



IJPS INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF POLITICS AND SECURITY®

PEER-REVIEWED INTERNATIONAL ACADEMIC JOURNAL

Volume: 2, Number: 3-2020 / Cilt: 2 Sayı: 3-2020

Owner and Publisher/ Sahibi ve Yayıncısı: Assoc.Prof.Dr./ Doç.Dr Fikret BİRDİŞLİ

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF/ EDİTOR

Assoc. Prof.Dr. Fikret BİRDİŞLİ

İnönü University, Center for Strategic Researches (INUSAM), 44280, Malatya-TURKEY

Phone: +90 422 3774261/4383

E-mail fikret.birdisli@inonu.edu.tr

MANAGING EDITORS / ALAN EDİTÖRLERİ

Political Science Editor/ Siyaset Bilimi Editörü

Prof.Dr. Ahmet Karadağ

İnönü University, Faculty of Economic and Administrative Sciences, Department of International Relations, 44280, Malatya-TURKEY

Phone: +90 422 3774288

E-mail karadaq.ahmet@inonu.edu.tr

International Relations and Security Studies Editor/ Uluslararası İlişkiler ve Güvenlik Çalışmaları Editörü

Assoc.Prof.Dr. Fikret Birdişli

İnönü University, Center for Strategic Researches (INUSAM), 44280, Malatya-TURKEY

Phone: +90 422 3774261/4383

E-mail fikret.birdisli@inonu.edu.tr

CONTACT INFORMATION / İLETİŞİM BİLGİLERİ

İnönü University, Center for Strategic Researches (INUSAM), 44280, Malatya-TURKEY

Phone: +90 422 3774261

İnönü Üniversitesi, Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi, İİBF Ek Bina, Kat:3, 44280, Malatya-TÜRKİYE

**2020, 2 (3), / Volume: 2, Number: 3-2020****OWNER / SAHİBİ/**

Assoc. Prof.Dr. Fikret BİRDİŞLİ

Managing Editors / Editörler*Political Science Editor:* Ahmet Karadağ*International Relations and Security Studies Editor:* Fikret Birdişli**Editorial Assistance / Editör Yardımcıları****English Language Editors:**

Christopher Trinh, La Trobe University, Melbourne/Avustralia

Froilant T.Malit, Jr. Cambridge University/United Kingdom

Emre Baran Pak, Kilis 7 Aralık University/Turkey

Fatmanur Kaçar, Marmara University/Turkey

Russian Language Editors:

Toğrul İsmail, KSU University/Turkey

Nazım Cafersoy, Azərbaycan Devlet İktisat University/Azərbaycan

Sedat Çobanoğlu, 19 Mayıs University/Turkey

Emil Qurbanov, Rudn University, Moscow/Rusia

Publication Board / Yayın Kurulu

Fikret Birdişli, Ahmet Karadağ, Emre Baran Pak

Redaction, Researches / Redüksiyon, AR-GE

Maitituoheti Atawulla, Ali Atılğan, Aynur Başurgan, Y. Zakir Baskın, Ferdi Tayfur Güçyetmez, Fatih Tekin, Zeynep

Kamalak, **Web Security and Technical Assistance / Örütağ Güvenliđi ve Teknik Servis** Mustafa Ceylan**INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD / Uluslararası Hakem Kurulu**

Deina A. Abdelkader, Harvard University/USA
Haluk Alkan, İstanbul University/Turkey
Hamid E. Ali, The American University of Cairo/Egypt
Tayyar Arı, Uludağ University/Turkey
Harun Arıkan, Çukurova University/Turkey
Ersel Aydınli, Bilkent University/Turkey
Pınar Bilgin, Bilkent University/Turkey
Nazım Cafersoy, Azərbaycan Devlet İktisat University/Azerbaijan
Mesut Hakkı Caşın, Nişantaşı University/Turkey
Ahtem Celilov, Kırım İşletme Enstitüsü/Crimea
Bezen Balamir Coşkun, İzmir Policy Center/Turkey
Noé Comago, University of Basque Country/Spain
Haydar Çakmak, Gazi University /Turkey
Ayşe Aslıhan Çelenk, Erciyes University/Turkey
Katerina Dalacoura, The London School of Economics and Political Science/UK
Cengiz Dinç, Osmangazi University/Turkey
Nejat Doğan, Anadolu University/Turkey
Federico Donelli, University of Geneva/Italy
Ertan Efeğil, Sakarya University/Turkey
Saira Farooqi, Kinnaird College For Women/Pakistan
Ayman Zain Hayajneh, Yarmouk University/Jordan
Ali Hüseyinoğlu, Trakya University / Turkey
Toğrul İsmail, KSÜ University/Turkey
Altynbek Joldoshev, Turkey-Manas University/Kirghizistan

