomacy, military diplomacy, cyber diplomacy, digital diplomacy, humanitarian diplomacy, defense diplomacy etc. It has focused on many issues from past to present, such as economy, trade, cyber, technological, and military. As a form of diplomacy, defense diplomacy is a relatively new concept in international relations (Drab, 2018). It is also extensive because it covers every area that relates defense relations.

Defense diplomacy is a newly developing concept. After the cold war, many states stood closer to disarmament policy, but because of the wars and invasions, many of them has ignored this disarmament and pursued an offensive foreign policy. As a result of this, the demilitarization of international relations spheres not completely implemented (Kupiecki, 2016). Even so, after the end of the Cold War, state's role extended to secure peace and provide prevention. Considering all of these, defense diplomacy was recognized as an effective crisis prevention (Drab, 2018) and diplomatic tools. States using it as a diplomatic tool and associated with political language for their relations. The growing role of defense diplomacy provide a new political perspective for the foreign policies of the states.

The main goal of defense diplomacy is to win without fighting. According to Sun Tzu: ''The supreme art of war is to subdue the enemy without fighting''(Griffith, 1963;

Michaelson, 2001). As can be understood from this quote, Sun Tzu prefer unarmed vehicles is better such as diplomacy rather than the armed wars. For this purpose, the concept of diplomacy in the world has gained importance day by day and states have become more important actors in the field of diplomacy.

Defense diplomacy is a very important concept especially for developing states. These states must apply diplomacy well to implement the new security order that they will build and to cope with other problems in the international arena. In an environment where states are struggling fiercely in terms of economy, politics and humanitarianism, states should apply defense diplomacy well in order to take one step ahead. Therefore, defense diplomacy is considered one of the most important factors in the international relations of states. Considering the transformation of states, the most important way to ensure security is to strengthen defense. The importance of war and peace is still discussed in the international relations literature, but war has been a situation since the existence of human beings.

In Man, The State and War, Kenneth Waltz reveals the differences of opinion among classical philosophers about the causes of the war (Waltz, 1959). Some of these philosophers argue that war is caused by imperfections in human nature, while others consider the structure of the state to be an important determinant in the unfolding of wars (1959). Other authors turn their attention to the anarchic nature of the international system in which individuals and states must operate. The question of whether war and violence can be eradicated for years has been at the center of international relations studies (James, 2016).

The two main debates based on international relations, namely realism and idealism, contain many things about the nature of war and agreements. Although idealism seems to have principles applicable to a stronger international order with the League of Nations, the credibility of this school has declined, especially during the Second World War and the aftermath of the Cold War. Various evaluations have been made by experts during the cold war period and it has been concluded that the struggle between states is a constant reality in the international order. Especially because of the September 11 events, the position of realism has strengthened.

When it comes to security, it is a concept that adapted to the diplomatic conditions of the time and changing situations in the historical process. For the security of state, defense diplomacy must be applied properly and effectively. State must act strategically to carry out defense diplomacy effectively, because diplomacy is an indispensable element of managing

foreign policy. In other words, it is the sine qua non[2] for a state survival. In the light of the developments, security is an area with a very broad perspective that needs to be addressed. Although the development of security over the years has remained generally the same, it has been divided into different branches and diversified because of the events, some of which are military security, human security, economic security and health security. Over time, especially with globalization, the scope of security has expanded. In addition to state security, individual and social security areas have gained importance. The military dimension, which was the most important area of security in the past, has expanded and its political, economic and environmental dimensions have also gained importance.

Since the beginning of the cold war, the main issue has been state security. After the oil embargo in 1973, economic security became as important as state security. With this crisis, states experienced difficulties in oil supply, on which they were extremely dependent, and to this end states began to seek solutions. Another long-term last of the oil crisis that emerged after 1973 was those Western European countries, which started to pursue a more independent policy against the U.S. in the 1960s, were reconnected to the U.S. both in terms of economy and in terms of effective protection of oil routes. As a result of events such as the Iran-Iraq war between 1980-1988 and the Gulf War in 1991, security began to be divided into various branches. Since the 1960s issues such as the use of chemical weapons and the threat of nuclear war between states have deeply shaken the world.

Many natural disasters have occurred in various periods in human history, and certain countries and certain regions have been affected by these disasters. Due to the coronavirus disease (COVID-19) we are still living in today, states have also put health safety in the foreground. Countries and institutions that have not encountered such a problem for a long time were largely unprepared for the epidemic, and in a short time, individual, national, environmental, educational, and economic effects of the epidemic emerged. Therefore, the issue of security is a very wide and unclear field.

In the light of all this information, states have taken various paths to ensure security, thus making efforts to provide the best security to their own citizens. For an issue to become a security issue, various events have been taken into consideration, thus security has undergone transformations and the issue of security from society to individual has come to

[2] An essential condition.

the fore. Therefore, the state must apply defense diplomacy well in order to maximize its security.

The security and defense relationship are key elements for the continuity of the state. In every sense, security is the state's protection against external attacks and taking precautions. The debate over security is still ongoing because the concept has a wide range of dimensions. Buzan included political, economic, social, environmental, and military dimensions in the field of security in his analyzes (Buzan, 1983) and defined security in a wider international framework. The scope and conditions of security have changed especially after events such as the Gulf War, the Iran-Iraq War, the Oil Embargo, the Cold War, and 9/11. Every event subject to security is extensive. For example, the environment, earthquakes, natural resources, viruses, globalization, and many other issues can be evaluated in the context of security. Defense covers a narrower area than the concept of security. Defense is the measures taken by a state against any danger and this threat can come from a state or non-state actors. Therefore, although the concepts of defense and security are like each other in some points, they differ in many aspects.

## 2.2. Historical Process of Defense Diplomacy

The emergence of defense diplomacy dates back to the 17th century. But, especially after the Cold War, it has more place in the literature. Defense diplomacy is developed in response to post-Cold war international situations (Drab, 2018). It is a peaceful use of military personnel, including military attaches to prevent conflicts and war (Plessis, 2008, 75). It is the new political tools for the cooperation of states and relations between the organizations. The beginning of defense diplomacy is based on classical military diplomacy. British political scientists Cottey and Forster believed that the source of defense diplomacy should be sought in military diplomacy (Cottey & Forster, 2004).

Defense diplomacy activities were also tried to be carried out in the Ottoman history. Defense diplomacy is carried out through diplomatic representatives. Ottoman defense diplomacy should be evaluated from 1793, because this is the date when the first permanent embassies of the Ottoman State were sent to outside (Gunce, 2020). After that period the Ottoman State's ability to stay on the world stage was dependent on the defense diplomacy applied. Although the Ottoman state lost at the end of the WW1, the Republic of Turkey was established as a result and Russian aid was received in the Turkish War of Independence. At that time Soviet Union carried out diplomatic relations with the Ankara Government, then

sent money and weapons to Turkey (Sönmezoğlu, 1994). In addition, the establishment of these relations and aids, by showing that the newly established Ankara Government was not alone in the world, both provided for the resistance in Anatolia and a message to the Allied Powers. Although these aids did not make the two an ally, the positive relations between the two countries continued for a long time and lasted until Turkey's NATO membership.

As a result of the Ottoman State was defeated after the First World War, the Republic of Turkey was founded partly thanks to the implementation of defense diplomacy (Öztürk, 2017). As mentioned above Turkey received aid from Russia in the War of Dependance after that the Turkish delegation went to Moscow and met the Afghans, then signed Afghan-Turkish friendship agreement on March 1, 1921. During this period, Turkey's defense investments started to gain momentum. Turkey's first private sector defense industry factory was established in Istanbul in 1925 by Şakir Zümre. Afterwards, many projects were implemented by Nuri Demirağ and Vecihi Hürkuş and by institutions such as the Turkish Aeronautical Association (THK), Turkish Motor and Aircraft Corporation (TOMTAŞ). Thus, defense diplomacy was applied both the Ottoman period and Turkey's establishment period, that is to say defense diplomacy can create a state or cause it to be destroyed by wrong decisions.

Modern Turkey began on October 29, 1923, when Mustafa Kemal was the first president. His efforts to industrialize the economy and unite the Turkish society brought the new nation to the global system, but since the foundation of the republic, foreign policy issues have been created crisis for Turkey. Atatürk's ''Peace at home, peace in the world'' principle has provided stability for Turkey's foreign policy in the period between the two world wars. Turkey's foreign policy during World War II was active neutrality (Hale, 2012). But after the war, Turkey's territorial integrity threatened by U.S.S.R. (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) and Turkey needed to find allies (78). At that time, U.S.S.R. could not implement defense diplomacy effectively, and wanted not only to gain control in the straits but also to convert Turkey into a satellite, as it was doing in Eastern European countries (79). According to Turkey, military deterrence compulsory against the Soviet threat, because diplomacy would not end the threat. As a result, in the Cold War era, Turkey needed joining the western alliance. During this period, Turkey has acted according to the international conditions.

Defense diplomacy practices have been shaped from the past to present according to the international environment. In other words, friendship and hostility are shaped in accordance with the defense policy. Since the foundation, of the Republic of Turkey has

witnessed many crises. To name a few of them, 1924-26 Mosul Crisis, 1927 Bozkurt Lotus Crisis, 1935 Bulgaria Crisis, 1942 Struma Crisis. These crises were shaped according to the application of defense diplomacy, and it has created different situations.

The use of defense diplomacy is also common in other countries. In the post-war orders, states formed different organizations for the continuation of bilateral relations or developed a system in which they would act together. Two of the most prominent examples of this are the organizations that the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. formed during the Cold War. The U.S. and the U.S.S.R. have used defense diplomacy for decades, forming important military ties with their allies and organizations such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact. These organizations facilitated relations with many countries during the Cold War period and at the same time brought diplomacy practices to the fore. Since the 1990s, the West and especially NATO has used defense diplomacy within the context of its main efforts to build a cooperative relationship with post-communist Russia (Cottey & Forster, 2004, 19). As a result, in the light of all these developments, states have applied defense diplomacy and tried to advance their relations in the context of soft power.

## 2.3. Differences and Similarities between Defense Diplomacy and Military Diplomacy

With the formation of the first societies, the importance of diplomacy increased gradually, and bilateral relations increased and the need for diplomacy emerged. Interdependence has come to the fore in the international system, and it is aimed to reduce the possibilities of war that shook the world. In foreign policy, states have attached importance to diplomacy, and moreover, the concept of soft power has gained importance day by day. Although military diplomacy is gradually giving way to soft power, it still shows its effect.

According to Cottey and Forster, it is feasible to distinguish between old defense diplomacy with its realpolitik emphasis on counteract enemies, on the other hand new defense diplomacy, with its emphasis on engagement with potential enemies, support for democracy, good governance, and human rights, and enabling states to deal with their own security problems (Cottey & Forster, 2004, 8). Defense diplomacy, which has a wider scope, maintains its existence in many areas. Issues such as energy, human rights, transportation, which are not found in military diplomacy, are present in the new defense diplomacy. That's why defense diplomacy is indispensable for a state to survive.

The term of military diplomacy closely associated with the role of military attache (Shea, 2005). The attache defined as a person on the personnel of an ambassador having a specialized area of liability. This emerged as a part of European diplomacy, which is continued from 19th century to mid-1980s. During the WW1, the hot conflict continued without slowing down, then it was also present in the WW2. These hot war situations, which continue with all conditions, situations and events were left their place to the cold war. Military relations and war conditions left their place to tense situations that did not turn into a hot war. Although these tense situations brought their place to the brink of hot conflict from time to time in the bipolar world, never turned into war. In the light of all these situations, although military relations were tense during the cold war, the scope of the duties were mostly based on soft power.

With the end of the cold war, the level of military relations has changed and therefore, the scope of duty of the military attaches has also expanded. United Kingdom Ministry of Defense defined military diplomacy as follows: ''To provide forces to meet the varied activities undertaken by the Ministry of Defense to dispel hostility, build and maintain trust and assist in the development of democratically accountable armed forces, thereby making a significant contribution to conflict prevention and resolution''(UK Mod, 2000).

Military diplomacy has undergone a shift toward becoming a tool in crisis prevention, early warning in dangerous situations, and post-conflict rebuilding in foreign policy (Swistek, 2012). It is used in endeavor to create stability and security for changing the attitudes and perception of parties in a conflict. Consequently, the central aim is pave the way for further development of security, and it can also be described as building partnerships and agreement areas.

The concept of defense diplomacy is a term shaped around soft power. In this context, the military personnel of various states have started to use various powers, and it has been an important factor determining the security policies of states at the point of soft power (Balcı, 2018). Many states also make significant and serious contributions to world peace in important regional crisis areas within the scope of defense diplomacy activities. While defense diplomacy has a rather military meaning, it has now been shaped by the world order, developed around soft power and it has a preventive position in crisis situations.

Military and defense diplomacy are similar terms, but defense diplomacy does not always include military diplomacy. According to Dodd and Oakes, defense diplomacy does not always include military operations, but promotes forms of cooperation such as exchange

of personnel, ships and aircraft, high level visits, military assistance, bilateral meetings or training and exercises (Dodd & Oakes, 1998). Hence, defense diplomacy is a broader concept than military diplomacy because it prevents crises, building trust and cooperation, provide dialogue and common goals. If defense diplomacy is applied properly and systematically by the states, it will be easier to ensure their security in the international arena. As a result, although the concepts of military and defense diplomacy have similarities in places, both contain very effective but differentiating methods in crisis management.

Even military and defense diplomacy are evaluated separately, military expenditures also include defense diplomacy tools. States make agreements and expenditures to strengthen their defenses. These expenditures constitute the foreign policy instruments of the country. Emerging tools not only protect the state against a dangerous situation, but also highlight it as a growing power in worldwide.

For example, Turkey has built its foreign policy parameters based on peace and status quo bias in parallel with the country's founding vision (Sönmezoğlu, 2016, 27). However, due to its geographical location Turkey's shift from its traditional foreign policy line, the threats that its geopolitical character has confronted Turkey in parallel with the changes in the international system have caused the foreign policy to be based on the concept of security and from time to time (Sönmezoğlu, 2016, 67). Due to the security problems around it, Turkey's need for self-defense is increasing day by day, which has become open to every change. It needs a good defense diplomacy in every sense, and it is of great importance as an area that needs to be developed. Turkey is also taking steps towards this situation. Having made breakthroughs in the field of defense, Turkey is one of the prominent countries in the world in military expenditures. According to SIPRI data, Turkey's military expenditure decreased by 5 percent in 2020, to $17 7 billion, this fall was an exception in a decade marked by a continued upward trend in Turkey's military spending, with growth of 77 percent between 2011 and 2020 (SIPRI, 2020, 11).

Based on this information, military and defense diplomacy are intertwined concepts on some issues. The type of diplomacy to be applied in crisis situations is shaped according to the decision makers of the states. Turkey has tried to carry out a successful defense diplomacy against these situations without ignoring its engagements in regional and international organizations in all crises it has experienced so far. Although aggressive attitudes are not welcomed worldwide in military and defense diplomacy practices, in today's

world, which is known as a period when soft power and defensive approaches gain importance, it is the primary goal of every state to manage defense diplomacy successfully.

### 2.4. Defense Diplomacy: As a Tool of Bargaining

From past to present, societies and states have needed self-defense systems. Therefore, the concept of defense, which is the main subject of the thesis, is of great importance. Because the shaping of international relations during and after the Cold War has largely been on the axis of defense. The understanding of defense, which changes according to the political, economic and military developments in every period of history, is constantly updated with new systems and abandoned old systems. However, the most important point is the agreements and behaviors made for defense purposes. And, over time, the terms of agreement in interstate relations have increased, and at the same time, defense has begun to come to the fore.

States attach great importance to defense beyond cooperation. Being a serious actor in defense policy requires the member states to have an effective decision-making structure in important foreign and security issues and a military force that can be used when necessary. Therefore, states attach more and more importance to defense diplomacy for the continuity and independence of the state. In addition, due to the increasing crises in the world, defense has become one of the most important issues. In every field, states must keep their defenses above a certain level. This level varies according to the power of each state. For example, while the United States, China, India and Russia give high priority to military and defense expenditures, this is not so high in third world countries. According to SIPRI 2020 data, military expenditure by the top 15 countries reached $1603 billion in 2020 and accounted for 81 per cent of global military spending (SIPRI, 2020). Since threat perceptions have changed gradually after the cold war, military and defense expenditures have been increased. As a result, states want to keep their defense and military expenditures at the highest level according to world order.

States are in constant conflict and competition with other states and alliances that they see as rivals for various reasons, especially political, economic and military issues. To minimize these rivalries, they make defense agreements among themselves, and these defense agreements provide a safe environment for all states. Especially in the post-Cold War period, the cooperation areas of states have expanded compared to previous period. Since 1990s, there has been the increasing use of military cooperation and assistance between the

states (Cottey & Forster, 2010, 15). In this expanding field of defense diplomacy, the aim of the states is to prevent the new crises and avoid potential adversaries. Therefore, each state sought ways to increase its defense capacity. Each state has made different agreements with its own strategic environment, and thereby prioritizes ensuring its own security. Although the USA, China and Russia were at the top of these states, each state continued to carry out defense diplomacy within its own possibilities.

According to Cottey and Forster, defense diplomacy works in several different ways and levels as a tool for making cooperation and avoiding conflict between potential adversaries:

- Military cooperation can perform a primarily political role, acting as a symbol of willingness to pursue broader cooperation, mutual trust, and commitment to work to overcome differences;
- Military cooperation can be a means of introducing transparency in defense relations, especially with regard to states' intentions and capabilities. Thereby, states show that the acting of defense diplomacy does not have always offensive character, instead of this they want to show that the willingness of the cooperation and confidence;
- Defense diplomacy can be a means of building or reinforcing perceptions of common interests;
- Military cooperation deal with changing the mentality of partner states' armies;
- Military cooperation may be used to support concrete defense reforms in the partner state; and
- Defense assistance may also be used as an incentive to encourage partner states to cooperate in other areas (Cottey & Forster, 2004,15-16).

Diplomacy, which has a long history, has not always been able to prevent great destructions and wars, for example, it could not prevent the First and Second World Wars. However, the importance and necessity of diplomacy came to the fore after the Cold War period. In this direction, the threat of war between states has been reduced to a minimum, and states have focused on new searches in the solution process. The most important of these breakthroughs is the innovations made in the field of defense.

### 2.4.1. Barganing Process of Defense

States have used defense diplomacy as a bargaining method and created dependency on other states. They use defense diplomacy as a bargaining tool. This tool enables states to

establish a permanent link and conduct long-term diplomacy. It provides many cooperation areas such as exchange of personnel, meetings, training and exercises and military assistance (Dodd & Oakes, 1998, 22). State dependence on another state is the most fundamental element of bargaining.

Turkey applies this relationship dependency within its own means. Turkey has a military presence in more than 10 countries on three continents, including Europe Asia and Africa. For instance, Turkey has two military bases in Qatar. Turkish soldiers were sent to military base in October 2015, to contribute to the regional peace in scope of bilateral military relations of Turkey and Qatar (Hurriyet Daily News, 2019). Turkish forces are deployed in Qatari territory for training and exercises. Relations with Qatar in the Ottoman period included conflicts. After the Arab uprisings began, military cooperation between the two countries began to accelerate with a defense industrial product deal in May 2011 (BBC News Türkçe, 2020; DND, 2020). This long-term cooperation provides several advantages to both states. Turkey has purchased nearly $ 1 billion in defense products abroad at that time, also has sold 10 units Turkish Air Force Bayraktar TB2 unmanned aerial vehicle to Qatar. With sales worth $2 5 million, Bayraktar became the first unmanned aerial vehicle in the inventory of the Qatari army (BBC News Türkçe, 2020).

Another example is the developing defense relations with Pakistan. The Pakistan-Turkey Military Consultative Group, established between the two countries in 1988, was renamed the High-Level Military Dialogue Group (HLMDG) in the early 2000s, with the deepening of relations. In 2000, a military training exchange program was started between the two countries. In 20 years, more than 1500 Pakistani officers received military training in Turkey under this program alone. During their 15th held in Ankara in December 2020, both delegations discussed mutual cooperation opportunities in military training, training, counter-terrorism cooperation and defense industry cooperation, including combined production and procurement (AA, 2020). Turkish Defense Technologies Engineering Inc. (STM) won the tender for the modernization of Pakistan's submarines. In addition, the MILGEM (National Ship) corvette agreement, which is the most valuable defense industry agreement for Turkey in a single item, was signed in July 2018. Therefore, the defense agreements between the two countries cover education, economy, and military cooperation for both sides.

