



# IR 496

## Turkey's Security in a Changing World


### Fall 2008

**Pinar Bilgin**

 A328B

 [pbilgin@bilkent.edu.tr](mailto:pbilgin@bilkent.edu.tr)

 <http://www.bilkent.edu.tr/~pbilgin>

 Monday 15:40-17:00, Tuesday 15:40-17:00 and by appointment

### **Aims**

This course examines the key security challenges Turkey has faced throughout the history of the Republic (1923 - ). The course would focus on national security threats as identified by Turkey's policy-makers as well as other insecurities that are voiced by non-state actors (interest groups, think tanks) and the citizens. Towards this end, we will make use of founding texts of the Republic, as with Nutuk (the Speech of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk), policy documents (to the extent that they are publicly available) and policy statements as well as the secondary literature addressing theoretical and policy debates.

### **Objectives**

The objectives of this course are both subject-specific and general. General objectives include the development of oral, written and research skills as the course requires students to become able to read, absorb and critically assess a significant amount of complex (and at times contradictory) material. The subject-specific objectives of the course include the attainment by the end of the semester an ability to discuss issues related to Turkey's security.

## Teaching

This course is designed to encourage **active learning**. It will therefore be taught by mixing lectures and seminars. You should expect me to be lecturing some weeks when the topic is rather new and/or complicated. Other weeks, I will provide a basic overview of that week's topic, offer you contending perspectives on the issues concerned, and seek to generate a discussion structured around a set of questions. The aim is to encourage you to **think independently and critically whilst remaining firmly grounded in the technical and/or theoretical knowledge provided by the readings**.

You will be given a list of required and recommended texts for each week. Needless to say you are expected to prepare for every class. You will be given the necessary guidance and feedback to help you develop your argumentation skills. What you should remember at all times is that **good discussions depend on serious preparation by students**. You are strongly encouraged to read the texts carefully and prepare written answers to the questions (that will be provided in advance) to ensure thorough preparation especially in the first few weeks of the course when you are less experienced in participating in seminars.

**You are required to attend all the classes** (in accordance with the University regulations). If you cannot attend please let me know beforehand, or contact me (immediately) afterwards to provide a 'legitimate' excuse for your absence. Attendance will be taken and absences will be noted.

If you have any problems regarding the reading material or with the course in general, please let me know as soon as possible so that I can try and address the problem.

## Assessment

You will be assessed in three ways:

**30%** of your assessment will be based on **in-class participation**.

This will take the form of participating in class discussions in an informed manner. You will be expected to demonstrate evidence of having read and thought about that week's topic.

**70%** of your assessment will be based on a **research essay**.

I will be assigning the research question/s. There are two stages to this assignment. In the first stage, you submit a draft version which I review, grade (**30%**) and return. In the second stage, you submit the final version (**40%**) having fully revised your essay.

Please find below a list of topics, guidelines for preparing your essays, and deadlines for submission. Please e-mail me <pbilgin@bilkent.edu.tr> stating your 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> choices. No topic is assigned to more than two students.

1. CSCE (1975)
2. Detente
3. The Iranian Revolution (1978-79)
4. OPEC oil embargo
5. The 'First' Gulf War (1990-91)
6. The 1974 Cyprus 'Peace Operation'
7. The 'Annan Plan'
8. The Charter of Paris (1990)
9. The founding of NATO
10. The founding of the European Community
11. The founding of the United Nations
12. The Korean War
13. The Kyoto Protocol
14. The Non-aligned Movement
15. The rise of Hitler's Germany
16. The US arms embargo (1974)
17. The US-led war on Iraq (2003-)
18. Turkey's search for NATO membership (1947-1952)
19. Turkey-EC relations during the Cold War

20. Turkey-EU relations in the post-Cold War era

21. Turkey-NATO relations during the 1950s

**Deadlines:**

14 November 2008—deadline for submitting draft versions (submit via Moodle)

10 January 2008—deadline for submitting final versions (submit via Moodle)

(overdue essays will be penalised)

**Word limit:** 2500 words (State the number of words used at the end. The word limit is there to make you decide what is or is not important to say. The ability to say what you want in a limited number of words is also a skill you need to gain. Essays that are over the word limit will be penalised.)

**Guidelines:**

You are expected to make use of secondary sources (i.e. no interviews!). That said depending on the nature of the issue at hand, you may have to do archival (newspaper or magazine) search at Bilkent University Library or the National Library.

Be careful not to copy out great chunks from the assigned text or other articles/books. This is at best weak and at worst plagiarism. Plagiarism consists of any form of passing off, or attempting to pass off, the knowledge or work of other people as one's own. It is a form of cheating and is considered an academic offence. The following are simple guidelines to help you avoid such problems:<sup>1</sup>

- Surround all direct quotations with inverted commas and cite the precise source (including page numbers) in a footnote.
- Use quotations sparingly and make sure that the bulk of the essay is in your own words.
- Remember that it is 'what you say' that gives an essay merit.
- Make sure you give references to your source(s) throughout the text, not just when you give direct quotations but also when you paraphrase or give your version.