Theodore Karasik, Gulf State Analitics/Washington D.C-USA
Rasem N. Kayed Arab American University/Palestine
Arshi Khan, Aligarh Muslim University/India
Christos G. Kollias, University of Thessaly/Greece
Osama Kubbar, Qatar Armed Forces Strategic Studies Center/Qatar
Taras Kuzio, Kyiv Mohyla Academi, Kiev/Ukrania
Tarık Oğuzlu, Antalya Bilim University/ Turkey
Haluk Özdemir, Kırıkkale University/Turkey
Sanjay Kumar Pradhan, Pandit Geendeyal Petroleum University/ India
Wahabuddin Ra'ees, International Islamic University/Malasia
Yaşar Sarı, Abant İzzet Baysal University/Turkey
Mehmet Şahin, Polis Akademisi/Turkey
İlter Turan, İstanbul Bilgi University/ Turkey
Sibel Turan, Trakya University/Turkey
Kieran E. Uchehara, Hasan Kalyoncu University/ Turkey
Abdul Majid Wadood, Institute of Business Research Tokyo/Japan
Kristin VandenBelt, Lone Star College, Texas/USA
Konstantinos Zarras, University of Macedonia/Greece
Can Zeyrek, Philipp-University Malburg/Germany
Taras Zhovtenko, National University of Ostroh Academy/Ukrania
Ragıp Kutay Karaca, Nişantaşı University/Turkey



IJPS, 2019; 2(3)

International Journal of Politics and Security, 2019: 2(3)

International Journal of Politic and Security (IJPS) / Uluslararası Politika ve Güvenlik Dergisi (IJPS)

Is a refereed Journal / Hakemli bir dergidir

International Journal of Politic and Security (IJPS) / Uluslararası Politika ve Güvenlik Dergisi (IJPS)

Is currently noted in/ aşağıdaki very tabanlarınca taranmaktadır





AMAÇ International Journal of Politics and Security (IJPS), politika ve güvenlik çalışmaları alanlarında yüksek kaliteli ve özgün çalışmaları akademik çevreler ile paylaşmak için bir platform oluşturma amacını taşıyan uluslararası hakemli, bilimsel bir dergidir (Scholarly- Peer Reviewed Journal). Bu nedenle IJPS'de Siyaset Bilimi, Uluslararası İlişkiler genel alanı ile Ulusal ve Uluslararası Güvenlik çalışmaları alanında yapılan çalışmalara yer verilmekte olup, özgün ve önemli ilerlemelere katkı sağlayan makalelerin yayımlanması amaçlanmıştır. Potansiyel bir çalışmanın derginin amaçlarına uygunluğu hakkında soruları olan yazarlar, tereddütlerini gidermek üzere derginin editörlerine başvurabilirler.

KAPSAM IJPS, yılda iki defa olmak üzere Mayıs ve Ekim aylarında, Açık Erişim Politikasını benimsemiş bir e-dergi olarak yayımlanmaktadır. Dergi TÜBİTAK (Turkey Bilimsel ve Teknolojik Araştırma Kurumu)'ın ev sahipliğini yaptığı Dergi Park üzerinden makale kabul etmekte ve tüm süreci bu platform üzerinden yürütmektedir.

Dergide yayımlanan her makalenin DOI numarası dergimiz tarafından ücretsiz sağlanacaktır.