The effort of states to create dependency in another state is part of this bargain. Thanks to globalization, many states participate in production within their own means. However, in

this process, states establish bilateral relations with each other on many issues. Thanks to these bilateral relations, states sign long-term agreements due to mutual dependence. Therefore, these agreements take place in the relations as a long-term marketing tool for both states. In addition to the defense agreements with the above-mentioned countries, Turkey has recently made great strides in training its own personnel, providing technological advancement, and practicing better defense diplomacy.

### 2.5. The Implementation of Defense Diplomacy

One of the most prominent features of diplomacy in European diplomacy of the 17th and 19th centuries was secrecy. This kind of diplomacy was carried out in a closed manner with every stage. Thus, the people of a region could sometimes learn later that they were dominated by another state. Against this kind of diplomacy, the idealistic US President Woodrow Wilson published a statement in 1918. In the Wilson's ''Fourteen Points'', open contracts should be reached through open negotiations. In this way, diplomacy has become more ''open'' with the development of democracy in the 20th century especially with the increasing participation of the masses in the problems of administration. Therefore, diplomacy practices have expanded, and security-oriented applications have increased worldwide.

The concept of defense is of great importance in this study. Because the shaping of international relations during and after the Cold War was largely defensive. The importance of diplomacy, which is one of the best solutions for war, has increased considerably today. Especially after the World Wars, states turned towards diplomacy and thereby the field of diplomacy has expanded. The understanding of defense, which varies according to the political, economic and military developments that have emerged in every period of history, is constantly updated with new systems (Berk, 2015, 9). Defense diplomacy practices have also increased in this way, and each state has provided its own security through diplomacy by paying attention to its environment. Today, defense diplomacy implementations are quite diverse.

The implementation of defense diplomacy has spread over a wide area. Some of these are:

- To provide support with military consultancy and aid programs to countries that are in the process of restructuring their defense sectors;

- Establishing mission troops of a mix of civilian and military officers in various crisis areas during or after conflicts; and
- To create a security process with gun control and disarmament practices in line with the demands of the regions after the conflict (Altınsoy, 2015, 24).

The important thing in defense diplomacy is to ensure security through diplomacy and to become a power in the international order. States resort to various means to successfully manage this power. Especially in the new world order shaped after the cold war, each state has implemented diplomacy and thereby new cooperation's and situations have emerged in the international arena. Structural changes took place in defense diplomacy practices after the Cold War, for example, military cooperation and support assistance increased. This increase manifested itself both in terms of strengthening the defense capacities of allies and in efforts to establish joint relations with former rivals to help prevent potential conflicts.

Defense diplomacy practices have existed since inter-state relations emerged. States began to implement their policies with establishing diplomatic relations and provide new solutions in all other diplomatic, economic, cultural and historical matters. Therefore, it is possible to list the defense diplomacy applications or implementations in the following items:

- The appointment of defense attachés to foreign countries;
- Bilateral defense cooperation agreements;
- Training of foreign military and civilian defense personnel;
- Deployment of training teams;
- Provision of military equipment and aid;
- Placement of personnel in partner countries;
- Bilateral military exercises for training purposes; and
- Contacts and exchanges between military personnel and units (Cottey & Forster, 2004, 7).

While previously states used diplomacy to counterattack in their relations with other states, today this situation has taken on the purpose of finding new ways in foreign and domestic politics. In addition, states have used it to regulate and build cooperative relations. Defense diplomacy is led by presidents or government leaders in countries. Leaders try to implement defense diplomacy for many purposes such as technological cooperation, power relationship, security, and competitiveness. For example, terrorist organizations are very common in the world, all these organizations pose a great danger to the world. States resort

to new ways to fight with these organizations and to ensure security. Many vehicles such as new war materials, unmanned aerial vehicles and drones are used for these situations.

Due to the devastating effect of the war, states are moving towards cooperation. Throughout history, every society has tried to acquire the first military technology. Because the situation was so dire that any war without technology could result in death. Western society shown this success before. Western societies differed from other societies in two important aspects: First, their superior ability to adapt to development, transformation, and innovation, and the other, their power to obtain the money to meet these changes (Parker, 2006, 7).

The result obtained from these approaches is that the military structure has a coordinated feature with defense diplomacy in the construction of the modern state. Ultimately, defense diplomacy practices have been integrated with the military field, and this integration has become the primary goal of every state.

Defense diplomacy practices are quite advanced today. From past to present, states have acted jointly on issues thanks to cooperation such as technology, military, defense, and education. This cooperation enabled each state to develop itself and at the same time created dependency. The biggest step in establishing the future of the states has been defense policies. States implemented these defense policies in detail and tried to be stronger against external threats. The state, which is successful in defense, is also successful in its foreign policy. This has also become valid for Turkey. Relations with other states in terms of defense enable Turkey to reach a stronger position in foreign policy decisions. S-400 missiles, training bases in Qatar and Turkey's Syria operations are indicators of the emphasis on military and defense diplomacy practices. Although Turkey tries to put social and social issues at the forefront in its foreign policy at certain times, it turns to security policies with political priorities due to ongoing security concerns since its establishment. (İskit, 2007, 46). Therefore, in order for Turkey to be able to fight such threats, no matter how strong its military power capacity is, the strategic implementation of defense diplomacy will strengthen the diplomatic channels.

The understanding and definition of the concept of defense diplomacy has changed in time. Of course, this definition changed in the 18th century, when hot wars took place, and gained a different dimension after the fall of the Iron Curtain. After the end of the cold war, the dangers also differentiated, and thus, defense diplomacy practices began to be carried out on a large scale and this wide area put the states in a difficult situation. In defense diplomacy, in addition to the concepts of defense, there are also concepts such as population, global

threats and foreign policy. Faced with difficulties because of uncertainty in their defense planning and threat perceptions and increasing financial resource pressures, countries have sought to establish the most and best security at the least cost. Although defense was at the forefront in the past, in the globalizing world, energy, technology, transportation, food and health are among the important issues in defense diplomacy. Therefore, states should not evaluate their defenses separately from these concepts and should act in a way that is self-sufficient in every field.

## 2.6. Defense Diplomacy and Foreign Policy

Diplomacy and foreign policy are closely related concepts of international relations. Although both concepts have similar meanings, the concept of foreign policy has a more general meaning. Many definitions have been made on this subject. In summary, it is the policy of a state against another state or, more broadly, against the international arena. A country's policy towards beyond its borders is that country's foreign policy, from a systems perspective, it is an international relationship (Kürkçüoğlu, 1980, 312).

In the period after the end of the Cold War, issues such as environment, energy, technology, migration, and human rights began to come to the fore in the field of international relations, and these issues affected foreign policy of countries in various ways. At the same time, the foreign policy of a country is directly affected by the political life and decision-making structure of that country. Factors such as the political regime in the country, stability or turmoil in the country play an active role in determining the foreign policy of the state. Therefore, the relations of countries with other states are affected by the internal structure. In this context, for example, we can attribute the evolution of Turkey's foreign policy towards the Middle East and Arab countries, the fact that the Justice and Development Party has maintained its foreign policy on this ground since 2002.

With the end of the cold war, Turkey made some changes in its threat assessment. Although the Russian Federation has piled up soldiers and weapons in some countries that are neighbors of Turkey through bilateral agreements, the regions where Turkey has main security concerns during this period were its western and southern neighbors due to the high armament in Greece, Syria, Iran and Iraq (Sönmezoğlu, 2016, 68). The concept of ''securitization'', which gained importance with the constructivist approach in the 1990s, became the main determining factor in foreign policy and the relations with other countries were shaped by the decisions such as security and defense and national interest.

Since security is actually a very important issue, international issues have started to be evaluated within the framework of security. It is the Copenhagen School that places the 'securitization' concept in the field of security studies. Issues such as the environment, the potential risks posed by nuclearization, the economic security of individuals and societies, and the security of collective identities, which have come to the fore due to increasing ethnic conflicts, have led to the need to deepen and expand the security agenda (Buzan&Wæver& Wilde, 1998). In this framework, the Copenhagen School defends the necessity of expanding the security agenda to include elements other than military security; it argues that placing or securitizing every issue that concerns the individual on the security agenda also carries risks (Hisarlıoğlu, 2019, 2). Therefore, it is a matter of debate which subject will be covered by securitization. For this reason, thanks to securitization, the importance of an issue has increased, and the issue has become the focus of attention of society and states.

Turkey also attaches great importance to securitization. Turkey has recently approached terrorism, migration, and climate problems with such emphasis, and at the same time tried to produce serious solutions to these problems. Turkey, which had serious problems with other countries, especially during the cold war, proceeded to increase its military capacity in a way that would ensure its internal security.

In the 1990s, Turkey carried out many operations. Turkey participated in Peace Support Operations in this period, such as Somalia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania, and Kosovo. It participated in the operations in northern Iraq and played a role in problems such as the Kardak crisis. Therefore, Turkey continued its foreign policy with the developments around it and took steps to increase its military capacity. Also, there were many crises, for example 1957 Syrian Crisis, 1964 Johnson letter crisis, Cyprus crisis, Aegean dispute, S-300 missile crisis with Cyprus and Ocalan crisis. In this context, this period can be defined as a threat and security-oriented process in foreign policy implementation, in which economic and political relations gain weight, a foreign policy philosophy that makes solution-oriented initiatives in regional problems prevails.

In the 2000s, although the world order seemed unipolar, the wave of terrorism showed its presence in every continent. Foreign policy decisions have become more and more important and at the same time, it is a policy free from US pressure. In this period, the Turkish foreign policy, especially based on the Middle East, is called ''soft power'' or ''neo-Ottomanism'' (Oran, 2013). The concept of Soft Power was used for the first time by Joseph

Nye in the 1980s and is defined as ‘’a state’s ability to make another state do what it wants through historical and cultural elements, without using the force device’’(Nye, 2004).

The basis of Turkey’s ‘’Neo-Ottomanism’’ is the understanding of ‘’zero problems with neighbors’’. The basis of the policy of zero problems with neighbors is the understanding of mutually developing economic relations in accordance with the neoliberal restructuring principle (Davutoğlu, 2008). The idea of neo-Ottomanism envisages a comprehensive transformation and a more active foreign policy of Turkey, especially in the Middle East (Uzgel, 2006, 359). In this context, the use of soft power such as diplomacy, economic investments and cultural breakthroughs has come to the fore instead of an approach that considers neighboring countries as potential threats and attaches importance to military power. Therefore, Turkey has displayed an approach that brings defense diplomacy to the fore in foreign policy.

The basic principle of Turkish foreign policy is ‘’Peace at Home, Peace in the World’’. The translation of this into the language of international relations is status quo, in other words, it is anti-revisionism (Oran, 1996, 355). Although Turkey was the first revisionist country in Europe during the War of Independence, and even the first to take up arms for it, unlike all other revisionist countries, it believed that after the Republic it was necessary to consolidate what it had and followed a definite status quo, that is, anti-revisionism (356). However, Turkey, not completely adhering to these principles, changed the Lausanne Peace Treaty by making Montreux in 1936, took Hatay in 1939, sent troops to Korea in 1950 and made the Cyprus invasion in 1974. Under all these conditions, Turkey, which changed its foreign policy according to the conditions, carried out a defense-oriented foreign policy.

The concept of foreign policy, which is intertwined with defense diplomacy, is used in a more general sense. Defense diplomacy emerges as a supporting element of foreign policy. Foreign policy is more important than domestic policy in state administration. The reason is that many factors in foreign policy originate from other countries and as a result it is much more difficult to control and direct this situation. In all cases, if foreign policy is not carried out well, conflicts between states will be inevitable, and at this point, the importance of defense diplomacy is understood. Therefore, the most important condition for the continuity and strength of a state is to carry out a strong defense diplomacy.

### 2.6.1. Foreign Policy and its Instruments

Foreign Policy Analysis is a research field that developed in the 1950s. Considered among the important books on foreign policy, ‘’Foreign policy: Theories, Actors and Cases’’(Smith et al., 2016) book focuses on important points about international relations. This book is based on 3 basic paradigm studies of Foreign Policy analysis; these are Decision Making as an Approach to the Study of International Politics, Pre-theories and Theories of Foreign Policy and Man-Milieu Relationship Hypotheses in the Context of International Politics (Smith, Hadfield, Dunne, 2016). These books have made it possible to look at foreign policy from different perspectives. The factors affecting the decision-making processes in foreign policy began to be discussed thanks to these paradigms.

One of the most important things in foreign policy decision-making is the level of analysis. The level of analysis problem was first raised in International Relations by Kenneth Waltz in the 1950s. In his study on the Causes of War, Waltz’s analysis levels consist of the individual, the state and society and the international system from the micro to the macro level. Although these levels of analysis are still valid, different actors have emerged in international relations, for example, interest groups, multinational companies, non-state actors etc.

The individual level focuses on leaders and decision makers. This level assumes that foreign policy is shaped by individuals. At the state level, intrastate actors are examined, and how and how these actors affect decision makers is emphasized. At the system level, three different elements are generally considered: State and non-state international actors, the structure of the international system and the values adopted by the international system. Therefore, all these levels of analysis focus on the factors that shape foreign policy (Waltz, 1954).

Foreign policy instruments are the situations that direct the whole decision-making process. War, diplomacy, propaganda, and economic practices can be given as examples of these tools. Diplomacy is one of the most important ways in foreign policy. The states carry out their foreign policies through negotiations and bilateral agreements. At this point, the importance of defense diplomacy is understood even more today. States manage a successful foreign policy by applying defense diplomacy without being threatened. Therefore, a security-oriented foreign policy management is possible with the proper and appropriate use of these tools.

# 3. TURKEY'S DEFENSE POLICY: QUEST FOR STRATEGIC DEFENSE CORPORATION IN 2000s

In today's world, as the internal and external threats to the countries are becoming increasingly uncertain, the defense diplomacy of the countries has gained importance. Turkey is also in search of finding its own identity in world politics where these uncertainties exist. During this period The Republic of Turkey, which was established in 1923 after the collapse of the Ottoman State, entered a national and international struggle under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal. As a newly established state that emerged from a war that caused great destruction, Turkey's greatest goal in this period was to pursue peace policies. The reason for following such a policy is that the First World War caused great damage to Turkish society and Turkey wanted to get along with its allies and neighbors during the restructuring process (Ersoy, 2018, 16).

At that time, a foreign policy centered on the West, and the Atatürk period was also a period which Western policies were given importance. Because getting closer to the West, which has been hegemon since the 19th century, was a great option for the state. Not only Westernism was effective in Turkish Foreign Policy, but also status quo[3] and revisionist policies were followed in political decisions. As a newly established state, Turkey aimed to consolidate its domestic policy in this period. Although the turbulent foreign policy of the period affected Turkey from time to time, Turkey has tried to carry out its domestic policy effectively under these conditions.

Just like those periods, after 2002, Turkey has made progress in the economic, military and diplomatic fields as well as in the defense industry. During this period, Turkey followed a policy of getting along with other countries but could not stay away from the developments in world politics. Problems such as the September 11 attacks and the invasion of Iraq were reflected in Turkey. In this period, the main issues related to the EU, NATO, Russia, and the Middle East closely affected Turkey's foreign policy. It has followed a mostly

[3] the existing state of affairs.

western-oriented foreign policy from past to present. However, in the 2000s, it partly abandoned this policy and developed a foreign policy understanding focused on its neighbors and Asia and Eurasia. It did not remain a spectator to the events of the period but was involved in many of them. The political events that took place in its neighboring countries, especially the civil war situations, affected Turkey closely and at the same time. It was necessary to develop a separate and defense policy towards these situations. Acting cautiously in these situations, Turkey pursued a moderate policy. Turkey continued to implement various strategies as well as moderate approaches. The most important of these is the development plans.

Development plans have been implemented in Turkey since 1963. In these development plans, Turkey's development in defense, economic, commercial and military fields and targets for this are determined. Between 2001 and 2005, the 8th development plan was started to be implemented. This plan was prepared in a time when major economic and social changes were experienced in the world. Ensuring that Turkey can benefit from the opportunities offered by these changes in the world at the highest level necessitates a long-term development strategy (8th Development Plan, 2000). In this period, although the studies for the defense industry continued increasingly, foreign dependency continued. It was aimed to develop the defense and aviation sectors, which are among the sectors that should have high technological features, and to increase competitiveness (121-122). In the 9th Development Plan between 2007-2013, while the aim was to ensure that the national industry is in a good position in the regional area, it was decided to concentrate on the software field within the defense sector.

When the strategic plans made in this country are examined, first included in the development plans, then the strategic plans of the Ministry of Defense and the defense industry. The defense and aerospace industry were generally included in the development plans, and the concepts of indigenization and nationalization came to the fore.

The main purpose of the Turkish Defense Industry Policy and Strategy Principles, published in 1998 (T.C. Resmi Gazete, 1998);

- The goal of producing the equipment and ammunition needed by the TAF as much as possible within the capabilities of the domestic industry,
- To achieve this goal, the basic principles of long, medium and short-term plans determined for the development of domestic industry, and
- To determine the general principles of sales abroad.

1998 Turkish Defense Industry Policy and Strategy Principles deal with defense industry products in three main groups;

- Systems/technology that must be national,
- Critical systems/technologies,
- Other systems/technology.

Technologies that must be national are those that must be supplied domestically for safety reasons. Critical technologies are those that are intended to be produced domestically but can be co-produced when necessary. Other technologies are those that can be procured from the most economical alternative sources, which does not matter much whether they are supplied domestically or not.

The fact that this document is the first document published for the defense industry reveals the importance of the document. It has also been the main document for the establishment of the defense industry foundations of Turkey and for other policies and strategies published after that. The aim of a constantly renewed and strong defense structure is more clearly understood with this document. Therefore, Turkey has tried to create a stronger and more independent defense diplomacy with these development plans and defense strategy policies, and it still maintains this goal.

These strategies and plans implemented by Turkey also greatly affect its foreign relations with other countries. Turkey, which wants to strengthen the deterrence and power of defense diplomacy by applying it well, is trying to take firmer and stronger steps in its relations. Turkey supports this with technologies and is advancing in this direction in its relations.

Besides all this, the world is experiencing major crises today. In this order, it is necessary to have a good regional and global strategy and to move forward with new approaches and diplomacy in the field of governance. The structure of wars and the international system has changed. Turkey also has a very important geographical position. Therefore, Turkey has to advance its defense vision and advance more professionally in a strategic sense. Most importantly, Turkey fulfills its responsibility regarding the ongoing civil war in Syria after the Arab Spring. Turkey, which provides assistance on issues such as migration and humanitarian aid, carries out important policies with its entrepreneurial and humanitarian diplomacy.

As a result of all these situations in the world political map, Turkey has followed different paths and developed various policies. To understand all these, it is necessary to understand and interpret the diplomacy concept implemented by Turkey especially in the 2000s. In this context, first, it will be explained what kind of changes and transformations Turkey went through in defense policies during the Justice and Development Party period, and then with which countries it realized these defense policies as a result of cooperation.

### 3.1. Turkey's Changing Defense Policy during Justice and Development Party Era

The Justice and Development Party, which came to power with elections in 2002, followed different defense policies from previous periods. Turkey has given more importance to investment in defense technologies than ever before and has brought a different approach to defense. The most important of these approaches is locality, nationality, and strategic autonomy. The clearest indicator of this situation is the election manifestos published by the party. The JDP has been much focused on defense industry in its election manifestos. The JDP has published 5 general election and 1 local election manifestos so far.

In the election manifesto published in 2002, many innovations were promised. According to the document, the dynamic conjuncture brought by the post-cold war period created a suitable environment for developing a foreign policy with multiple alternatives, and in this new environment, Turkey needs to reorganize and establish its relations with power centers as alternatives, flexible and multi-axis (JDP, 2002, 88). On the other hand, the defense-oriented cooperation with the United States for many years will be continued and this cooperation will be extended to the fields of economy, investment, science and technology and friendly relations based on cooperation rather than competition will be maintained with the Russian Federation in Central-Asia and the Caucasus. (90).