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<sup>1</sup> See Ben Rosamund, 'Plagiarism, Academic Norms and the Governance of the Profession,' *Politics* 22:3 (2002) 167-174.

## In-class discussions

What I am looking for

- Evidence of active listening
- Evidence of reading and independent thinking
- Gradual development of seminar skills

I will be using the following criteria to assess your performance

Evidence of having read the required material
Relevant contribution
Concern not to dominate the discussion
Avoidance of anecdotal / irrelevant accounts
Encouragement / enablement of others' contributions
Respectful treatment of others' beliefs, values and opinions
Evidence of ability to identify and evaluate different theoretical positions, bias, and orientation
Confident handling of critical concepts and analytical terms
Ability to respond effectively to constructive feedback

## Course Outline

### Week 1

**Introduction: Aims and Methods**

### Week 2

**Primacy of Geography?**

Pınar Bilgin, 'Only Strong States Can Survive in Turkey's Geography': The "Uses" of "Geopolitical Truths" in Turkey', *Political Geography* 26 (2007): 740-56.

### Week 3

**Bayram**

### Week 4

**What is 'National Interest'?**

Jutta Weldes, 'Constructing National Interests', *European Journal of International Relations* 2, no. 3 (1996): 275-318.

### Week 5

**What is 'Security'?**

Matt McDonald, 'Constructivism', in *Security Studies: an Introduction*, ed. Paul Williams (London: Routledge, 2008):

### Week 6

**Securing the Republic: 'Peace at Home, Peace in the World'**

*A Speech by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 1981 [1927]), 1-12, 377-389.

*Atatürk'ün Söylev Ve Demeçleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1989) 373-378.

Metin Tamkoç, *The Warrior Diplomats: Guardians of National Security and Modernization of Turkey* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1976), 299-305.

**Week 7**

**Securing the Republic's Citizens**

Ayşe Gül Altınay, *The Myth of the Military Nation : Militarism, Gender, and Education in Turkey* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 33-58.

Halide Edip Adivar, 'Turkey and Her Allies', *Foreign Affairs* (1939): 442-49.

**Week 8**

**Soviet Demands as a Source of Insecurity**

Necmettin Sadak, 'Turkey Faces the Soviets', *Foreign Affairs* (1949): 449-61.

**Week 9**

**NATO Membership as Security**

Eylem Yılmaz & Pınar Bilgin, 'Constructing Turkey's "Western" Identity During the Cold War: Discourses of the Intellectuals of Statecraft', *International Journal* 61, no. 1 (2005): 39-59.

George McGhee, 'Turkey Joins the West', *Foreign Affairs* (1952): 617-30.

**Week 10**

**The Cyprus Conflict as a Source of Insecurity**

'Correspondance between President Johnson and Prime Minister İnönü', *Middle East Journal* 20, no. 3: 386-93.

Süha Bölükbaşı, 'The Johnson Letter Revisited', *Middle Eastern Studies* 29, no. 3 (1993): 505-25.

**Week 11**

**Resolving the Cyprus Conflict as Security?**

Pınar Tank, 'Cyprus: A Note on Security Guarantees and Threat Perceptions', *Turkish Yearbook of International Relations* XXXV (2004): 169-76.

Pınar Bilgin, 'Making Turkey's Transformation Possible: Claiming 'Security-Speak'—Not Desecuritization!' *Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 7, no. 4 (2007): 555-71.

**Week 12**

**Turkey's 'Insecurity Dilemma'?**

Brian L. Job, 'The Insecurity Dilemma: National, Regime and State Securities in the Third World', in *The Insecurity Dilemma* ed. Brian L. Job (Boulder & London: Lynne Rienner, 1992), 11-35.

**Week 14****Challenges to Turkey's Security**

'Interview with Gen. Hüseyin Kıvrıkoğlu', *Military Technology XXIII*, no. 9 (1999): 9-20.

Sükrü Elekdağ, '2 1/2 War Strategy', *Perceptions*, March-May (1996).

Turan Morali, 'Turkey's Security Perspectives and Perceptions', *Turkish Policy Quarterly* 1, no. 4 (2002): 1-12.

Nezihi Çakar, 'Turkey's Security Challenges', *Perceptions* (1996).

Şadi Ergüvenç, 'Turkey's Security Perceptions', *Perceptions* 3, no. 2 (1998).

**Week 15****Turkey's Security Policies Revisited**

Duygu Sezer, 'Turkey's Security Policies', *Adelphi Papers*, no. 164 (1981).

Gülay Günlük-Şenesen, 'Budgetary Trade-Offs of Security Expenditures in Turkey', *Defence and Peace Economics* 13, no. 5 (2002): 385-403.

Oya S. Erdoğan, 'Political Decisions, Defense and Growth', *Defence and Peace Economics* 19, no. 1 (2008): 27-35.

**Week 16****Overview**