Dergimiz ilk sayıdan itibaren alan indekslerine dâhil edilecek olup zaman içinde indeks sayısının artırılması hedeflenmektedir.

Yayıncılıkta nihai ve vazgeçilmez ilkelerimiz; epistemolojik topluluğa katkıda bulunacak saygın, güvenilir, bağımsız ve özgür bir akademik dergiye sahip olmaktır. Bu bağlamda sizi evrensel bilimin gelişimine katkıda bulunmak için IJPS'nin danışma veya hakem heyetinde yer almaya davet ve teşvik ediyoruz. Bu konudaki talep ve önerilerinizi editör kurulunca değerlendirilmek üzere lütfen kısa bir özgeçmiş ile birlikte editöre (fikret.birdisli@inonu.edu.tr / fbirdisli@ijps.info) gönderiniz.

ONLİNE MAKALE YÜKLEME IJPS' ye gönderilecek makale, kitap özeti, rapor ve editöre mektuplar Dergi park sitesinde bulunan elektronik gönderim işlemi üzerinden dergiye iletilirler. Makaleler gönderilmeden önce tanıtım sayfasında yer alan yazım ve atıf kuralları dikkatlice incelenmelidir.

YAYIMLANMA Hakem süreci olumlu tamamlanarak yayımlanması kabul edilen gönderilerde yer alan görüş ve düşünceler yazarlarına ait olup dergiyi ve editörleri bağlamamaktadır. IJPS herhangi bir görüşün taşıyıcısı olmayıp, tarafsız yayıncılık ve bilimsel etik kurallarına göre yayım yapmaktadır. Fakat dergide yayımlanmak üzere kabul edilmiş yazıların, kişisel verilerin korunmasına yönelik düzenlenmiş her türlü hakları dergiye devredilmiş kabul edilir.

VERİ PAYLAŞIM POLİTİKASI IJPS, kişilik haklarının korunmasına yönelik evrensel ve hukuksal ölçütler ile bilimsel etik ve atıf kurallarının gereklilikleri içinde kalarak araştırmalarının sonucunda ulaşılan verilerin paylaşılması konusunda yazarları teşvik eder. Bu bağlamda IJPS, Budapeşte Açık Erişim İnisyatifi Bildirisi(2001)'ni benimser (<http://acikerisim.ankos.gen.tr/acikerisimsozluugu.htm>).

İNTİHAL DENETİMİ IJPS orijinal olmayan materyalleri taramak için CrossRef Benzerlik Kontrolü™ (Powered by iThenticate) kullanmaktadır. Makalenizi dergiye göndererek çalışmalarınız üzerinde intihal taramasının yapılmasını kabul etmiş sayılırsınız.

IJPS'de yayımlanan yazılarda belirtilen düşünce ve görüşler ile bilimsel etik kurallarına uygunluktan yazar(lar) sorumludur. IJPS'de yayınlanan yazılarda yer alan görüşler IJPS ya da yayın kurulunun değil yazarlarının görüşleridir.

ABOUT JOURNAL International Journal of Politics and Security (IJPS) is an international peer-reviewed academic journal, which aims to provide a platform for publishing and sharing high quality and original works in the field of politics and security issues with academic community. So, it is purposed to publish articles that provide original and significant advances in the general area of Political Science, International Relations (IR) with National and International Security Studies. Authors who have any question about the appropriateness of a potential submission are encouraged to contact the journal Editors.

SCOPE IJPS will be issued as e-journal on every May and October, months in a year, which adopts the Open Access Policy. Submissions will be accepted via Journal Park (Dergipark) platform to which TÜBİTAK (National Science Agency of Turkey) gives hosting service. Each essay will have DOI number provided by our journal costlessly.



Indexes will be proliferated after the first issue and broadened as soon as possible. Our ultimate and indispensable principles in publishing are to have respected, reliable, independent and free academic journal that contributes to the epistemological community. So, we cordially invite, and encourage you to take part in the advisory or referee board of *IJPS* for contribution to the universal scientific development. Please send your requests and suggestions regarding this topic to the Editor fikret.birdisli@inonu.edu.tr / fbirdisli@ijps.info with a brief cv (curriculum vitae) to be evaluated by the Board of Editors.