Another election manifesto is important because of opening a chapter called ''Foreign Policy and Defense'' in the 2007 General Election Declaration. The aim of making Turkey a determining actor with a regional and global vision is stated in more detail. In accordance with Gazi Mustafa Kemal Ataturk's principle of ''Peace at home, peace in the world'', Turkey's historical and strategic position with having a strong national defense system has been the basic policy. With this understanding, efforts were made to strengthen the national defense industry and priority was given to meeting all the needs of the Turkish Armed Forces in a timely manner (JDP, 2007, 209). Turkey attaches importance to reduce foreign

dependency and become a strong actor. In this direction, many projects have been put forward, these were the Modern Tank Enhancement, National War Ship, Jet Training Plane, Combat Drone, Attack, Tactic/Exploration Helicopter, and New Generation Warplane (209). In this way, the power of the Turkish defense industry was tried to be increased and at the same time new projects were put into use. According to the data in the document, the international efficiency of the defense industry has been increased, and exports of military torpedo boats and ships, weapons, other defense equipment and command control and electronic warfare systems have been increased to 350 million dollars. As a result, in the light of all the information contained in this document, investments in the field of defense have accelerated with a better awareness and at the same time, foreign dependency has been tried to be minimized thanks to these studies. According to the previous declaration, a special area was opened for the defense field, and in this sense, a strategic understanding was developed.

With the 2011 General Election Declaration, it has been revealed that important steps have been taken in the field of defense and economy. It has been stated that foreign dependency in the defense sector has been greatly reduced and the design and construction phases of many projects have been completed. The design process of Altay, the national tank, has been completed, the production of long-range rockets has been completed, the unmanned aerial vehicle named Anka, which can fly at an altitude of 10000 meters and stay in the air for 24 hours, has started test flights and Turkey's first national corvette warship MİLGEM has been designed and built entirely in Turkey (JDP, 2011, 56). This and many similar projects were stated in the JDP 2011 election manifesto, and it was stated that the products whose designs were completed would be produced quickly. It is stated in the document that the understanding of defense will be carried out with the aim of protecting the citizens of the country against external threats, as well as contributing to regional and global peace. It has been declared that defense will be supported not only through security and military methods, but also together with political, economic, and sociological elements. Based on the explanations made at the beginning of the thesis on the concept of defense diplomacy, it is not only a military issue, but also includes all other issues. For example, factors such as water, energy, human security, population, environment. Therefore, Turkey is quite different from the past with the understanding of defense it carries out within the framework of this point of view. In the light of the information in the document, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, the Netherlands, Jordan, Pakistan, and South Korea are the countries to which the defense industry exports. Defense companies have exported armored vehicles, air defense

systems, rocket systems, coast guard ships, military communication systems to these countries (JDP, 2011, 158).




***Figure 2.6.1.1**:* Transformation of the Defense Industry of Turkey (Erai Turkey, 2020)

Proceeding with the same targets in the 2015 General Election manifesto, Turkey continued to develop in this area. A safer infrastructure has been established in the field of defense, where the locality rate has been increased from around 24 percent to over 55 percent. In addition to military purposes, the main objective has been to develop the production and R&D (Research and Development) infrastructure of the domestic industry in the defense. It was noted in the document that high technology products such as Göktürk-2, National Navigation Missile, Penetrating Bombs (NEB) were manufactured, and it was stated that similar products were being developed (JDP, 2015, 258).

In the 2018 General Election Declaration, the defense industry was approached with a strategic importance, and long-term efforts to develop domestic technology in this direction yielded results. In the field of defense industry, which has strategic importance, in 2004, the national production model started with names such as Altay, Anka, Atak, Bayraktar, Hürkuş, Milgem, and the rate of locality in the sector has increased from 20 percent to over 65 percent today (JDP, 2018, 209-210). All these projects are of vital importance for the defense of a country, and Turkey acts with this awareness. Armed and unarmed UAVs have a very important role in the success of the Euphrates Shield and Olive Branch Operations. President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan stated that Turkey is now among the top 3 countries in the world in

the production of UAVs, SİHAs and TİHAs, and is also among the 10 countries that can design, build and maintain its own warship (AA, 2022).

Turkey's defense industry projects have gained momentum recently. As stated in the election manifestos of the JDP, defense investments reached the highest level and the production level increased gradually. In general terms, projects can be examined as land, air, radar, and cyber security. Altay, the first of its land projects, is a main battle tank equipped with weapon systems, with high mobility and survivability, with long-range and effective fire-strike power. Kirpi is a mine-proof tactical wheeled vehicle and has an important place in the fight against terrorism on territory. Cobra II and Ejder Yalçın are armored tactical vehicles. The Mobile Swimming Assault Bridge, on the other hand, is a bridge and transport team system designed for armies to provide rapid and safe river crossings. Weapon Carrier Vehicles (WCV) Project is to design, develop and produce tracked and wheeled vehicles equipped with Anti-Tank Remote Controlled Turret (ARCT) (SSB).




***Figure 2.6.1.2.***Turkish Defense Industry in 2020 (Daily Sabah, 2021)

Milgem National Ship, The Multipurpose Amphibious Assault Ship (LHD), Landing Ship Tank (LST) which is the main mission of the is amphibious operations, Moship is a submarine rescue mother ship, New Type patrol boat, Coast Guard Search and Rescue Boat can be given as an example of naval platforms. The most important of aviation and space projects are Hürkuş which is Turkish Basic and Primary Training Aircraft, Hürkuş C Aircraft Development and Serial Production Project, TF-X National Combat Aircraft, Atak

Reconnaissance and Tactical Attack Helicopter, Anka Unmanned Aerial Vehicle, Bayraktar Armed Unmanned Aerial Vehicle and Göktürk Ground Surveillance Satellites.

Development studies have been carried out in many areas from land to sea, from air to radar systems, thereby accelerating the investment, design and production stages. This importance has brought Turkey to an important position on a regional and global scale, and at the same time, it has provided various economic gains. Before the JDP period, all the agreements and collaborations Turkey made with the West in general had a dependent and biased perspective rather than a strategic one. The security gap and weakness created by its proximity to the West have led Turkey to seek different ways. For this purpose, the JDP has abandoned both foreign provider firms and one-way institutional and political dependency on NATO (Seren, 2021, 97). In this direction, the Defense Industry Executive Committee (SSIK)'s decision represents a turning point for the Turkish defense industry. In 2004, the SSIK accepted important decisions about cancelled projects worth $20 5 billion, including a new generation of main battle tanks, attack helicopters, and unmanned aerial vehicles (Hurriyet, 2014). This cancellation was the first indicator of a shift in strategy away from co-production under license towards local project and production (Seren, 2021, 98). Therefore, especially after this period, the importance of locality gained momentum.

Thanks to the investments made in the field of defense after 2002, significant distance has been achieved in the strategic sense. The most important thing in today's world is technological breakthroughs. The phenomenon of power is in the hands of the producing states, as in the past. When states produce a critical technology, they market this product and at the same time bring their country to an important position in the world. To have this strategic autonomy, Turkey is developing an understanding of defense based on locality and nationality.

As a result, Turkey continues to produce in many areas today. It also needs cooperation for this production. While advancing with the target of domestic and national products, it also implements defense policies in a strategic sense by giving importance to technological cooperation. Therefore, the most important thing in this period is the transformations in politics due to the change in defense approach.

### 3.1.1. Turkey's Defense Policy in 2000's

Like other states, Turkey has sought to establish the security with the least cost. The border between national and international security is increasingly blurred, and there is a

change and transformation in the direction of global security. Turkey has made remarkable progress in the defense industry in the last 20 years. Being self-sufficient in the field of defense has become a goal because of past embargos and similar experiences.

The 1990s and 2000s were a period in which only NATO dominated in the field of defense and struggled against separatist terrorist groups. As a country whose neighbors have invested in ballistic missiles, Turkey is in a geography where these weapons are used extensively in the war environment. Ballistic missiles, which were first used in the 1973 Yom Kippur War, were later used extensively in the Iran-Iraq War and the 1991 Gulf War. Therefore, Turkey has taken care to shape its defense diplomacy in the light of these dangers. For this purpose, Turkey tried to strengthen its defense. However, this defense requires long and demanding situations. For instance, a country's air defense must consist of intertwined layers. There are several reasons for the need for such a structure. For instance, air threats have very different qualities: Warplanes, helicopters, ballistic missiles, cruise missiles, and unmanned aerial vehicles are all air threats, but they all have very different qualities such as speed, altitude, maneuverability, manner of use and style.

Turkey established the Undersecretariat for Defense Industries (SSM) in 1985 to deal with these situations. Undersecretariat for Defense Industries established to ensure that the infrastructure of the domestic industry is utilized at the maximum level, provide advanced technology, cooperate with foreign companies in the field of technology and capital, focus on research and development activities, and produce all kinds of weapons, vehicles and equipment in Turkey has brought with it the result of making a great breakthrough in the field of defense industry (Arıs, 2001, 36). It should also be added that, Turkey's defense breakthroughs could not attain a fully independent. However, Turkey is steadily advancing towards reaching such a structure.

Turkey, after the actions of terrorist organizations, which were expressed in the center of national security perceptions, wanted to solve this problem within the framework of soft diplomatic moves and flexible foreign policy strategies. In the end, despite all the difficulties and obstacles it faced, it started to intervene militarily against terrorist elements that threatened its national security. As a result of the cross-border operations against terrorism, it helped to establish a strong perception of Turkey in the international arena and, accordingly, to increase Turkey's prestige in the eyes of other international political actors.

Turkey's defense policy has a self-development-oriented structure. It follows a more moderate and strong policy without undermining its relations and agreements with other

countries. Especially recently, Turkey has been following a process focused on technological self-development and is advancing its new agreements in this sense. Turkey exhibits a more sustainable and safer approach, especially after the July 15 coup attempt. Therefore, this importance in Turkey's defense diplomacy has been threat-oriented and at the same time development-oriented. As a result of these defense diplomacy activities, it is clearly seen that Turkey is pursuing a more determined and successful policy.

### 3.1.2. Turkey's Foreign Policy in 2000's

A state's foreign policy depends on the good practice of defense diplomacy. Turkey continues its existence by paying attention to this situation in its foreign policy. In the 2000s, new relations developed, strategic partnerships increased, and countries included new searches for their energy and raw material needs. That's why Turkey has given importance to multidimensional and pro-active diplomacy. The so-called multidimensional diplomacy is not relying on a one country; in the search for energy, raw materials and markets, countries enrich the options.

From this point of view, in the 2000s, Turkey moved to the stage of improving relations with the Middle East, Caucasus, Balkans, Africa, Central Asia, Latin American countries and Russia, apart from the USA and the EU. However, it has implemented these relations not as ''alternatives and competitors'' to each other, but as ''complementary'' of each other (Davutoğlu, 2008, 82).

The understanding of ''zero problems with neighbors'' is the most well-known of the principles that guide Turkish foreign policy. This principle is an ideal model and has expressed a marked change in mentality of Turkish foreign policy. At that time, the policy of zero problems with neighbors shaped Turkey's foreign policy as a responsible member of the international community, and was also implemented to guide the transformation of a new common consciousness into regional integration. In fact, Ahmet Davutoğlu, the former Foreign Minister of Turkey, says: "I suggested that our policy be based on six basic principles: the balance between security and freedom, zero problems with neighbors, a multidimensional foreign policy, a pro-active regional policy, a brand new diplomatic style and rhythmic diplomacy''(Davutoğlu, 2008).

As it can be understood from the subject of the thesis, the S-400 issue is important for Turkey's political agenda. The U.S. considers the military rapprochement of the two countries against its own interests which is NATO ally Turkey purchasing the S-400 missile

defense system from Russia. The acception of the bill in the American Senate, which includes not giving F-35 warplanes despite Turkey's purchase of the S-400 system from Russia, was due to Turkey's rapprochement with Russia. But, Turkey has established strategic relations with Russia in both military and energy fields. Therefore, Turkey has been advancing towards its most important goal, namely nationalization and self-development, in its recent defense breakthroughs. In other words, advances in the defense industry are of great importance for Turkey, for instance Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV), Armed Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (SİHA), Stand-off missile (SOM), OMTAS medium-range anti-tank weapon system, Altay tank, Atak helicopter, Göktürk reconnaissance and surveillance satellite system, TRG-300 Kasırga rocket system, Atmaca anti-ship missile and with the construction of national ship (Milgem) and finally aircraft carrier increases Turkey's power by applying soft balancing strategy (Ekşi & Erol, 2018). Therefore, Turkey is making many breakthroughs in the field of self-development.

As a result, communication with the problem areas should be improved in order to better understand this situation. The most important task of Turkey, which is located in a geographically important region, is to minimize these problems and to rise to a more important position in world politics. Moving in this direction, Turkey follows a foreign policy aimed at carrying out a stronger defense diplomacy.

The concept of defense diplomacy has started to be heard more frequently in the literature recently. In this section, a wide range of information is presented about what the concept is and how it can be applied. At the same time, other concepts related to defense diplomacy were emphasized and briefly explained. The concept of defense diplomacy for Turkey started to be implemented with the Ottoman Empire and studies were carried out within this framework. Although the concept is new, it has often been applied in the past and events in the literature. Therefore, the concept of defense, which is one of the important types of diplomacy, has gained a place in every period.

### 3.1.3. Turkey and Russia Partnership of Defense Policy

The relations between Russia and Turkey dates to the Ottoman period and even before. However, in this section, the relations of both countries after 2000 will be examined. After Putin became the President of the Russian Federation in 2000, Turkey-Russia political relations reached a new level. The summits held and the High-Level Meetings held enabled the relations between the two countries to progress more constructively.

An important topic of discussion between Moscow and Ankara at the beginning of the years in 2001 was the fight against terrorism. After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, Russia and Turkey stated that they were more prepared to fight international terrorism (Özbay, 2011, 50). With the coming to power of the Justice and Development Party in 2002, the cooperation between Turkey and Russia entered a new phase (MFA). In December 2002, Prime Minister of the time Recep Tayyip Erdoğan paid a visit to Moscow and met with Putin. In the meeting, the parties stated that they were satisfied with the level of bilateral cooperation and decided to further develop economic relations (Mehmet, 2016).

Relations between Turkey and Russia have been established in many cases, however, there are separate points as well as agreements between the two states. The subject of division is ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Sham). While both states agree that this organization poses a threat, Turkey's idea of creating a maneuvering area against ISIS and declaring it a safe zone did not receive much response from Russia. Although there are differences of opinion on Syria, Turkey and Russia have a common view on Syria's strategic position and the need to protect its territorial integrity. While Turkey was in favor of Assad's departure, Russia defended Assad's existence. Despite Turkey, which is a follower of policies in favor of peace in Syria, the Assad regime brutally murdered thousands of people with its chemical attack in August 2013. Likewise, the developments in Ukraine and Crimea have been a weak point in bilateral relations. Turkey did not accept the annexation of Crimea and defended the territorial integrity of Ukraine. Another example is SU-24 aircraft crisis. Although the SU-24 aircraft crisis affected the relations between the two countries, Turkey and Russia maintained their current positions. All these situations weakened bilateral relations, but cooperation was also possible. Partnerships in the field of energy and defense partnerships can be given as examples.

Despite the efforts of Turkey, which is trying to reach a compromise with the U.S. for the purchase of Patriot systems, the U.S. has not approached this situation. As a result of this event, negotiations were held with Turkey and Russia regarding the sale of S-400s systems. The biggest partnership in the field of defense is the S-400 defense systems. The details will be discussed in the next parts of the thesis, this partnership reached an agreement in March 2017 and started the official transfer process with the signature on 12 September 2017 (Hürriyet, 2017). Therefore, relations continued within the framework of trade, energy, security, mutual visits, defense and cooperation. In the following sections, more detailed examinations will be made about the S-400 agreement.

## 3.2. Turkey's Defense Investments and Corporation

Turkey tries to secure and maintain its bases in other countries to act more powerfully in situations such as terrorism and civil war. Therefore, relations with other countries are important in the context of defense diplomacy. To understand Turkey's defense diplomacy steps, it is necessary to examine the issues of political, military and technological cooperation with other countries.

The protection of national integrity and national security is the primary goal of every state. Against dangers, states create defense strategies and produce defense mechanisms in this direction. While foreign dependency was very high in Turkey in the pre-1980 period in terms of defense, it has started to gradually move away from foreign dependency since this year. Another important condition for the reduction of foreign dependency is defense cooperation. Thanks to these collaborations, states provide self-development and product exchange.

As explained above, defense cooperation is crucial thing for Turkey. Thanks to bilateral strategic agreements, Turkey is making technological progress. At the same time, these collaborations offer stronger and multilateral relations. Thanks to the agreements developed in the field of security and defense, it gains a stronger appearance. Recently, Turkey's agreements in the field of defense have increased. Examining the relations country by country would bring an integrity to the subject.

### 3.2.1. Relations with the United States

Starting from all these approaches, Turkey has tried to advance its own defense capacity. Turkey has frequently resorted to agreements with other countries to increase its defense capacity and to be more secure against ordinary dangers. The most prominent of these countries is the U.S. Despite the disagreements such as the Suleymaniye crisis, the PKK problem, the Cyprus problem and the 1 March Bill, Turkey was included in the Missile Shield Project in 2010. Turkey's involvement in this project has also positively affected military and political relations with the United States. Since the early warning radar system installed in Kürecik was the first system installed in NATO countries (National Defense Ministry, 2011), it also meant the reorganization of NATO-Turkey relations. Therefore, Turkey approached the developments in the Middle East with the Arab Spring on the axis of NATO.

In the post-Cold War era, the conventional threat has drastically decreased. On the other hand, non-traditional, asymmetric security risks, and threats such as terrorism, regional instability, weapons of mass destruction, separatist ethnic nationalism, extremist religious movements, organized crime, human trafficking, and mass migration have emerged. In the current security environment, the terrorist attacks that took place in the U.S. on September 11, 2001, and thereafter, terrorist attacks occurred in many parts of the world, including Turkey. Therefore, Turkey must be protected under the umbrella of NATO country for the United States as well.

Although Turkey wanted to act within the framework of the policy of zero problems with the neighbors mentioned above, new problems arose because of both the policies of the regional states against Turkey and the attempts of the powers such as the U.S. and Russia. Though there is no bipolar structure in the world, the world order is still an advantage for the members of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), especially for permanent five (P5) whose are the United States, Russia, China, the United Kingdom and France. In the post-2010 diplomatic relations between the U.S. and Turkey, Syria has progressed on basic issues such as Turkey's Middle East operations, Patriots and S-400 defense missiles and the July 15 coup attempt (Kanat, Diptaş, Hannon & Dudden, 2017). While offers to the U.S. for the purchase of Patriot missiles were not accepted, Russia accepted the sale of S-400 defense missiles. With these developing relations, Turkey and Russia have improved their relations in the political, diplomatic, economic, and military fields.

Lately, the biggest problem of Turkey has had with the United States is the Patriots. There is a defense relationship between the two countries, which is strengthened by the NATO bond. However, this relationship has been disrupted, President Erdogan, in a speech on the Patriot Missile Defense System said: ''We would not have had to buy the S-400s if the Americans had sold the Patriot missile defense system to Turkey'', and he had rejected the criticism that Turkey's purchase of the S-400s from Russia was harming the NATO alliance.

The United States continues to compel Turkey in many issues. In addition to the CAATSA (Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act) sanctions, will be explained in detail in the next section, there are problems in the export and shipment of radar systems and sub-systems in the construction of military ships to Turkey (Yazıcıoğlu & Karabulut, 2021). Therefore, Turkey is trying to produce these systems, which the United States has blocked, thanks to its domestic industry. Therefore, while the sanctions continue,

the most important thing for Turkey is to be able to develop its own national defense system at their own expense.

Negotiations between the two countries, which are experiencing a difficult period regarding the S-400 and Patriot missiles, are still ongoing. Recently, the U.S. Department of Defense (Pentagon) reported that the U.S. delegation held talks in Ankara to discuss the disagreements arising from Turkey's removal from the F-35 program. As a result, bilateral relations are advancing at a diplomatic level with a defensive focus.