ONLINE MANUSCRIPT SUBMISSION IJPS uses an electronic submissions process that is available on the DergiPark website. Before submitting your Article, first read the Manuscript Requirements.

Spelling Guidelines

Submissions to IJPS should follow the style guidelines described in the Chicago Manual of Style. Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary and "Turk Dil Kurumu Yazım Kılavuzu" should be consulted for spelling.

REFERENCES Citations should be numbered sequentially in the text using superscripted digits, in accordance with Chicago Manual of Style (16th ed.) guidelines. The first citation of a reference should include full bibliographic information. For subsequent citations, a shortened bibliographic form such as author's name, title and page number should be used. When consecutive citations refer to the same work, "Ibid." should replace the bibliographical information in citations after the first, with page number(s) added if the cited page(s) differ from those included in the immediately preceding citation. Examples of common citation types appear below:

a) Book with Single Author or Editor:

Michael Pollan, *The Omnivore's Dilemma: A Natural History of Four Meals* (New York: Penguin, 2006), 99-100.

b) Book with Multiple Authors:

Geoffrey C. Ward and Ken Burns, *The War: An Intimate History, 1941-1945* (New York: Knopf, 2007), 52.

c) Book with Author Plus Editor or Translator

Gabriel Garcia Marquez, *Love in the Time of Cholera*, trans. Edith Grossman (London: Cape, 1988), 242-55.

d) Chapter in an Edited Book

Glenn Gould, "Streisand as Schwarzkopf," in the *Glenn Gould Reader*, ed. Tim Page (New York: Vintage, 1984), 310.

e) Journal Article

Walter Blair, "Americanized Comic Braggarts," *Critical Inquiry* 4, no. 2 (1977): 331-32.

PUBLISHING Views and opinions in posts which are accepted for publishing whose referee process is positive belong to their authors, so, do not oblige neither the journal nor the referees. IJPS is not a carrier of any opinion and realizes publishing in accordance with neutral publishing rules and scientific ethics. However all rights of the manuscripts that are accepted for publication in the journal are deemed to have been transferred to the journal.

We recommend that you keep a copy of the accepted manuscript when your article is accepted for publication. For possible uses of your accepted manuscript, please see our page on sharing your work.

DATA SHARING POLICY This journal encourages authors to share the data obtained because of their research while remaining within the requirements of the universal and legal criteria for the protection of personal rights with scientific ethics and citation rules.

CROSSREF SIMILARITY CHECK Please note that IJPS uses CrossRef Similarity Check™ (Powered by iThenticate) to screen papers for unoriginal material. By submitting your paper to the journal, you are agreeing to originality checks during the peer-review and production processes.

OPEN ACCESS POLICY This journal provides immediate open access to its content on the principle that making research freely available to the public supports a greater global exchange of knowledge. Copyright notice and type of licence: CC BY-NC-ND.



Author Guidelines

IJPS accepts submissions written one of the languages of English, Turkish or Russian. Turkish submission should have English abstract which includes 150-200 words, English ones should have Turkish abstract which includes 150-200 words and is placed after title, Russian ones should have both Turkish and English abstracts which both includes 150-200 words again after title. If and when necessary, English, Turkish and Russian abstracts can be provided by our Editors.

IJPS takes four different types of submissions: research articles, reviews, book/report summaries and letters to the Editor.

Articles and book summaries which were submitted to the Journal to be published should not exceed 30 pages including references with tables and figures. Article titles should be 14 pt. bold and written as flush left in accordance with the normal sentence layout. 150-200-word summaries should follow headings and abstracts in all languages and be written as mono spaced, 10 pt., in the Times New Roman type font and justified. At least five key words, which describe the article, should be included after abstracts.

Main text should be written with 1,5 line spacing by using 12 pt. Time New Roman type font and paragraphs should be prepared without any indent but with 6 nk. paragraph spacing. Footnotes should be written with 10 pt., the Time New Roman font and single spacing. After the main text, bibliography, which was written with 1,5 line spacing and 11 pt.-type font, should be included.