### 3.2.2. Turkey's NATO Membership and Defense Strategies

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was formed on April 4, 1949, by the union of Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, England, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and the United States (NATO, 1994). The purpose of establishing NATO was to maintain peace and security and to promote balance and tranquility in the North Atlantic region. Turkey made intense contacts to join NATO because it was worrying that the U.S.S.R. claimed rights from Turkey in the management of the territory and the Straits. Undoubtedly, this pushed Turkey to seek an alliance with NATO. Finally, on February 18, 1952, it was included in the alliance with Greece. Participation in the Korean War also played an important role in Turkey's acceptance into NATO.

Although Turkey is a NATO member, it did not receive support on many issues. A few of these issues can be given as examples of the Syrian Crisis, the Cyprus crisis, and the demand for a defense system against the air threat. The fact that Turkey is alone in such important problems has led to new alliances. NATO did not act within the framework of the ''collective defense'' principle and left Turkey alone on many issues. On the other hand, in the post-Cold War period, Turkey has given significant support to NATO in the context of military power and soft power in Somalia, Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghanistan. (Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri).

The NATO alliance's failure to deliver what was expected due to threats and security problems in the new world order caused it to be questioned by Turkey. The terrorist attacks and border security problems that Turkey has experienced have led the country to seek bilateral alliances (Zanotti & Thomas, 2020). In this context, it is seen that Turkey, which could not get the support it wanted from NATO, turned its face to Russia.

When analyzed in terms of international relations, from a realist perspective, alliances change according to interests. Turkey is trying to determine its defense diplomacy activities

without harming its NATO membership. After NATO and other international organizations were insufficient in the Syrian crisis, Turkey's relationship with Russia to find a solution to the crisis led to uneasiness between NATO and other Western states, especially the U.S. NATO reacted to the agreement regarding the purchase of the S-400 Missile, which Turkey wanted to integrate into the air defense system from Russia.

The U.S. has threatened Turkey with various sanctions because of the S-400 agreement. These sanctions, called Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions (CAATSA), are applied to Iran, Russia, and North Korea. Turkey has an important place in NATO's F-35 project in terms of playing an active role in the production and maintenance process. Therefore, such a threat will create a weakness for defense diplomacy. Meanwhile, this sanction began to be implemented in April 2021 (U.S. Department of the Treasury).

As a result, Turkey is trying to reduce its foreign dependency by giving importance to domestic defense industry breakthroughs and aims to establish relations with all countries in line with its interests and to acquire all kinds of weapons and military equipment in order to ensure its national security with defense diplomacy.

### 3.2.3. Relations with Ukraine

Turkey is one of the first countries to recognize Ukraine in 1991 after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and since then the relations between the two countries have continued to develop in many areas. In 2011, relations were raised to the level of strategic partnership with the High-Level Strategic Council (HLSC) mechanism established between the two countries (MFA, 2021).

Turkey's defense relations have made different agreements with other countries in the fields of military, energy and education. One of these agreements of Turkey is with Ukraine. Ukraine's defense company 'Ukroboronprom' manufactures many defense products from rocket systems to the aviation industry, from armor technologies to military vehicles and war vehicles with high accuracy. In 2016, Turkey signed an agreement with Ukraine for the first time, which envisages cooperation in the field of defense on radar production (Milli Savunma, 2016). In addition, a series of agreements were signed between Ukraine and Turkey in the field of production and technology sharing for corvettes and SİHAs (AA, 2020). Ukraine was one of the first foreign countries to buy the Bayraktar TB2 system, which is a medium altitude unmanned aerial vehicle for reconnaissance and intelligence missions

(Baykartech, 2021). Based on these developments defense agreements between these two countries are developing and progressing.

However, a compelling point in bilateral relations is Russia. The relationship between Russia and Ukraine was opened upon the rapprochement of the Kiev administration with the European Union (EU). Having faced the Crimean issue before, Russia and Ukraine are now on the brink of war again for the Donbass Region. In bilateral relations, Russia's military operations in the Caucasus and in the Crimea were negatively received by Turkey. Regarding the annexation of Crimea to Russia, Turkey has declared that it is in favor of the territorial integrity of Ukraine. Since the two countries are in the Black Sea due to their location, the issue directly concerns our country. Therefore, bilateral relations cause political issues due to these situations. Due to the recent Ukraine-Russia crisis, Turkey may experience various difficulties. However, Turkey continues its defense agreements with two countries by following a balance policy.

### 3.2.4. Relations with Malaysia

Another country that Turkey cooperates with is Malaysia about defense and the other areas. Turkey cooperates with Malaysia, with which diplomatic relations were established in 1964, on multilateral platforms, particularly with the UN, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and the D-8 (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs). Defense cooperation between the two countries continues. Taking an important step within the scope of ASELSAN's commitment to contribute to the Malaysian Defense Industry and Human Resources, a Memorandum of Understanding was signed between the Malaysian National Defense University (UPNM), the Malaysian Advanced Technology Development Corporation (MIGHT) and ASELSAN Malaysia on February 22, 2018 (ASELSAN, 2018). With this agreement, two countries determined for the development of Remote-Controlled Weapon Systems in Malaysia and cooperation on other R&D issues. After that, with the official visit of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan to Malaysia in 2019, 17 agreements were signed between the two countries in different fields. Companies such as Tural, Nurol, Baykar, Aselsan and Havelsan are important companies in this cooperation. In addition, an agreement has been reached in the field of education, and the cooperation between the two countries has reached an important stage. Both countries have taken important steps in the field of trade, co-production, and security.

### 3.2.5. Relations with Pakistan

Turkey's relations with Pakistan are based on the War of Independence. Pakistani Muslims helped the Anatolian people in the Turkish War of Independence. After the independence of Pakistan in 1947, bilateral relations officially started. The High-Level Strategic Cooperation Council, established in 2009, is of importance between the two countries. 13 agreements were signed between Turkey and Pakistan in 2020 (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2020). The two countries have good relations and cooperate in developing common security policies in the international arena.

The relations of these two friendly countries, whose populations are based on a Muslim majority and can be described as a medium-sized power in terms of political, economic and military capacity (Çolakoğlu, 2013), are of great importance in terms of defense diplomacy. After the September 11, 2001 attacks, Pakistan has entered a period of instability that has continued until today. NATO's intervention in Afghanistan has led to the destabilization of Pakistan's border region, where the Pashtuns form the basis of the Taliban (48) In this process, the most important agenda of bilateral relations has been the future of Afghanistan after the NATO intervention. At the same time, Turkey has become a prominent country in providing political and economic support to Pakistan in problems such as internal conflicts, disasters and foreign policy. Therefore, after 2001, security cooperation between Pakistan and Turkey began to develop.

During his visit to Pakistan on October 24, 2009, Prime Minister Erdoğan agreed with Prime Minister Yusuf Rıza Gilani to abolish the visa applied to businessmen, to carry out the modernization of Pakistani F-16 warplanes at TAI (TUSAŞ, Turkish Aerospace Industries Inc.) and to help Pakistan to improve relations with Central Asia. Turkey has made efforts to normalize its relations Islamabad with NATO, which had problems due to the attacks carried out by aircraft (UAV) in Pakistan.

The most important defense cooperation between the two countries is MİLGEM, which is anti-submarine warfare and reconnaissance patrol ship. According to the agreement reached in 2018, two of the corvettes were to be built at the Istanbul Shipyard Command under the Ministry of National Defense and the other two were to be built in Karachi, Pakistan. The structure of the MİLGEM Corvette developed for the Pakistan Navy is also called the 'JINNAH Class Corvette'. JINNAH Class Corvettes have a tonnage between the ADA Class of 2 400 tons and the STACK Class of 3,000 tons, with displacements of 2 926 tons (Şahin, 2021). The first of the corvettes was launched on 15 August, and it is planned to

be delivered to the Pakistan Navy in 2023 after the equipment and testing activities (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2020).

Pakistan Air Forces Commander General Mujahid Anwar Khan stated that both countries have different defense capabilities and said: ‘’Military cooperation needs to be built on economic cooperation. Joint projects, exercises, production, training, technology sharing, cooperation between the two countries in the field of defense areas to the fore” (Çetin, 2021). The military and defense capacities of both countries are increasing. Therefore, one of Turkey’s important partners in defense diplomacy is Pakistan. As a result, an intensive understanding of cooperation has been established between the two countries, the ratio of which varies from time to time, in terms of global and national security concerns.

### 3.2.6. Relations with Azerbaijan

Another country with which Turkey cooperates in defense is Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan has an important position in the Caucasus region in terms of both geopolitical and underground resources. The use of a force to discourage other countries to create a power factor reveals the importance of the defense industry. In this sense, Turkey has an important place among its allies. Azerbaijani carries out programs related to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in line with the developing and changing defense policy’s relations with Turkey. There were functioning of bilateral relations in the 2000s, ‘Strategic Cooperation Agreement’ between the two countries was signed on cooperation and mutual support by President Ilham Aliyev on behalf of Azerbaijan and 11th President of the time Abdullah Gül on behalf of Turkey. According to one condition of the treaty, in the event of a military attack or attack against one of the countries of Turkey and Azerbaijan, the non-attacked country will ‘’use all its means’’ to support the attacked country (Abbasov, 2016). The Agreement consists of 23 articles and five sections, these sections are Military-political and security issues, Military and military-technical cooperation, Humanitarian issues, Economic cooperation and Common and Final Provisions.

Turkey also gave its political support in the Karabakh issue, which can be considered the most important problem of Azerbaijan. Considering the risk of Russian intervention during the Armenian occupation of Karabakh, Turkey took their side by giving political support on the international platform, even though it could not provide help in line with Azerbaijan’s expectations. This situation enabled Azerbaijanis to see Turkey as the protector and guarantor state of Azerbaijan (Ekşi, 2009). The relations between the two countries are

not only for the strengthening of Azerbaijan, but also for regional security. Agreements signed in line with the development of military cooperation were generally made on the training and development of the members of the Azerbaijani armed forces.

As a result of Strategic Cooperation Agreement, in 2012, Roketsan sold T-107/122 mm Multi-Barrel Rocket Launchers (MBRL) to the Azerbaijan Armed Forces. It is a weapon system that provides intensive and effective fire support to maneuvering forces against high priority targets in all weather and terrain conditions during the day and night (Barrel & Launcher, 2021). In 2013, thanks to the the same agreement, a new generation multi-barrel rocket launcher called T300 was delivered.

In the statement made by the Turkey Ministry of National Defense at the press conference held on September 5, 2021, it was announced that the ‘’Brother Brigade (Kardeş Tugay)’’ Project was launched with Azerbaijan (Republic of Turkey Ministry of National Defense, 2021). Turkey continues to support the modernization and training activities of the Azerbaijan Armed Forces within the scope of the military and cooperation agreements of the Turkish Armed Forces. In this context, this project was initiated to ensure interoperability and to harmonize training, planning and management between Turkey and Azerbaijan.

As a result of all partnerships in the field of security, defense and military, the perception of common national identity has an important place in the relations between the two countries. It is widely recognized in the literature that cultural factors play a critical role in defense planning (Kasapoğlu, 2017b).

### 3.2.7. Relations with Qatar

In the 2000s, a new era was entered in the Turkish foreign policy of the Justice and Development Party. Within the framework of the foreign policy understanding adopted in this period, as mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, it was shaped on strategies such as zero problems with neighbors, diplomacy, and the goal of dialogue in every field. Turkey aimed to improve its relations with the countries of the region by trying to activate soft power channels instead of hard power.

Thanks to the annual meetings of the High Strategic Committee mechanism, which constitutes the High-Level Dialogue and cooperation between Turkey and Qatar, which was established in 2014 and many agreements, protocols and memorandums of understanding were signed to reinforce cooperation in various fields (Presidency of Republic of Turkey, 2021).

The first steps of military cooperation between the two countries were taken in 2007 and this cooperation was followed by the military training cooperation agreement signed in 2012 and the defense industry cooperation memorandum of understanding. Established in 2015, the Tariq Bin Ziyad Barracks, which is the first major military base outside its own territory, has furthered military cooperation between the two countries. In this way, the strategy of interdependence works. A second military base was built near the same barracks in 2019.

Turkey's defense diplomacy has important steps and goals regarding Qatar. To ensure the modernization of Qatari military institutions, diversify cooperation in the fields of military education and training, support the development of the defense possibilities and capabilities of the Qatari Armed Forces as a result of training and exercises, and contribute to regional and global peace with the training and exercises to be carried out (Özden, 2017). In the chapter called ''Defense Diplomacy: As a Tool of Bargaining'' of the thesis, it was explained that countries use defense diplomacy as a bargaining tool. This relationship between Turkey and Qatar is one of the important examples of this bargaining issue. Because, thanks to these agreements and cooperation, both countries have opportunity to develop themselves in military and defense issues.

Turkey's national security and defense strategy has been reshaped, and there are many factors affecting this situation. The fact that asymmetrical threats posed by state and non-state actors who are trying to develop, transfer supplies, produce or use Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) become more visible, Turkey's encounter with threats other than the threat perception of international organizations such as NATO that it is in alliance with and the need to question the relationship of trust with its allies in dealing with these threats (Seren, 2015).

The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute has defined defense expenditures as expenditures that include personnel, military research, and development, including training and equipping paramilitary forces for military operations, of the armed forces and peacekeepers, ministries of defense and other government agencies engaged in defense projects. Turkey has achieved this defense infrastructure thanks to the Undersecretariat of Defense Industries. It has been 35 years since its establishment, and after the long efforts, it has achieved real successes in the creation of a modern national, domestic and original defense infrastructure. Key defense industry organizations have been established to meet the needs from local resources of the Turkish Armed Forces, each of which fills an

important gap in different fields of activity. The gist of it is that defense structure is momentous for every country. With this awareness, Turkey continues to advance its foreign policy and defense diplomacy in this direction. To that end, Turkey's export values have also increased. The countries to which Turkey exports the most in defense and aerospace exports are the U.S., Azerbaijan, Qatar, United Arab Emirates and Morocco.

In summary, Turkey has a unique geographical position. The developments in the Balkans, the Caucasus and the Middle East directly affect Turkey and it should immediately deal with the crises that may arise. Located close to areas that are the scene of conflict and various instability, Turkey makes an important contribution to security. While it is logical for Turkey to want to pursue a more balanced policy in terms of defense planning due to the deteriorating security environment in its region, it needs to take the right decision from the beginning in order not to experience irreparable difficulties in the operation of the systems that it will supply.

If analyzed briefly to evaluate Russia's foreign policy in the context of the two countries after the Second World War, Russia had risen to the position of two superpowers with the United States. After the disintegration of the U.S.S.R., there is a goal in Russian foreign policy to regain the economic and military bases of the U.S.S.R. This success has become a foreign policy goal for Putin, whose main goal is to re-establish Russia's presence and influence in Central Asian countries. As a matter of fact, Russia's 2008 Foreign Policy Concept placed bilateral and multilateral cooperation with successor states as one of the most important priorities of Russian foreign policy. Accordingly, the main threat to Russia has been NATO, in particular the U.S. (Hekimoğlu, 2007, 77).

Russia, like Turkey, is carried out with a foreign policy approach that is close to world affairs. Most importantly, Russia got involved in the Syrian civil war in 2015 and supported the Assad regime. Syria is a country that is among the energy transit routes for Russia, and it is important due to its strategic location. The naval base in Tartus (Bassel al-Assad) represents Russia's geopolitical influence and geo-strategic level of reach and is the most important element of its military presence (AA, 2015). Likewise, its involvement in Syria in relation to its goal of competing with the U.S. and thus becoming a regional hegemon has an important place in today's world political agenda (Allison, 2013).

Russia did not accept American supremacy after the Cold War and always defended the multipolar system in the presence of United Nations. At the same time, the purpose of the country, which had a difficult time in economic, military and diplomatic terms after the

collapse of the U.S.S.R., is to consolidate the Russian foreign policy and to take a place in the international system. At the same time, the primary purpose of Russia, as in every state, is to ensure national security.

Countries' search for defense cooperation was primarily about ensuring their own security and continuity. Turkey also carries out a defense diplomacy to maintain this security. In addition to its defense diplomacy activities, public diplomacy and especially humanitarian diplomacy, in which Turkey keeps soft power in the foreground, have also undertaken an important mission of ensuring security in its region.

### 3.3. Turkey and Russia s-400 Deal

It is important to analyze the history of relations between Turkey and Russia and to examine the current state of defense relations between the two states. The two countries, which have many relations, are today referred to as ''strategic partners''. The relations and partnership between the two countries was mentioned in the first part of the thesis based on the Ottoman period, now the period after the World Wars will be briefly mentioned and then the course of the relations in the 2000s will be focused on detail.

The First World War resulted in the disintegration of the Ottoman State and Czarist Russia, which had fought many times until 1918. However, relations between the newly established Republic of Turkey and the U.S.S.R. continued. There has been cooperation in many fields, for example, at that time, Turkey received gold, food and weapons aid from the U.S.S.R. At the same time, ''Friendship and Brotherhood Treaty'' was signed between Turkey and the U.S.S.R. on March 16, 1921 (MFA). With the signed agreement, the U.S.S.R. rejected the Treaty of Sevres, which brought a burden to Turkey, and therefore recognized Turkey's National Pact (Benhür, 2004). However, relations did not progress in a positive way. The economic and political relations that were tried to be developed did not progress due to some demands of the U.S.S.R. For example, the issue of the Straits has always existed as a problem between Turkey and the U.S.S.R. The demands of the U.S.S.R. to establish a base in the Straits made Turkey uneasy and new quests emerged in Turkey's foreign policy due to the Soviet threat. Therewith, Turkey sought a power and the USA appeared as the only power to balance the U.S.S.R. While this situation was going on, the demands of the U.S.S.R. were brought to the agenda again at the 1945 Potsdam Conference, which was a major factor in Turkey's closeness to the Western states (Coş & Bilgin, 2010).

However, Turkey relations with the U.S.S.R. began to improve after the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962, when it entered the détente process in its international environment, and relations with the U.S. deteriorated due to the Cyprus issue and the 1964 Johnson Letter. In fact, İsmet İnönü told Time magazine on April 6, 1964: ‘’If the allies do not change their attitudes, the Western alliance may collapse, a new world will be established under new conditions and Turkey will find its place in this world’’(Cumhuriyet, 1964). Therefore, relations with the Soviets have normalized compared to the past in the Cold War Era.

In the 2000s, with Putin became the President of the Russian Federation in 2000, the political relations between Turkey and Russia reached a new level. Thanks to the summits and High-Level Meetings held, the relations between the two countries have allowed to progress in a better and constructive way. In 2001, an important topic of discussion between the two countries was the fight against terrorism. After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, Russia and Turkey stated that they were more prepared to fight international terrorism (Özbay, 2011).

Cooperation and interdependence in the fields of economy, tourism, energy and security have diversified the relations, also a depth and diversity has been achieved in the relations between the two countries (Özbay, 2013, 11). However, there are some reasons for the rapprochement between the two countries. Both countries revised their foreign policies in the early 2000s. Russia has adopted a versatile system in foreign policy and has given importance to the development of relations with the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) geography and neighboring countries to increase its effectiveness in the geography of the former U.S.S.R. Turkey also adopted the ‘’zero problems with neighbors’’ policy (Davutoğlu, 2008), which was mentioned in the previous part of the thesis, envisaged the development of relations with neighbors and the solution of existing problems, with Ahmet Davutoğlu being active in foreign policy at that time.

The developments in the international arena have brought the two countries closer. Russia, which recovered its economy especially thanks to its energy resources, started to follow a more active policy. At the same time, the interruption of relations between two important countries in the Eurasian region with the West has brought these two countries closer to each other. The increasing importance of the Eurasian geography and the important developments in this geography, such as the Iraq War that started in 2003, the ongoing war in Afghanistan, the 2008 Georgian-Russian war and the ongoing Syrian Civil War, have led

to mutual dialogue primarily on security between Turkey and Russia, which are two important powers in this region (Kamalov, 2010, 6).

World balances and current policies have always been decisive in the relations between countries. Turkey and Russia are two countries affected by these situations. Since 2009, there has been an intense visitor traffic between the countries located in the two Eurasian continents. The JDP period was a period in which extremely important developments were experienced in the relations between both countries and implemented many joint projects. Especially energy issue constitutes the main theme of the economic relations between the two countries, also relations in the fields of agriculture, tourism, construction and most importantly defense are highly developed. However, these long-term relations have ups and downs in terms of politics.

In November 2015, Turkey shot down a Russian warplane on the grounds that it violated its airspace, and then on February 27, 2020, the Syrian Regime forces attacked the Turkish military unit near Idlib, for which Russia provided air support, which reflected on the relations as important breaks and tensions in political relations. Disintegration in Turkish-Russian relations continued with ISIS. While both states agree that this organization poses a threat, Turkey's idea of creating a maneuvering area against ISIS and declaring it a safe zone did not find much response on the Russian front. Another development that negatively affected Turkish-Russian relations took place in January 2013. Due to the conflicts in Syria, Turkey requested NATO support for air defense, after that, Patriot missile systems were deployed to the Southeast region. This move by Turkey made to protect its airspace was not welcomed by Russia. One of the most important examples regarding Syria is that Russia does not see the PKK as a terrorist organization, but considers the PKK's extension, which is the PYD (Partiya Yekîtiya Demokrat/Democratic Union Party)[4] as legitimate. However, despite the political differences between the two states, relations and diplomatic relations continued.

The Middle East is the place where the biggest problems are experienced. Bilateral relations were largely shaped around the developments in Middle East politics. After the conflicts that took place at the instigation of the West to overthrow the Baathist regime in Syria, Russia placed long-range missiles on the territory of Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Armenia in 2008 (Cnntürk, 2008). At that time, Turkey saw these actions of Russia as a clear threat to Turkey's security. Another issue on which there is a difference of opinion in the

[4] The PYD, or Democratic Union Party, is a political party founded in 2003 by the Kurds in northern Syria. It still operates today.

relations between Turkey and Russia was the coup d'état against the first elected President of Egypt, Mohammed Morsi, by the Chief of General Staff, Abdel Fattah al-Sisi. While Turkey has stated that it has been against the coup attempt from the beginning, Russia dealt with the putschist Sisi (Özbay, 2013). In addition to this conflict, after the coup in Egypt in 2013, a series of military/economic agreements were signed between Sisi and Russia. In addition, developments in Ukraine and Crimea have also been a weak point in bilateral relations. Turkey did not accept the annexation of Crimea and defended the territorial integrity of Ukraine. Following a moderate policy in relations, Turkey has tried to carry out a more positive and balanced process with Russia in the Ukraine issue.

While relations were continuing at that time, Turkey joined the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) as a dialogue partner in 2013. This organization is an international organization created in 1996, dominated by China and Russia, but also including Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan. In 2001, with the participation of Uzbekistan, the number of members increased to six and the organization essentially includes security cooperation. At that time, this agreement was an important foreign policy success for Turkey. Along with these developments, Turkey and Russia, whose policies and goals in Syria were different, continued to negotiate. It is envisaged to develop cooperation between dialogue partner Turkey, and the SCO in various fields, particularly in regional security, the fight against terrorism, the prevention of drug smuggling and organized crime, economic and cultural fields (MFA).

Russia's greatest power is natural gas, it is also one of the world's largest arms exporters. According to SIPRI, the five largest suppliers between 2016 and 2020 is the United States, Russia, France, Germany and China accounted for seventy six percent of the total volume of exports of major arms (SIPRI Yearbook, 2021). According to the same report, Russia is one of the two largest arms exporters. Russia exports these weapons to the former Soviet geography, and it carries out a successful policy thanks to this defense diplomacy. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the countries established different relations, especially sought to cooperate with NATO, these countries also maintain good relations with both NATO and Russia, thanks to the successful defense diplomacy carried out by Russia. In the table below, arms importers and exporters can be seen in SIPRI data.

| Exporter | Global Share (%) | Importer | Global Share (%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 USA | 37 | 1 Saudi Arabia | 11 |
| 2 Russia | 20 | 2 India | 9.5 |
| 3 France | 8.2 | 3 Egypt | 5.8 |
| 4 Germany | 5.5 | 4 Australia | 5.1 |
| 5 China | 5.2 | 5 China | 4.7 |
| 6 UK | 3.3 | 6 Algeria | 4.3 |
| 7 Spain | 3.2 | 7 South Korea | 4.3 |
| 8 Israel | 3.0 | 8 Qatar | 3.8 |
| 9 South Korea | 2.7 | 9 United Arab Emirates | 3.0 |
| 10 Italy | 2.2 | 10 Pakistan | 2.7 |

***Table 3.1.*** The Main Exporters and Importers of Major Arms 2016-20 (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 2021)

States apply defense diplomacy to conduct and maintain their diplomatic relations. With these weapons it exports, Russia both ensures its continuity and protects its own security by indirectly causing conflicts between other countries. For example, Russia sells weapons to both Azerbaijan and Armenia. In fact, Russia is the best arms supplier of Armenia (Euronews, 2020). Russia, which wins by selling, also maximizes its own security as it increases the conflict between these two countries. Therefore, Russia has achieved important economically and politically and successfully implements defense diplomacy.

Russia's defense cooperation with Turkey is also based on many years. However, this cooperation gained momentum in the 2000s, and the Turkish-Russian military rapprochement became an extremely remarkable issue for NATO, the U.S. and Western allies. Turkey, taking into account the situation of the EU and the U.S., again preferred strategic cooperation with Russia in the Eurasian geography (Yılmaz, 2018, 76). After coup d'état attempt in 2016 and the downing of a Russian plane, relations began to improve with a ''Medium-Term Program'' covering the period 2016-2019. Within the scope of this

agreement, some decisions were taken in the fields of economy, trade, energy, tourism, and humanities. The President Erdoğan shared 12 articles in the agreement, these are:

- The high-level cooperation council will be revived,
- Charter flights will begin,
- Bans restricting bilateral trade, including agricultural products, will be lifted,
- Bans on Turkish entrepreneurs will be lifted,
- Gradual and joint steps will be taken to reintroduce the visa-free regime in full,
- Akkuyu will be granted strategic investment status,
- Akkuyu project will be accelerated,
- A Turkish-Russian joint investment fund will be established,
- Cooperation in the defense industry will be increased,
- Turkey-Russia-Azerbaijan tripartite summit mechanism will be established,
- The Ankara-Moscow line will be turned into a line of trust and friendship, and
- The Turkish Stream project will be implemented quickly (Al Jazeera Türk, 2016).

Developing good relations in energy, the two countries also implement this development in other issues.

From the point of view of defense diplomacy, the Syria-based problem of the two countries could be examined. Turkey and Russia seek a solution to the ongoing problem in Syria in the international arena. However, the policies of Turkey and Russia on the Syrian issue have been different. While Putin's Russia continued its expansionist policies, Turkey tried to maintain its policy of moderate relations with neighboring countries. The biggest difference between Turkey and Russia's policies in the Middle East has been over the leader in Syria. Turkey defended that Assad should not be in power for peace to prevail in Syria, while Russia protected Assad and argued that he should remain in power. While Russia's main aim is to protect and expand its military presence in Syria, Turkey is considering preventing the use of Syrian territory by terrorist organizations as a base against itself (AA, 2019). However, both countries took important steps in the Syrian issue and held diplomatic talks. The most important of them are the processes in which the best concrete steps are taken is undoubtedly the ''Astana and Sochi Processes'', which are based on the cooperation of the two states. Along with the Astana and Sochi Processes, many bilateral and multiple meetings were held in the international arena and important decisions were taken. In these two processes, Turkey and Russia cooperate.

After the events in Syria turned into an international crisis, Turkey changed its strategy towards Syria, especially due to the security problem. Because the activities carried out by the terrorist organization PKK here have increased the threat to Turkey's security (Yeşiltaş& Pirinçci, 2020). Therefore, since the issue is security, Turkey has attached a special importance to the Syrian crisis. The longest period of work on the resolution of the Syrian Crisis is the Astana Process. The main objective of the Astana talks is to consolidate and maintain the ceasefire between the regime and the opposition in Syria. In the process that started in line with this goal, great responsibility belonged to Turkey and Russia and these two states acted as guarantors together with Iran. In the Astana Process, which started in 2017 and held its 16th meeting in July 2021, solutions for Syria and humanitarian aid to the region are discussed (TRT Haber, 2021). Although Turkey and Russia have different aims on Syria, both play a major role in solving the problem here. The Sochi talks or process, which started while the Astana process were continuing, filled an important gap in the resolution of the crisis.

The process that started with Astana continued with Sochi, and thus, important steps were taken regarding Syria Crisis. Within the scope of Astana and Sochi Processes, Turkey and Russia continue their cooperation. In this context, diplomatic meetings are held regularly. The ongoing cooperation between Russia and Turkey has a multi-dimensional structure in terms of politics, economy and military, especially the Syrian Crisis. Therefore, the two countries share a lot about defense and security.

Turkey has to provide border security due to its geographical location. Therefore, it is important that it makes progress in the military field and develops strategically. Due to the increasing global threats in the world and on its own borders, the need for defense systems is increasing day by day. Especially after the failed coup of July 15, Turkey questioned its relations with the West and sought alternatives in international politics (Yeltin, 2021, 71). So, the S-400 purchase is a picture of distrust to the West. While all these developments were taking place, Turkey also stated that it needed a long-range air defense system due to security concerns, but it had not received any positive feedback (Çalış, 2021,195). While this creates a situation for the S-400 purchase, it is also important in political and military terms. However, this issue causes differences between the U.S. and Turkey because the main reason for the USA's concern about the S-400 is the possibility of Russia engaging in espionage activities over the S-400s, about NATO systems, especially the USA's F-35 type warplanes.

Turkey aims to create freer policies. One of the indicators of this is that it implements its own policy without bowing to many threats and pressures during the S-400 purchase process.

Bilateral relations include energy, defense industry, economic and commercial issues. Turkey is an important market country for Russia, and Russia is both an important supplier country for Turkey and an important resource in Turkey's vision of creating an energy corridor. Therefore, both countries offer each other an environment in strategic areas, that is, the two countries conduct their relations based on mutual dependence.



***Figure 3.3.*** S-400 Defense System

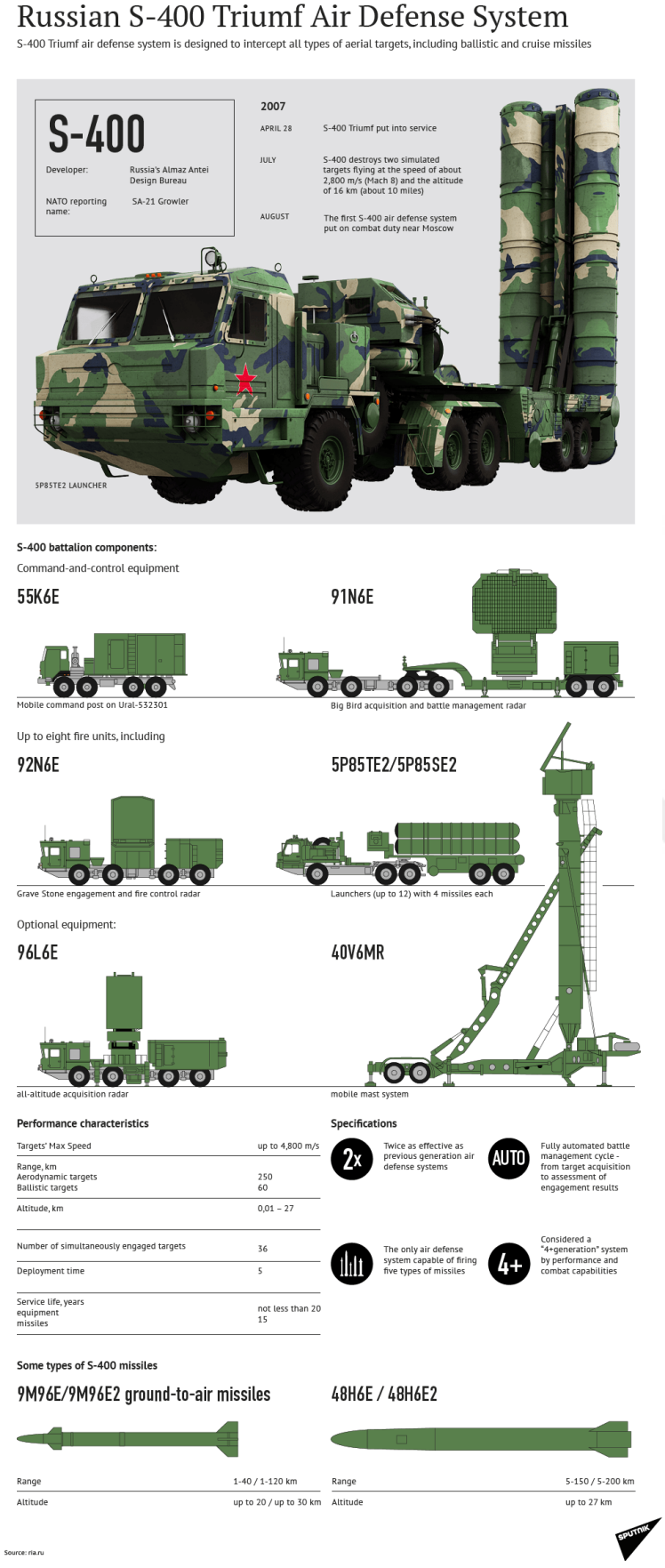



***Figure 3.4.*** Russian S-400 Triumf Air Defense System (Army Recognition, 2022)

S-400 systems of Russian origin, which are SA-21 Growler with NATO coding, are long and medium range missile defense systems and have been used by the Russian army since 2007. The S-400 air defense system has high-impact protection. It can detect the target at 600 km and hit the target at 400 km at 4 8 km/h. The system consists of an S-400 battalion, a mobile operations centre, 8 launchers and 32 missiles. Targets that the system can destroy are B-52 Stratofortress, B-1 Lancer, E-3 Sentry, F-15 Eagle, U-2 Dragon Lady, EA-6 Prowler, F-16 Falcon, B-2 Spirit, E-2 Hawkeye, F-117 Nighthawk, F-111 Aardvark, EF-111A Raven, F-22 Raptor, Tomahawk Missiles and Ballistic Missiles (Anadolu Agency, 2018, 33). Therefore, this system offers defense power in a very broad sense.

NATO member countries, especially the U.S., showed some reactions to the S-400 air defense system agreement between Turkey and Russia. It has been stated that since Turkey is also a NATO member country, defense agreements outside of NATO countries are not deemed appropriate, that the S-400 air defense system will not adapt to Turkey and that Russia will carry out some espionage activities from Turkey and Turkey has been tried to prevent him from making decisions on his own internal and external issues. However, Turkey has taken a determined stance and never backed down from purchasing the S-400 system (Meral, 2019). The same objections were voiced by the allies during the air defense system agreement with China in 2015. The allies also conveyed to Turkey their rhetoric that there would be information leakage and that it would not work in harmony with NATO's systems. As a result, this agreement was also shelved for an indefinite period.

In the same period, Turkey published a statement through the Undersecretariat for Defense Industries. In the statement, SSM announced the decision of the Turkish government to encourage domestic industrial companies to invest in the production of similar systems in Turkey (Anadolu Agency, 2018, 31). Therefore, as a result of the negativities, Turkey started to give more importance to defense diplomacy initiatives and started to work in this direction. Cooperation with its Western allies also continued within the framework of NATO.

In a way, the cooperation with NATO continues and today, Spain's Patriot systems in Adana and Italy's SAMP-Ts in Kahramanmaraş protect Turkish airspace within the framework of NATO mission. Considering that this temporary solution is not sufficient to meet its air defense needs, Turkey has given importance to the development of the domestic system. This initiative of Turkey is strategically important. Because in today's world, the dimensions of the danger are quite high. More importantly, Turkey has given more

importance to the defense system with the increase in missile capabilities of the countries in the Middle East and especially Turkey's neighbors.

Throughout the historical process of Russia-Turkey relations, there have been many important periods between the two countries, from wars to alliances. In terms of interstate relations, Turkey and Russia have always been important countries for each other. Many joint mechanisms have been established between the two countries, such as the High-Level Cooperation Council (HLCC) and the Intergovernmental Commission, which contribute to the development of bilateral cooperation. Joint investment projects are being carried out, especially the Turkish Stream natural gas pipeline and the Akkuyu Nuclear Power Plant (Sputniknews). The parties signed agreements on the establishment of the Joint Investment Fund (2016) and the mutual use of national currency. Thanks to the effective and active cooperation of the two countries, remarkable successes were achieved in the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization (BSEC) in the search for solutions to international problems within the framework of the Astana negotiation process on Syria. Therefore, due to the increase in bilateral relations, the S-400 agreement has gained momentum between the parties.

Especially in recent years, Turkey, give importance to increase its military power capacity to realize this defense vision. The most important reason for this tendency is the developments in Turkey's border neighbors. Because these developments have come to the level of threatening Turkey's national security. Russia-Turkey relations also tended to recover rapidly with the effect of Turkey's distrust of the West after the failed coup attempt on July 15 after the plane crash crisis. In November 2016, Minister of National Defense of the era Fikri Işık announced that negotiations were being conducted with Russia on the S-400s for the need for an air defense system. Then, in September 2017, President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan also shared the information that the agreement for the purchase of the S-400s was signed and the prepayment was made, and that the parties will hold talks on the loan issue in the next period (TCCB, 2017; BBC News Türkçe, 2017). President Erdogan also reacted to the warnings made by NATO countries to deter Turkey from purchasing the S-400s, and he expressed to his allies, who had difficulties in purchasing the S-400s, why they did not apply the same pressure to Greece. Despite all the sanctions attempts of the U.S., Turkey did not give up on the purchase of S-400s systems and as of July 2019, the systems were brought to Turkey (İHA, AA, DHA, 2019; Özer, 2019). In fact, the information that the other S-400 delivery will be delivered soon was shared with the public (Yeniçağ, 2021).

The S-400 system is important for Turkey's air defense system development. Beyond any doubt, the reason for Turkey to purchase these defense systems is both to ensure the security of its airspace and to strengthen its defense by supporting its security with strategies. Russia has previously sold the S-300 system to countries such as Bulgaria, Croatia and Greece. The S-400s, on the other hand, have more advanced technology than the S-300 in terms of many features. The first countries to sell S-400s are Belarus (2016) and China (2018) (Demirci, 2019). As a result, S-400 systems have been purchased by many countries, the first shipment to Turkey has been made and the next shipment is expected.

As mentioned above, in recent years, Turkey has shown great sensitivity to increase the strength of its armed forces and to meet its defense equipment needs domestically as much as possible. The limitations and obstacles encountered in the procurement of defense equipment from abroad, especially in the 1990s, due to various crises, once again revealed the importance of resource reliability in system procurement for Turkey and emphasized the importance of its determination to establish and strengthen the domestic defense industry. Therefore, this defense cooperation agreement between Turkey and Russia is important for Turkey to develop its own air defense system. In other words, Turkey aims to advance this defense agreement within the framework of technological cooperation.

### 3.4. Turkey's New Defense Policy in the Current Era: Opportunities and Challenges

Defense policy is the most important power for a country. Elements such as effective weapon use and development, secure communication, protection against chemical, biological and nuclear weapons, intelligence, and deterrence are essential issues for national defense. The most important condition of national defense is to have a science-intensive and strong national industry with high technology. The strength of the defense industry in a country is explained by the fact that that country has this power. Recently, Turkey attached importance to this industrial breakthrough and at the same time carries out actions for it. Projects in Turkey's defense industry have gained momentum in recent years. Continuing to work with the motto of locality, nationality and autonomy, Turkey strives to minimize foreign dependency. It carries out studies on establishing its own systems and selling these systems abroad.

In the past, Turkey pursued a less assertive defense policy. Criticisms towards Turkey are that this policy has become more and more dominant and prominent in recent years. At

the same time, this transformation in defense policy created suspicions in the allies. Therefore, these breakthroughs and changes strengthened Turkey's political position and created different challenges.

Turkey started to give importance to technological investment in the post-2002 period. In this period, Turkey focused its investments on a more strategic concept and made cooperation for self-development its primary goal. For this purpose, it had various opportunities, but at some points Turkey encountered challenging situations. As mentioned in the section ''Turkey's Defense Cooperation'', Turkey is a country that has cooperated with many countries in the field of defense. For instance, Turkey have signed a letter of intent with South Korea by which two Korean companies will supply engines and transmission mechanisms for the Altay, Turkey's domestic tank in the making (Bekdil, 2021). There were major delays in the Altay program due to the inaccessibility of important components such as the engine and transmission, but the work is still in progress.

Another agreement of Turkey in 2015 was with China. Turkey's missile defense system tender in 2013 was won by China, which awarded $3 4 billion. According to the tender, China and Turkey would make joint production. There were countries with advanced missile systems in Turkey's immediate vicinity, and since it was vulnerable to these missiles, Turkey urgently needed these systems at that time. For example, Iran has the capacity to launch missiles at three thousand km, that is, it can hit Istanbul with missiles from Tehran. The Syrian regime also has missiles with a range of 700-800 km, and Turkey was in a position to defend itself against these weapons with the borrowed Patriot systems sent from NATO, only if the United States gave approval (Aljazeera Turk, 2015). To close this gap, Turkey opened a missile defense system tender in 2013. After this tender, it made a missile system agreement with China. An agreement has been reached with a Chinese state firm for the air defense system to be established against ballistic missiles. It should be noted that CPMIEC (China Precision Machinery Import-Export Corporation) is on the US sanctions list for arms sales to Iran. However, this agreement was later canceled on the grounds that Turkey would produce its own missiles, in other words, it was postponed indefinitely. Therefore, this opportunity was not realized in 2015.

Recently, Turkey's transition from a Western foreign policy pattern to a 'multidimensional foreign policy' has been observed in political decisions. Turkey's growing interest in Asia is now commemorated with the rebranded Asia Anew approach (Anas, 2020). Turkey also has various contacts with South Korea. The two countries, which have developed

in relations since the Korean War, are now in close contact in military, commercial and cultural terms. According to the authorities, the ‘’Asia Anew’’ initiative, which aims to focus Turkey on the region more comprehensively and systematically, contains complementary elements in terms of Turkey’s policies towards Korea (Stratejik Düşünce Enstitüsü, 2021). An important example of the relations that have intensified recently is the Altay project. The Altay tank, a new military tank of the Turkish Armed Forces, is supported by Hyundai Rotem, that is South Korea industrial company, with technical support and assistance. This bilateral cooperation offers opportunities to both countries (Defense Industry Daily, 2019). Turkey and South Korea relations rose to the level of strategic partnership in 2012. Developing their relations with high-level visits, the two countries also cooperate closely with international and regional organizations, especially MIKTA which was established by the United Nations (UN), G20 and Mexico Indonesia South Korea Turkey and Australia.

Depending on the globalization in the field of defense, new breakthroughs are implemented by many countries. Just like Turkey, other countries have also signed defense cooperation as a result of such opportunities. France and Greece signed a defense agreement worth at least $3 billion in 2021. Under the agreement, Paris and Athens will cooperate militarily in the event of a third country attack. Another example is Russia’s sale of the S-400 missile system to India, amounting to approximately $5 billion. Russia has been the leading defense supplier by supplying approximately 60 percent of the defense industry needs of India, with which it has had close relations since the dissolution of the Soviet Union (Aydın, 2021). Another example is European Union’s common defense policy. This policy is a multidimensional attempt to complete military integration after economic and monetary integration. The reason for this initiative is the dangerous situations occurring in the world. In fact, the European Union has adopted the European Security Strategy. According to Ulriksen, the dangers are terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, state weakness and organized crime (Ulriksen, 2004, 461). Defense expenditures and investments differ in the EU of each country. Member countries, which have recently begun to attach importance to military integration, continue their work in this field.

Another important example in the field of defense is the US State Department’s approval of 2 2 billion dollars’ worth of arms sales to Taiwan in 2019, despite China’s warnings. The USA, which has long been the main arms supplier to Taiwan, which China sees as a province of its own, sells weapons for defensive purposes even though it does not

officially recognize this country. Although this situation seems to have created a crisis, countries carry out this exchange despite the reactions and sanction warnings.

As a result, countries develop defense relations with various situations. The agreements made by these countries are of vital importance in terms of strategy and security. Countries attach importance to foreign-dependent strategies to ensure and maintain their own security. However, after 2002, new breakthroughs occurred, and a defense diplomacy focused on production technology and investment was followed in Turkey. Turkey, which gives importance to its own production and nationality and has made various breakthroughs. Faced with many opportunities and challenges, Turkey's most important challenge is the S-400 issue. This problem created an unforgettable situation between NATO allies and started to reveal its power in the international arena.

In the next section, the biggest of these difficulties, how Turkey conducts its diplomacy and manages the current situations while purchasing these systems will be explained. Turkey has taken care to take regional and global measures regarding the national security risk. Turkey's defense policy has been designed in accordance with long-term and macro-strategic goals, in this sense, a defense understanding shaped by the principles of locality and nationality has gained importance (Seren, 2018, 471). This competence, which Turkey is trying to develop, aims to meet its needs in the field of self-defense from the national arena and to reduce foreign dependency. Because the agreements Turkey has made are strategic. The main goal in this strategy is to ensure self-sufficiency. Therefore, while the ambitious defense policy carried out brought difficulties, it also provided significant advantages. These advantages and opportunities are to have the power to carry out long-term defense policy and diplomacy.

# 4. THE CASE of S-400s: HOW IT CHANGED TURKEY'S DEFENSE DIPLOMACY APPROACH

In the global world, one of the things that states have given the most importance lately is defense. Defense investments, expenditures and approaches have become an increasingly important issue. However, it was predicted that the coronavirus epidemic that emerged in China in 2019 would change this approach of states. It is assumed that defense investments will decrease, and medical advances will be experienced. Contrary to popular belief, the situation has not developed exactly this way. Despite the economic crises in the international economy and the existence of various unmet needs, investments in the defense industry are increasing day by day in the world. In this sense, according to the SIPRI report, a military expenditure was realized US $1981 billion worldwide in 2020 (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 2021). Therefore, military spending trends have increased, and countries have focused on defense investments. According to the same report, Turkey's expenditures in this area decreased by 5 percent in 2020 to 17 7 billion dollars. However, this has been noted as an exception to Turkey's recent spending increases.

As it is known, every country always researches the defense system of other countries and constantly strives to develop a better and more efficient defense system than the others. Thus, the size and strength of a country's military spending depends not only on its national income or financial ability, but also on various factors, these include economic, non-economic, internal, external, political, geographical, geopolitical, and geostrategic factors (STM ThinkTech, 2020, 3). Countries give importance to their military investments every year to ensure their security. However, larger military expenditures do not mean more security, the important thing is to provide domestic capabilities, production, technological progress, and R&D development. Therefore, when countries want to ensure their security, they must invest in many of these areas.

At the points where the defense and military fields are one, we see that states with both powers have risen to a more deterrent position in the international arena. This situation means the most important power that brings the states forward in the strategic sense and also makes them an important actor. In almost no period of history, it has not been seen that a country that could not become a significant force in terms of military capacity was at the top of the international power hierarchy (Brzezinski, 1997). For this reason, states that have the desire to direct international politics have always taken care to establish a national defense industry focused on moving themselves to the top of the hierarchy and to develop this industry as much as possible (Pınar, 2018, 2348).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Turkey has been following policies aimed at developing its own defense systems for its autonomy and strength. The ability of states to have armed forces, defense systems and technological tools largely depends on the establishment and development of a self-sufficient national defense industry, which is formed within the framework of national possibilities and capabilities. Because in today's world, it is very difficult for states to acquire new systems produced by other states or to use these systems effectively if they acquire them. This situation is also valid for Turkey, which is at a very critical point geographically and must constantly face significant risks and threats for this reason, as it is for all other states in the international system. The issue of how the systems will be used, how they will be retained and how they will be developed is important. In geopolitical terms, this should be done in accordance with global rules. Realizing the negative aspects of creating a foreign-dependent defense area, Turkey also aims to advance its own defense industry and at the same time to make this defense industry least dependent on foreign sources.

In the international system where there is constant conflict, the most crucial goal is the survival of the state itself. The most strategic breakthrough to be made for this purpose is national and domestic defense. The primary condition for this breakthrough is the investments made in the field of defense. Turkey, which has been undergoing transformations in the field of defense recently, should make its breakthroughs without confronting its allies and advance its defense diplomacy more professionally. One of the factors shaping the foreign policy of Turkey, which was built on Anatolian lands exposed to various migration and invasion movements for many years, and whose struggles to achieve the purpose of maintaining its existence in its historical memory for this reason, has been the concern of protecting its national security (Sönmezoğlu, Baklacıoğlu and Terzi, 2012, 883). This

concern, which mostly pushes Turkey to ally with the great powers of the international system and sometimes confronts them, has increased its weight on Turkish foreign policy at a remarkable level. Therefore, states have the purpose of maintaining its existence and protecting its national security, so it has gained great importance for Turkey also in recent years.

This aim has recently shown its importance in the field of defense. However, the field of defense is a branch that requires a lot of cooperation. Because specialization in this field requires technological cooperation. Developed countries do not want to share their technologies with other countries in the field of defense. Especially in military technology, these powers are not shared, even in technology transfer, they prefer to transfer old technologies and do not share about new technology. Full information about the system is in the hands of the producing country. Therefore, information on system agreements remains limited, the country's development of its own defense area depends on these situations and having systems will ensure development and production over time.

Turkey has also demonstrated these defense breakthroughs with the S-400. This air defense system offered an important advantage to protect itself from the dangers around it. At the same time, according to some officials, the agreement, which includes technological cooperation, marks an important breakthrough in defense diplomacy. But, this situation differs according to the reports. Receiving S-400 from Russia is for Turkey's emergency operation attempts, there is no common statement about technology transfer from the parties (Egeli, 2017). However, according to the latest news; Miheyev, Director General of Rosoboronexport, said in his statement, ''We have started cooperation with Turkey on technology transfer regarding the S-400s, we are localizing some parts (and production) and we have started working on this issue''(Sputniknews, 2021).

In conclusion, the purchase of the S-400 is a symbol of a partial disengagement with the West for Turkey. If we consider the technological cooperation, Turkey has the power to partially close a large gap in the air defense system. This power will put the country in a more deterrent position against other dangers and in any case will minimize the risks. To give an example, the fact that Turkey has been in a more successful position with the operations it has carried out against the problems it has faced, especially on the Syrian border, stems from the successes in the field of defense.

## 4.1. Turkey's Defense Diplomacy towards its Air Defense Systems (Towards NATO Countries)

Turkey has been at the point of eliminating threats throughout history; developed a defense understanding specific to NATO to identify and meet defense and security needs. Based on this understanding, NATO's presence has gained importance at the point of ensuring security. However, in the context of the global threats that emerged after the Cold War, the classical defense understanding has changed direction, and modernization studies have gained importance in providing security.

As a result of its commitment to NATO, it has conducted strategic relations in many cases and has noticed the problems related to the security gap that has arisen recently, and has realized that this gap is gradually turning into a security weakness (Seren, 2015, 7). During the partnership period in NATO, Turkey has sometimes been a 'strategic ally' and a 'critical military base'; sometimes it has been a 'military embargo imposed' or 'target country subject to intelligence listening and monitoring', a similar fluctuation was also seen on the Turkish side; NATO is both the 'most reliable port', the 'reputation in the West', the 'guardian of stability and order'; it has also been interpreted as a 'source of the deep state', a 'shadow network of coups' and 'an ally who refrains from providing support even when needed' (8).

Turkey's vulnerability problem may be due to several reasons. During the civil war in Syria, the lack of air defense systems came to the fore in the rocket and missile attacks against various cities of Turkey along the border with this country, and in the 1980-1988 Iran-Iraq War, the 1991 Gulf War and the 2003 Gulf War taken into account, the weakness experienced in this area is more clearly seen (Mevlütoğlu, 2017,3). Almost all of its neighbors have advanced ballistic and cruise missiles, and Turkey has been in search of modern air and missile defense systems since the early 1990s. It has partially ended these searches since the 2000s and switched to the understanding of producing its own defense system. With the 1911 Tripoli War, anti-aircraft guns came to the fore and the concept of air defense gained a new meaning with Germany's use of V-1 and V-2 missiles against allied cities in the Second World War. After the rapid development of technology during the Cold War period, the introduction of high-altitude long-range bombers, ballistic missiles, warplanes, cruise

missiles and bombers with low visibility on radar led to the development of defense tools to detect and prevent these systems (Mevlütoğlu, 2017, 4).

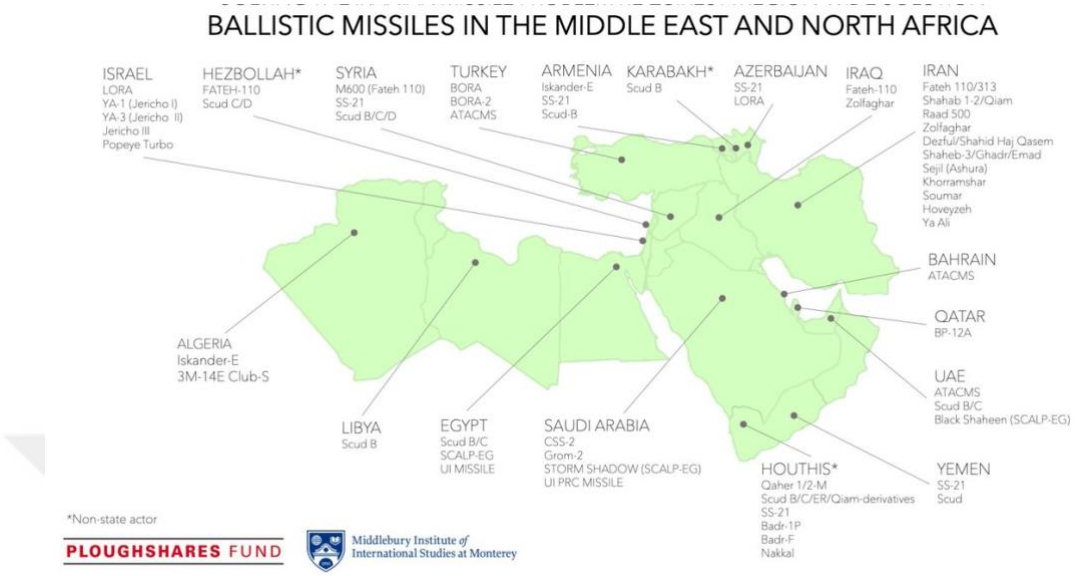



***Figure 4.1.*** Ballistic Missiles in the Middle East and North Africa (Ploughshares Fund, 2021)

In this context, the main trend in the new defense policy regarding defense and aerospace technologies, which Turkey has focused on in recent years, is no longer based on the purchase of ready-made weapons from outside only through imports, the strategic target is to ensure technology transfer, to meet the defense needs of the country through domestic production. Turkey carries out a defense policy that will contribute to the development of the country by providing a greater share in the markets. In recent years, R&D studies for this purpose have been continuing rapidly. These studies carried out by Turkey were exemplified in the previous section. Turkey has made great progress in achieving national autonomy with the aforementioned systems.

The working logic of air defense systems is also important. Air defense systems consist of three main units. These are radars that can detect the trajectories of ballistic missiles fired by the enemy country, missiles that will destroy ballistic missiles in the air, and launch pads and the command-control center that ensures the realization of the entire operation. With these systems, it is important how and in what way the defense will be carried out, as well as how much it will protect. Turkey's recent work in this area is noteworthy.

Turkey’s air defense systems are the most important of the main areas of the work carried out with the aim of least dependence on a foreign country. Air defense, which is one of the most important defense components for a country, is becoming more local with each passing day with the projects completed one after another in recent years. As stated in the table below, systems such as Atılgan, Zıpkın, Korkut and Hisar are among the important air defense systems produced by Turkey. Turkey is not completely domestic in the production of these missiles, but it is partially dependent on foreign sources.

| Air Defense Name | Type | Number | Origin | In Service |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| S-400 | Mobile surface-to-air missile system | 4+2 | Russia | Installation Phase |
| MIM-23 Hawk | Medium range surface-to-air missile | 52 | US | Active |
| HİSAR-U | Long range air defense system | 0 | Turkey | Development Stage |
| HİSAR-O | medium altitude air defense system | 8+ | Turkey | Active |
| HİSAR-A | Low Altitude Air Defense System | 10+ | Turkey | Active |
| Korkut | Low Altitude Air Defense System | 80+ | Turkey | Active |
| Atılgan | Short Range Air Defense System | 150+ | Turkey | Active |
| Zıpkın | Short Range Air Defense System | 80+ | Turkey | Active |

***Table 4.1.*** The table has been prepared by using the ASELSAN Air Defense Systems section of Turkey (ASELSAN, 2021).

Owning the High-Altitude Air Defense System and the High-Altitude Air Defense Missile, which is an important component of this system in Turkey, has been an issue that has occupied political and military planners and decision makers, especially since the Cold War. With the decision to purchase S-400 from Russia in 2017, an option was presented to this search. Relying on the US and NATO air umbrella during the Cold War, Turkey was not able to fully define its air threats since the 1990s, also not to create a national air defense system and fully attained this originality.

Turkey does not have any high-altitude long-range air defense missile systems other than the S-400. The only systems supplied in this class to date are the MIM-3 Nike Ajax transferred from the U.S. in 1955 and the Nike Hercules missiles transferred in 1959. The most advanced land-based air defense missile system currently in service is the MIM-23 HAWK system, which was purchased second-hand from the U.S. in the early 2000s (Mevlütoğlu, 2017, 9). After a long period of military, political and economic reasons, the initial decision of the Turkish Long Range Air and Missile Defense System (T-LORAMIDS) project was taken by the Defense Industry Executive Committee (SSIK) in 2006 (Mevlütoğlu, 2017; Seren, 2021). With the T-LORAMIDS Project, it is aimed to create a protection umbrella against air-breathing targets and tactical ballistic missiles. In 2013, it was decided to start contract negotiations with CPMIEC (China Precision Machinery Import-Export Company) of Chinese origin. Negotiations with this company have been initiated and after the announcement of this, Turkey faced intense diplomatic pressure applied by NATO. Prolonged contract negotiations were blocked in the summer of 2015, and then the project was canceled with the decision taken by SSIK in 2015 due to disagreements on technology transfer (Mevlütoğlu, 2017).

After this situation, the urgency of an air defense system came to the fore again. Recently, Turkey has requested some new US F-16s and others better models. Some members of Congress oppose F-16 operations, in part because of the S-400 issue. Since Turkey cannot receive the help it expects from the West, it turns to Russia or other alternative suppliers. After the signing of S-400 agreement, objections from the west continued to come. The attitude of the U.S. was that the S-400 defense system would both damage the F-35 fighter jet and was not compatible with NATO systems. However, Turkey has underlined that it will use these systems independently of NATO systems. In this sense, Turkey defended itself and tried to resolve this situation through diplomatic means. Considering the U.S.'s new strategic priorities and NATO's changing policy towards Asia Pacific region (Bağbaşlıoğlu, 2014) the discomfort and reaction caused by Turkey's rapprochement with Russia is usual among Turkey's allies under NATO umbrella.

S-400s are systems that provide air and missile defense, especially at medium and high altitudes and medium-long range. The range of the S-400 is claimed to be between 120-400 km, depending on the sources. The system uses five types of missiles. It is stated that the 40N6 and 48N6 missiles have a range of 400-250 km, the 9M96E2 120 km and the 9M96E 40 km. The 40N6 missile is active radar-guided and can threaten command-control-early

warning-intelligence aircraft such as AWACS, J-STAR flying at high altitudes and far in the neighboring airspace (Army Recognition, 2022). S-400s will only be able to launch missiles at targets detected by their radar, it will not be able to engage targets that NATO's early warning radars can see but cannot their own radars (Egeli, 2017). The S-400 system can destroy any manned or unmanned aerial vehicle, ballistic missiles and cruise missiles, therefore it is an important system that will provide Turkey's air defense. Among the priority targets of the S-400s are,

- Strategic bombers (USA's B-1, B-2, FB-111, B-52 planes etc.),
- Electronic warfare and reconnaissance aircraft (EF-111A, EA-6, TR-1, etc.),
- Early warning aircraft (E-3A, E-2C etc.),
- Fighter and bomber aircraft (F-15, F-16, F-35, F-22 etc.),
- Attack helicopters,
- Tomahawk etc. cruise missiles, and ballistic missiles (Bingöl, 2017, 4).

| Country | Status | Duty | Proc. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Algeria | Active | ? | 1 |
| Belarus | Planned | ? | ? |
| China | Active | ? | 6 |
| India | Active | ? | 5 |
| Kazakhstan | Planned | ? | ? |
| Russia | Active | 69 | +69 |
| Saudi Arabia | Planned | ? | ? |
| Turkey | Active | 1 | 4 |

***Table 4.2.*** Operators of S-400s (Deagel)

While more than 15 countries use the S-300 defense system in the world, Turkey has become the third country to receive the S-400 after Belarus and China. The S-400 air defense system is the advanced model of the S-300s developed during the Soviet Union era. The surface-to-air S-300 system has been in use since 1978. Apart from Russia, at least 16 countries use the S-300 system. These are China, India, Iran, Greece, Kazakhstan, Armenia, Venezuela, Azerbaijan, Ukraine, Belarus, Vietnam, Syria, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Algeria, and Egypt (Euronews, 2019).

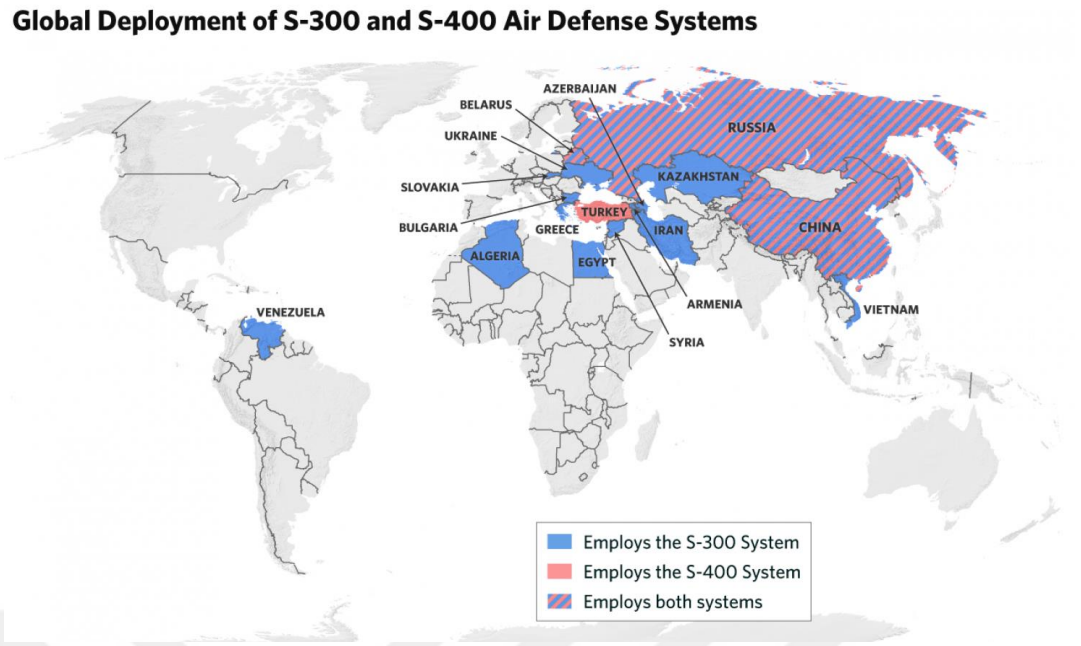



***Figure 4.2.*** Global Deployment of S-300 and S-400 Air Defense Systems (Stratfor, 2019)

Despite the U.S. sanctions rhetoric, countries want to buy this air defense system from Russia. Three of the countries with the S-300 system are NATO members, these are Greece, Bulgaria, and Slovakia. Turkey citing these countries as an example and emphasized that NATO members also bought air defense systems from Russia. Turkey tried to legitimize the agreement expressing the situation through diplomatic means. With the acquisition of S-400s, Turkey has diverted its direction. In an other saying there are reasons for changing Turkey's defense diplomacy approach.

The most important of these reasons is, the relations between Turkey and the U.S., which were strained by the USA's support for the PKK's Syrian extension PYD, turned into a crisis with the arrest of Priest Andrew Brunson after the military coup attempt on 15 July 2016. The USA, raised a hand against Turkey , which operated the procedure in the face of the request for the release of Pastor Brunson, and used the F-35 project as a political pressure tool (Kurt, 2019, 11). The areas where the two countries, which have already had a turbulent political relationship lately, have other differences of opinion such as combating ISIS and PKK, the future of Syria and refugee crisis and foreign policy approaches towards Russia and Iran. Another reason is to have closer relations with Russia and thus to make Turkey more autonomous vis-a-vis NATO and the west, and finally, to use this as a bargaining chip and the purchase to strengthen domestic production (Yegin, 2019). The measure that the

United States announced in response to Turkey's S-400 deal is CAATSA. The United States has threatened Turkey with the introduction of CAATSA sanctions, which aim to stop Russia-Turkey defense deal, and to terminate Turkey's participation in the F-35 advanced fighter aircraft program.

Turkey is a country that has been under the threat of ballistic missiles since the 1960s, experienced this threat in the Cuban Missile Crisis, and came back from the brink of the crisis. Therefore, Turkey, which attaches great importance to the air defense system, continues to work on the development of this field. The existing capability and deterrence weakness is tried to be overcome temporarily with the allied air defense system batteries, which are deployed upon the Turkey request from NATO in times of crisis. In this context, Patriot batteries from allied countries were deployed to Turkey during the 1991 and 2003 Gulf Wars. In the past years, during the Syrian civil war, air defense systems were sent to Turkey within the scope of the ''Active Fence'' operation upon the request of Turkey (Egeli, 2017). In 2013, Patriot air defense systems sent by the Netherlands and Germany within the framework of NATO mission reached Turkey.




***Figure 4.3.*** Map of US and NATO Military Presence in Turkey (CRS, 2021)

While two of the Patriots were deployed in Kahramanmaraş by Germany in January 2013, their last term of office was set as January 31, 2016. The two batteries, which will also remain in service until 15 October 2015 in Gaziantep, were deployed by the U.S. The United States began air operations against ISIS in Syria in September 2014, in October of the same year, it started to cooperate with the People's Defense Units (YPG) to fight against ISIS on land. Considering the YPG as a ''terrorist organization'' on the grounds that it is the PKK's extension in Syria, at that time Turkey was conducting a solution process with the PKK. At the end of July 2015, Turkey started its aerial bombardment of PKK targets in northern Iraq, as well as ISIS targets in Syria. The U.S. announced in August 2015 that it had decided to withdraw the Patriot missiles stationed in Gaziantep ''due to the change in threat perception''. In a joint written statement made by Turkey and the United States, it was stated that ''the United States and NATO are determined to support Turkey's security and stability'', and it was stated that if deemed necessary, the missile batteries would be sent back to Turkey within a week. In October of the same year, the missiles were returned to the United States. A new defense system was not installed in Gaziantep by NATO after the U.S. withdrew its Patriot batteries. For the rest, considering the potential threats faced by Turkey and their degrees, the currently deployed Patriot missile batteries cannot provide sufficient defense assurance to meet Turkey's needs. For example, on March 25, 2015, the Iranian-origin Fateh-110 missile launched by Syria fell in the Reyhanlı district of Hatay. Since the missile was out of the radar's coverage area, it could not be detected and therefore destroyed (Seren, 2015). In Adana, as of January 2013 and initially deployed by the Netherlands, however, the Dutch mandate expired on 15 January 2015 and a as of January 26, 2015, the task of deploying two batteries was handed over to Spain. In the middle of the following year, in June 2016, the gap left by Germany in Kahramanmaraş was filled with Italy's SAMP-T air defense system. Two French-Italian co-production SAMP-T missiles were deployed in Kahramanmaraş, one optional and one as a spare (T24, 2020). In October 2019, after the Peace Spring Operation launched by Turkey, Spain also announced that it would not extend it, and Italy informed Ankara that the SAMP-T missiles would be withdrawn for sure. Spain's withdrawal also meant that Turkey's airspace would not be protected by reinforcements placed in Turkey by NATO. Spain's decision to extend it was at the NATO summit held in London in December 2019, as a result of the decision, it was announced that the Spanish battery would remain in Turkey (T24, 2020). Therefore, the Patriot crisis has been the most striking diplomatic issue in recent times. The Syrian issue has been a hindering factor in this

regard, and it has once again revealed that Turkey has to bring new quests to its understanding of defense diplomacy.

An important aspect of the deployment of batteries in Turkey is the command. For example, the initiative to use the Patriot batteries supplied to Turkey by NATO in the missile defense system depends entirely on the Ramstein Air Base in Germany, which is under the command of the U.S. and works with ‘’man in the loop’’. Therefore, the command is not in Turkey’s hands. For this reason, nationalism is what Turkey is trying to achieve in the defense industry. Because even if you have the most advanced technology, no defense can guarantee 100% success in the face of danger. On the other hand, the advantage is that these batteries mean deterrence to other countries. Therefore, although these batteries cannot achieve complete success, they play an important role in deterrence (Seren, 2015).

In the light of such events, the issue of defense has been important for Turkey, which has turned to the purchase of the S-400. S-400 and Patriots differ from each other in terms of features. But in general, the S-400 provides a higher tier and broader range of defense. In other words, it is effective in the defense of a region. Patriot air defense systems are effective in point area defense and used by the U.S., Germany, Japan, United Arab Emirates, Taiwan, Netherlands, South Korea, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Greece, Israel, Bahrain, Egypt and Jordan.




***Figure 4.4.*** A Comparison of Russia's S-400 and U.S. Patriot (Hong, 2019)

In the light of all these events, Turkey, which turned to different quests in terms of defense diplomacy, did not completely disregard the NATO alliance, but stopped adhering to one side and differentiated its understanding of diplomacy. Making statements on this subject recently, President Erdoğan rejected the criticism that Turkey's purchase of the S-400s from Russia harmed the NATO alliance and said, ''If the Americans had sold the Patriot missile defense system to Turkey, we would not have had to buy the S-400s.'' (Daily Sabah, 2021). Turkey's primary goal is to strengthen its defense and nationalize in this area. Turkey has always stated that it gives priority to air defense systems, and takes steps towards it, which has made many breakthroughs for this purpose.

High-altitude long-range air defense systems covering a wide geographical area are important not only militarily, but also politically, economically and technologically. The

production, development, supply of such systems with high strategic value brings along an important process. Because these systems are one of the main elements that provide security in today's world, so important diplomatic situations are experienced in every process of the systems. Since the development and supply of air and missile defense systems is costly, technologies for the development and production of strategic systems are critical. Due to the strategic importance they carry, their sharing or transfer is generally not realized. However, as seen in the example of Eurosam SAMP/T, which is a France-Italy partnership, there are joint development projects based on risk and cost sharing (Mevlütoğlu, 2017). Another example is the KM-SAM medium-range air defense system developed by South Korea with the technology and systems it procured from Russia. It is a system that dates to 1992, when South Korea received its first radar technology from Russia and was developed by utilizing Russia's technology. As seen in these examples, either work and risk sharing, or subsystem and know-how acquisition models are common. These are the result of long-term, comprehensive diplomatic, technical, administrative, and financial negotiation processes.

For Turkey, which has recently given importance to defense investments in this direction, expenditures have also increased. According to NATO, while Turkey's defense expenditures were 29 727 billion liras in 2014, this figure increased to 99 024 in 2021 (NATO, 2021). Defense spending covers people, technology, investment, security, military and more. Countries increase or decrease this budget according to their threat perceptions. Turkey also shapes its defense budget according to threat perceptions. It increases its investments in the field to put an end to the problem of foreign dependency. All of this is due to Turkey's efforts to maintain the country's national existence, as in every other state, keeping up with the changing situations over time and moving diplomacy accordingly.

Turkey is temporarily meet the need for air defense system with the S-400, but it will need to bring high altitude/long range air defense to national production in the long run. The concepts that are important to achieve a permanent defense diplomacy are A2/AD (Anti-Access and Area Denial). Although the relations between Turkey and Russia in the field of defense are progressing in a good direction, it is predicted that the situations have changed and may change throughout history. Therefore, considering the increasing effectiveness of Russia in the Eastern Mediterranean, the A2/AD strategy that Turkey will follow may require Russia to be prevented in the coming years. Therefore, in the A2/AD strategy that Turkey will develop, both naval and air forces should be developed significantly. To explain these two concepts, these have been the subject of interactions in the military field in recent years

are the concepts of anti-access and area denial. It defines strategies aimed at preventing the enemy or elements perceived as a threat from occupying a country's land, sea, or national airspace, or preventing them from operating in these areas with various electronic prevention systems, weapon systems, etc. For example, the Russian Federation has been trying to keep NATO members away from these regions with the A2/AD strategies it has developed in the Baltics, Eastern Europe and the Black Sea in recent years (Frühling & Lasconjarias, 2016).

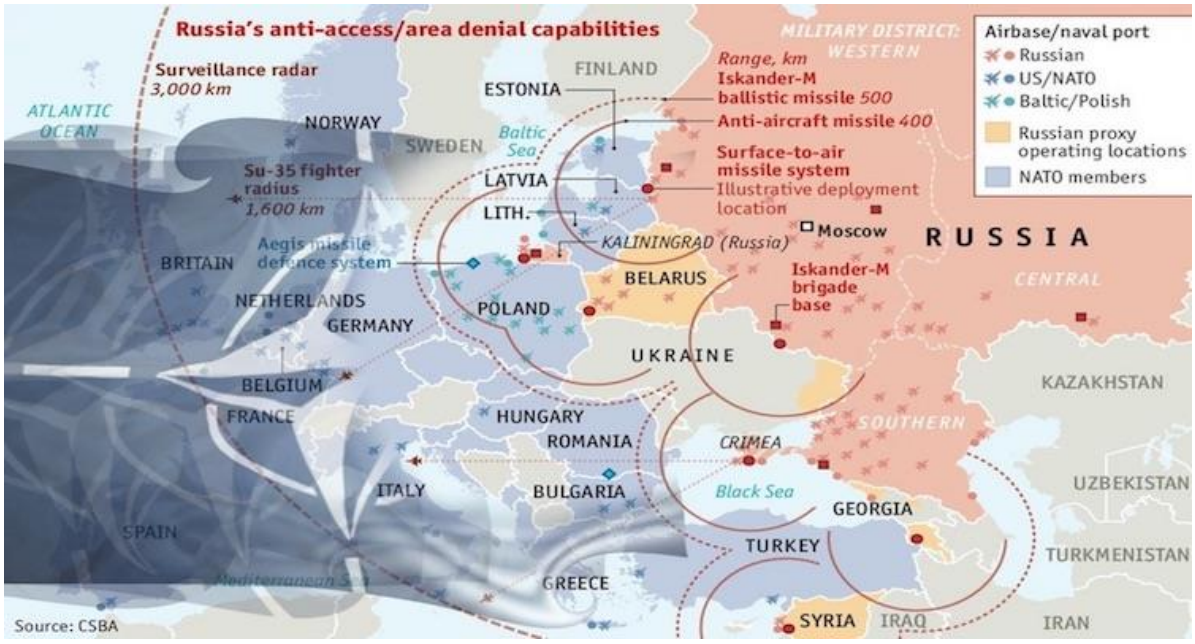



***Figure 4.5.*** Russia's anti-access/ area denial capabilities (Erdogan, 2018)

In this context, Turkey's A2/AD strategy gains importance. Because in the geography where Turkey is located, the A2/AD strategy has turned into a very multidimensional situation. However, when NATO's objection to the S-400 purchase is considered, it becomes impossible for Turkey to follow a common policy in an A2/AD strategy to be implemented towards the Eastern Mediterranean. This, in turn, may cause difficulties in Turkey's defense in a crisis in the Eastern Mediterranean (Mevlütoğlu, 2017).

## 4.2. Turkey's Defense Strategies in Crisis Situations

Turkey is a dynamic country that has faced various crises since the day it was founded. It resolved most of these crises by following effective defense policy. However, this defense policy showed differences from time to time and took shape according to the times when the

events took place. During the Cold War period, it faced many crises and came back from the brink of possible dangers. Despite all this, Turkey continued to see NATO membership as the most important element of its foreign policy during the Cold War. There are three main reasons for this (Oğuzlu, 2012, 102). First, its military capabilities made it difficult for Turkey to stand up to the Soviet threat on its own. Second, thanks to its NATO membership, Turkey was considered a country that contributed to the security of Europe, and this was an effective factor in the registration of its European identity. Finally, a third reason was that Turkey could/could establish much more balanced relations with the United States within NATO. With the JDP's coming to power in 2002, Turkey's questioning attitude towards NATO became more evident and the situation based on the European approach, which continued to be valid in the 1990s, began to change.

Relying on NATO during the Cold War, Turkey has not been able to fully define air threats, create a national and unique air defense system concept, determine its needs, and acquire the capabilities it has determined since the 1990s. However, as soon as Turkey realized this gap, and made new regulations, to that end, it moved to new stages in defense diplomacy. These stages were subject to certain criteria. Turkey's defense strategy for the implementation of its defense policy is based on four pillars:

- Deterrence;
- Re-structuring;
- Crisis response; and
- Forward defense (Güres, 1993).

With latest breakthroughs, Turkey realized the emptiness of this trust and carried out a multilateral diplomacy instead of one-sided diplomacy. Because Turkey may find itself in a war at any moment, and this war may even turn into a regional war thanks to especially Greece and Iran. Therefore, the biggest benefit of these systems is deterrence. Turkey partially got rid of an inactive diplomacy understanding that it was closer to the West and reached the power of deterrence. Military structuring and technological transformation have become increasingly important to prevent crises and conflicts. Thanks to the strengthening of the country's defense with the modernization efforts, a more active and faster defense force has emerged. Flexibility and mobility are the most crucial elements of re-structuring and have been the basic principles in any war or conflict situation. In the new world order, the number of irregular wars and non-state actors has increased. As a result of the conflicts that took place due to this situation, the issue of security gained more importance. It has

become more and more important to offer immediate solutions to crises in uncertain conflict situations. Therefore, defense policies for Turkey have been reshaped to respond to crises. The forward defense against the crises that occur in the border neighbors is a very key concept. forward defense retains its effectiveness for Turkey, within the medium and long term, Turkey implemented a strategy towards maintaining stability in the region, and still implement.

There are several reasons why Turkey carries out defense activities in the same direction as NATO. First, the reasons such as Turkey being one of the founding members of the United Nations and then joining NATO in 1952 by sending soldiers to the Korean War made the country a part of the Western Bloc, especially during the Cold War, and defense diplomacy activities were used in this context. The end of the Cold War did not change this situation much; however, new emerging threats, regional/global crises and humanitarian crises have also shifted Turkey's defense diplomacy steps in these directions (Balcı, 2018, 53). During the Cold War, many problems such as minority and human rights, border problems, ethnic conflicts, and immigration problems could not be solved due to the rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States. These problems remained after the war and led to new crises. The Gulf crisis, the Bosnia and Herzegovina Intervention, the Kosovo Intervention and the Afghanistan War are the most important aspects of this situation.

Previously Turkey referred as a flank country of NATO, after the Cold War it became a front line country (Güres, 1993, 3). NATO's strategies have changed after the Cold War period. Turkey, which is in danger due to the situations occurring in its border neighbors, has become a strategic region for NATO. It is possible to explain the defense policies carried out by Turkey in this period with five items:

- Peace at home, peace in the world;
- To make contributions to decrease any kind of international tension and to provide permanent peace;
- To preserve and secure the independence, integrity and the republican regime of Turkey;
- To take all precautionary measures that could prevent crisis and war; and,
- To participate actively in collective defense organizations and to bear the responsibilities that could be assigned accordingly (Güres, 1993).

The political crises that Turkey experienced during and after the Cold War revealed the problem of one-sided diplomacy and the security gap. The realization of this gap can be explained by several crises. In the 1957 Syria Crisis, Turkey felt the border security became

a huge issue and the shift of Syria's foreign policy towards the Soviet Union caused mutual distrust. The 1964 Johnson letter crisis cast doubt on Turkey's unconditional commitment to NATO and its pro-Western policy. This letter had allowed the policy of rapprochement with the Soviet bloc, both neighbors and Third World states. At that time, Johnson Letter was a milestone to determine Turkey's foreign policy stance and a 'turning point in Turkish-American relations' (Hakkı, 2007, 97). The arms embargo crisis between 1975-78 also brought the bilateral relations to the breaking point. In 1975, powerful pro-Greek lobby in congress secured the passage of resolution banning military sales and aid to Turkey (Hale, 2012, 116). Upon this, government suspended the Defense Cooperation Agreement (DECA) of 1969 and ended all operation by the U.S. facilities in Turkey (116). The U.S. arms embargo is the most important crisis that reveals the need for Turkey's domestic defense industry. To eliminate the negative effects of the arms embargo, some initiatives have been initiated for the development of the defense industry. The establishment of the Turkish Armed Forces Foundation and national defense industry companies such as Aselsan, Havelsan and Roketsan within this foundation were realized as a result of the decisions taken and the experiences gained during this period (Demirci, 2019).

Upon the Greek Cypriot Administration's request to purchase the S-300 missiles, Turkey strongly opposed it because it could change the balance of power. The Greek Cypriot administration decided to purchase the S-300 air defense system from Russia in 1998. The S-300 PMU-1, which was bought to be placed in the Greek part, could not be placed on the island due to Turkey's strong objection and pressure and was transferred to Greece. Greece bought the S-300 systems after the crisis that arose due to the Greek Cypriot Administration's decision to purchase this system. Therefore, at that time, Turkey was able to prevent the Greek Cypriot administration from holding S-300 by following an aggressive diplomacy. Greece took over the S-300s and deployed them to the island of Crete and helped to resolve it by consensus.

Another important example of the crisis situation, Turkey's recent distance from the West and its rapprochement with Russia and especially the closer relations regarding the Syrian crisis can be given as an example. After the coup attempt on 15 July 2016, which took place shortly after the strained relations with the plane crisis, an important rapprochement process started between Turkey and Russia. Turkey accused the West of refraining from supporting the coup and detained American citizen Priest Brunson and some American consulate employees as part of the coup investigations. Having experienced a decline in

relations with the West, Turkey was strongly supported by Russia in this process. Thus, a common ground was formed between Turkey and Russia on Syria. Instead of its ally Turkey, the U.S. was cooperating with the PYD/YPG in northern Syria and arming them. Turkey, on the other hand, stated that it does not want a terrorist organization or terror corridor on its border and opposed it. However, this did not work and the negotiations with the U.S. did not yield results, and Turkey launched a series of military operations in Syria with the aim of removing terrorist groups from the border. Russia expressed that it understands Turkey's border security concerns regarding these operations undertaken by Turkey against the United States (Güler, 2019). The Astana Process and the Sochi Consensus also indicate that a common point has been reached on Syria crisis.

Due to the recent crises, it has developed a more active understanding and has become a country that produces solutions in defense diplomacy practices. A prime example of this is the S-400 system. The increased cooperation between Turkey and Russia in recent years with the Astana agreement and the Sochi process on Syria resulted in the rapprochement of the two countries and Turkey's purchase of the S-400 system from Russia. In particular, the S-400 air defense system has presented a more pragmatic image to the world. Turkey, which could not receive the aid it expected from the West, made an important diplomatic rapprochement with Russia, which stood closer and reached an agreement. At the same time, Turkey followed an offensive diplomacy rather than a defensive diplomacy. The reason for this diplomacy Turkey followed was that it had not received the aid expected from the West in the last period. Turkey partly left behind the approaches and started to carry out defense diplomacy with new breakthroughs, and at the same time, it started efforts to advance its diplomacy activities. What we can say from this point of view is that Turkey has become a country that learns diplomacy and implements this diplomacy more clearly.

What Turkey attaches importance to lately is to create a strong defense strategy and reduce the risks caused by foreign dependency in critical defense systems. The reason for this is the risks Turkey faces because of its position. Turkey needs an air defense system to protect itself. However, as can be seen in the table below, most of the systems in the countries are of Russian origin. In this case, Turkey's possession of the S-400s and using them against the threats around them will create a different situation in the international environment, and moreover, using these systems against the West will bring about bigger problems (Bingöl, 2017). These scenarios are also capable of changing the balances in the international system. Although such a big change is not foreseen in the near and medium term, the polar system

has no longer been important in the new world order and other states, including Turkey, have started to pursue a more liberal foreign policy.

| | **Range** | **Type** | **Origin** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Greece | 128 | ATACMS | US |
| Azerbaijan | 80/120, 300 | Tochka, Scud-B | USSR |
| Armenia | 80/120, 280, 300 | Tochka, Iskander-E, Scud-B | USSR, RF |
| Syria | 80/120, 300,500, 700 | Tochka, M600, Scud-B, Scud-C, Scud-D | USSR/RF, Iran, PRNK |
| Iran | 250, 300, 500, 700, 1,000, 1,600, 2,200 | Fateh-110, Shahab-1, Shahab-2, Fateh-313, Zulfiqar, Shahab-3, Gadr/ Emad | PRNK, Iran |
| Saudi Arabia | 2,150, 2,700 | DF-21, DF-3 | PRC |
| Israel | 1,500, 4,800 | Jericho-2, Jericho-3 | Israel |
| Russian Federation | 120, 500, 6,500, 8,300, 9,000, 10,500 | Tochka, Iskander-M, R-29, R-36M, R-39, RS-12M, RS-18, RS-12, RS-24, RSM-56 | RF |

***Table 4.2.*** Regional States with Ballistic Missiles Capable of Reaching Turkey (Egeli, 2017)

Turkey bought the S-400 despite the sanction's threats imposed by the United States, in this process, which is considered as a kind of crisis, Turkey managed to resolve its situation through diplomatic means, albeit partially, but could not be protected from sanctions. Under the CAATSA sanctions, the United States announced in 2021 that it officially removed Turkey from the F-35 program (AA, 2021). The U.S. Department of Defense published FY19 NDAA Sec 1282 Report, about the Status of the U.S. Relationship with the Republic of Turkey Unclassified Executive Summary and in its section on the "Impact of Turkey's S-400 Acquisition" indicated that the S-400 agreement will reflect negatively on bilateral relations

and that there will be problems within NATO as well, these negative situations are stated under the following headings:

- potential sanctions under Section 231 of the Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act;
- risk to Turkish participation in the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter (JSF) Program (both aircraft acquisition and industrial workshare);
- risk to other potential future U.S. arms transfers to Turkey, and risk of losing broader bilateral defense industrial cooperation;
- reduction in NATO interoperability; and
- introduction of new vulnerabilities from Turkey's increased dependence on Russia, including sanctioned Russian defense entities, for sophisticated military equipment (United States Department of State, 2021).

In the light of all these sanctions, Turkey did not reverse its decision and followed an active defense diplomacy. Turkey tried to legitimize the diplomacy it applied in the S-400 issue and followed a multi-faceted diplomacy. Because the deterioration of diplomatic relations with the U.S. and other western supplier countries in defense area, the increase in disagreements about the Syrian war and other regional crises are an important reason for Turkey's change in defense strategy. Faced with problems in its foreign policy, Turkey tried to legitimize itself and advanced its defense diplomacy in a direction away from the West.

Although relations with NATO have been fragile in recent years, it is unthinkable to completely break relations, which were strained due to the S-400 deal, Turkey has a critical value for the alliance. It continues to support NATO on the southeast flank of the Alliance in stabilizing the Black Sea region, controlling the passage to the Mediterranean, and balancing Russia in the Caucasus. In addition, due to its border with the Middle East, it has an important position in protecting NATO's borders (Yiğittepe, 2018, 280). Therefore, Turkey has been an important ally ever since it became a member of NATO. Turkey, which is of great importance for NATO thanks to its strategic geographical location, also contributes to NATO missions in different parts of the world.

On the other hand, when looked at the Russia-Turkey relations from a historical perspective, it seems difficult to establish a long-term strategic partnership. Especially the Nagorno-Karabakh problem, the annexation of Crimea, Ukraine crisis, which has been deeper in the last period and the relations with Armenia continue to disagree between the two

countries. Periodic partnerships on S-400s, the Syrian crisis, economic and natural gas agreements are a result of interstate relations (Yiğittepe, 2018, 285). Therefore, it would not be right to evaluate these two countries in a deep relationship over a single agreement.

Turkey does not choose between NATO and Russia, it tries to determine defense diplomacy to prevent border security, prevent terrorism and maximize its economic interests within the framework of rational decisions. Because NATO is the largest security organization in the world. The prospect of a long-term relationship with Russia will be difficult to predict. Because for Turkey, which has been acting under the umbrella of NATO for 70 years, leaving this alliance does not seem possible in the short term. The relations, which experienced ups and downs from time to time, entered a different phase with Turkey's creation of its own defense area. However, any negative process will have a negative effect on both sides.

It is necessary to mention the determinants of defense diplomacy implemented by Turkey. Turkey follows a more objective and active policy in its political and economic relations. Since the proximity to the West in the past is now multifaceted, these relations have begun to occur in a wider range. The continuation of the relations on a large scale ensures that the country is comfortable with a more active policy in the international environment. Distinctive elements and details of these relations are analyzed from three different perspectives. First of all, the countries where Turkey does not have political problems and conducts defense relations can be given as examples and these countries are Ukraine, Pakistan, Qatar and Malaysia. Relations with these countries are carried out such as training activities, naval ship manufacturing, defense diplomacy activities and defense equipment trading. Secondly, there are countries with which it has better strategic relations in defense. The Milgem project, in which an agreement was reached with Pakistan, is the first example of this. During Turkey's visit to South Korea, the speeches of leaders about working together in the joint production and development of helicopters, unmanned aerial vehicles, armored vehicles and rocket engines have given rise to expectations that they will increase cooperation in defense at the end of 2021. Finally, they are the countries that have political problems but are important for Turkey in defense cooperation. Turkey, has focused on developing comprehensively in defense cooperation. Therefore, while Turkey is implementing defense diplomacy, it cooperates with many countries at different political, economic, and political stages. Despite facing many obstacles and problems related to these relations in crisis situations, Turkey continues to develop an active policy understanding.

# CONCLUSION

Defense diplomacy has emerged as an increasingly important concept in recent years. Although its origin is considered as classical military diplomacy, it has taken its place in the literature as a derived concept from the post-Cold War order. Defense diplomacy is to conduct relations with other countries and ensure its own security through peaceful means and treaties, rather than using military operations. Therefore, it has a wider scope than military diplomacy. Countries give importance to develop self-sufficiency skills to keep their defense diplomacy strong. Therefore, it was essential to keep defense policies strong and take steps towards it for a more powerful diplomacy.

Turkey started to give more importance to defense diplomacy in 2000s. It has made defense attempts addressing this situation and has made its own national defense tools in many areas. Turkey carried out these defense innovations partly within the framework of cooperation with other countries, and partly provided it locally and nationally. Turkey continues to make defense breakthroughs, but it is important for a completely domestic and national defense force to attach importance to investments, R&D activities, innovation, and diplomacy. Because a strong defense diplomacy can be generated with the power of domestic resources. A domestic defense understanding that Turkey wants to develop depends on the continuation of all these together. Since dependence on external resources will provide an advantage to some extent, but more precise solutions are needed in the long run.

On the multidimensional world system, diplomatic searches are developing on economy, health, security, defense, and many other issues. However, the most important is the understanding of defense diplomacy that covers the security of the state. Defense spending has increased despite the Covid-19 pandemic, revealing that states attach too much importance to their defense. The goal is to have and develop the inventory that will provide the best defense. In the sections examined by process tracing in the thesis, as seen in Turkey's election manifestos, the emphasis is on the localization and nationalization of defense. Therefore, the importance of defense in the election manifestos has increased and the work towards this has gained momentum.

Turkey has faced situations with risks and threats on its borders. Due to its geographical location, it has become a country in the focus of danger. This situation has revealed a strong and deterrent understanding of defense diplomacy in Turkey's political priorities. Defense technology development was emphasized in the election manifestos and new topics were opened in this field by the authority. Turkey gave importance to defense policies especially after 2000s era and started to developing the defense industry. For this purpose, Turkey has started to question the one-way dependency on both the allied supplier companies and NATO. Regarding this situation, the decision taken by the Defense Industry Executive Board (SSIK) in 2004 indicates an important change for the Turkish defense industry.

To that end, it was announced that the current tenders for modern tank, unmanned aerial vehicles and attack tactical reconnaissance helicopter projects were cancelled at the SSIK meeting in 2004, the explanation for this cancellation is the decision to create new supply models based on the use of national resources and domestic production and to meet the needs of the Turkish Armed Forces within the framework of these models. Turkey has reached the decision to review unilateral dependency over time. For instance, Air-borne Warning and Control System (AWACS), the tender of which Turkey started in 1998, was delivered with a delay in 2013. The delays experienced have revealed the issue of self-sufficiency in the defense industry. Turkey has experienced the political consequences of its dependence on NATO and the West and has begun to seize opportunities and cooperation with other countries, while at the same time focusing on a more domestic defense industry. Turkey's ''Turkish-Long Range Range Air-to-Air Missile Defense System'' project (T-LORAMIDS) emerged in 2006 as an important step in domestic and national defense. While Turkey was advancing the project tender towards an agreement with China, it announced that the tender was canceled at the G20 Summit in 2015. With this decision, Turkey has not canceled the T-LORAMIDS project, but the tender decision for overseas ready-made procurement. However, the continuation and re-emphasis of this project is important for Turkey's defense industry. Because the project has not been completely canceled, Turkey wants to use its own domestic products for defense and attack purposes.

Global events and lack of defense power have revealed the need to make the national defense stronger. Asymmetric threats, terrorist acts and vulnerability have revealed the importance of continuing the existing policies more locally and domestically. Turkey has acted with a more independent, domestic, strong, modern and effective defense

understanding within the framework of its defense policy. From this point of view, Turkey has focused on implementing and executing its defense policies with different countries. The most important of these countries formed the main theme of the study. Russia and Turkey relations are important in terms of defense diplomacy practices. The general view of the relations between Turkey and Russia has been in competition from time to time, but the relations between the two countries have been reformed by global and regional events. Since2000s, relations have reached a multilateral level and cooperation has increased in many areas from trade to security, and energy to culture. The political leaders of both countries have aimed to strengthen this relationship. The JDP administration, which came to power in 2002, mentioned many areas related to bilateral relations and adopted the persistence of friendly relations in the election manifestos. Despite the event of September 11 and the increasing terrorism around the world, the governments in Turkey and Russia contributed to the formation of various fields of cooperation in Turkish-Russian relations. ÜDİK was established in 2010 for the improvements of relations between the two countries at a high level. There have been some breaking points in Turkish-Russian relations, which have achieved this high level of development. For example, in 2008, there was a war between Russia and Georgia, popular uprisings took place in Ukraine, the annexation of Crimea and the downing of the SU-24 Russian plane. Although these situations brought the two countries to the brink of crisis from time to time, they were resolved without the major problems.

From the past, one of the biggest gaps in Turkey's defense policy is the air defense system. The systems temporarily procured from the Western allies were not strong enough to fully protect Turkey. Therefore, Turkey's search for an air defense system has been going on for a long time. The ultimate solution to this quest was found, albeit partially, with the S-400 air defense systems signed with Russia in 2017. S-400 is a system designed for high-impact protection with a range of 400 kilometers and interred Russia's weapons inventory in 2007. It was reported that Turkey use S-400 missiles independently and added it to the TAF inventory.

At this point, Turkey's defense diplomacy attempts gain importance. Moreover, it is necessary to list the distinctive elements of Turkey's defense diplomacy. First, Turkey cooperates with the countries which it does not have political problems, these countries are Pakistan, Ukraine, Malaysia, and Qatar. Secondly, the countries with which it can make better strategic cooperation, which are Pakistan, India, Russia and South Korea. Milgem project exports continuing with Pakistan and Altay tank engine continuing with South Korea can be

given as examples for this situation. Finally, the countries that have political problems but depend on some products, especially these products are intermediate products. The permits required for the export of the T129 ATAK helicopter, which was developed to meet the TAF's need for attack helicopters, to the Philippines were approved by the U.S., but its export to Pakistan was blocked by the U.S. However, in January 2022, Pakistan canceled this agreement because the engine export license was not realized on time.

The fact that defense exports and imports go through political processes once again reveals the importance of executing defense diplomacy well. Turkey is trying to overcome these problems through diplomacy until it makes its own domestic production of such critical intermediate product. For example, Turkey has designed a system called SUNGUR in air defense that can be used in short-range air defense of mobile and fixed units and facilities in the battlefield and in the rear area. Therefore, in addition to the S-400, Turkey continues domestic and national production that will strengthen its air defense. Also Turkey exports these products to more and more countries. For instance, Turkey's customer portfolio in the global UAV market is gradually expanding in the form of Qatar, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Libya, Turkmenistan (Seren, 2022). The locality rate of the productions realized by Turkey is increasing gradually. Turkey's defense systems, developed with the use of domestic and foreign goods, emphasize an important point.

Turkey sees having a strong army and defense and equipping them with modern weapons as an important step in ensuring its defense. The most important step in providing this defense is to produce their own national and domestic systems and to try to keep foreign dependency at a minimum level. Thus, Turkey will achieve a strong and deterrent position in the international arena. If a domestic defense industry cannot be established to support this deterrent force, it will be costly to create this military power with foreign resources, and in some cases, it may not be possible to procure the desired new technology product systems. States with defense power do not want to share the content and production of technology products with other states. Technology sharing will not seem possible at this stage. Turkey has experienced the political and economic consequences of imports in many cases such as in the Cyprus Crisis, the 1964 Johnson Letter and the 1975-78 Arms Embargo. With these crises, it has been clearly seen that it is not possible for Turkey to strategically use defense systems for its own national interests. Therefore, with these embargoes and problems, it has emerged that Turkey should have a domestic defense system for keeping its prestige in the international arena.

The most vital thing for countries in the international system is to have deterrent power. To be equipped with this deterrent power and to maintain it, it is necessary to have independent systems that do not carry much risk. Because when it comes to the survival of the country, it is essential to provide security and every opportunity should be used to ensure this security. Defense expenditures, which have an important place in Turkey as in every country, are a share allocated against all kinds of threats to the integrity of the country at the expense of the welfare of the country, and constitute an important part of ensuring the continuation of the country's sovereignty and national existence. Therefore, conducting modernization efforts in the armed forces, military vehicles, defense vehicles and all other fields makes a significant contribution to the power and position in the international arena. The emphasis on domestic defense systems developed in 2000s and defense diplomacy practices with deterrent power will have a positive impact on Turkey's long-term international position. Although the S-400 system will bring advantages to Turkey, it will not benefit Turkey in the long run. It is mentioned in the media that there is an agreement on joint production, but it will be difficult for the system to reach the level of domestic production. Technology transfer has not yet been definitively announced by the decision makers of both countries. Turkey's purchase of the S-400 will not reduce dependency in the long run. There is interdependence under the name of military technology and defense cooperation. Therefore, it would be in favor of Turkey not to be dragged into a defense crisis with Russia, just like the negative situations it experienced with its NATO allies. Herewith, it would be in the country's interest for Turkey to adopt a more independent approach to defense diplomacy through domestic, national and autonomous policies and instruments.

Defense diplomacy is a broad field that includes both economics, law, diplomatic and military fields. In this field, which Turkey has developed and transformed in the last 20 years, the importance of each subject is different. To conclude, it can be said that the implementation of defense diplomacy brings countries closer to the goal of maintaining their own future and achieving a stronger position in the international arena. It is important for Turkey, like all other countries in the world, to achieve success in its autonomous initiatives and to realize this success with the dimensions of agreement within the framework of cooperation with other countries. Therefore, the defense diplomacy implemented by the decision makers shows itself in the international arena as the most important indicator of Turkey's breakthroughs.

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