Articles submitted to the journal for evaluation should not include author(s) and contact information. These information should be included in the manuscript, which is to be prepared additionally.

The cover page should be uploaded to the system in the Word format separately from the main text. After the title of the article is written with 14 pt. Calibri type font in a justified page formation, under the title, name and surname of author(s), ORCID ID(s); under it, institution and department information; under it, contact information should be written.

The main text should start with the section of "Introduction". In this section, importance of the research, summarized information about previous researches on this subject, main problematic or hypothesis of the research and the methodology of the research should be included and mentioned. Main headings after the introduction should be numbered and written in bold type in the normal sentence layout. Sub-headings following main headings should be properly numbered and written in bold and italic type.

Book summaries and reviews in the *IJPS* are short reports of original researches focused on important methodological or empirical contributions. This includes but is not limited to new empirical findings, methodological advances, theoretical arguments, as well as comments and extensions of previous studies, which advance the field.

Letters sent to the *IJPS* and addressed to the Editor are written in a concise form, like articles, and are scientific texts and subject to the same standards as the articles. This kind of texts should not exceed 2-4 pages and 1500-3000 words.

Letters including comments on the articles published in the journal should focus on contributing to the scientific field and avoid unnecessary attacks and violations of personal rights.

All posts addressed to the journal should be uploaded in the Microsoft Word format (not PDF) and given the page number in the middle.

The author (s) are responsible for compliance with scientific ethics. Any views expressed in the publication are the views of the author (s) and are not views of IJPS.



IJPS INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF POLITICS AND SECURITY®

PEER-REVIEWED INTERNATIONAL ACADEMIC JOURNAL

2020; 2, (3) / Volume: 2, Number: 3-2020

CONTENT / İÇİNDEKİLER

Editorial / Editörden

Essays / Makaleler

- Drivers of Political Radicalization and De-radicalization of Terrorism in Northern Nigeria
Neba Ridley NGWA 1-33
- Analysis of the Intra-State Conflict in Afghanistan
Mudassir FATAH..... 34-63
- New Media and Their Role in Supporting the Humanitarian NGOs during
Armed Conflicts the ICRC's Work in the Syrian Conflict: A Case Study
Redouane TOUATI and Halima TOUATI 64-88
- Yumuşak Güç Unsuru Olarak Kamu Diplomasisi
Gökhan KÖMÜR..... 89-115
- President Rodrigo Duterte and the Birth of Radical Democracy in the Philippines
Christopher Ryan MABOLOC 116-134
- Evaluation of Developments in Afghanistan in the Context of Foreign Policy and Security Issues
Hasan ACAR, Mustafa PEKCANDANOĞLU..... 135-158
- ### Book Review / Kitap Özetleri
- Komünizmden Sonra İslam: Orta Asya'da Din ve Politika, Adeep Khalid
Elanur AKDAĞ 159-166



Editörden

Uluslararası Politika ve Güvenlik (IJPS) dergisinin ikinci cilt, üçüncü sayısını akademik dünyanın görüş ve istifadesine sunmanın kıvancını yaşıyoruz.

Bu sayıda altı makaleye ve bir kitap değerlendirmesine yer verilmiştir. Sayının ilk makalesi *Neba Ridley NGWA* tarafından kaleme alınan “Drivers of Political Radicalization and De-radicalization of Terrorism in Northern Nigeria” başlığını taşımaktadır. Kuzey Nijerya’da Boko Haram örgütüne olan halk desteğinin nedenlerinin araştırıldığı bu makalede, devletin sorumlulukları eleştirel bir yaklaşımla irdelenmektedir.

İkinci makale *Mudassir FATAH* tarafından hazırlanmış olan “Analysis of the Intra-State Conflict in Afghanistan” başlığını taşımaktadır. Bu makalede yazar Afganistan’da yaşanan iç savaşın daha çok harici nedenlerine odaklanmış ve dış aktörlerin bu savaşın uzamasına olan etkilerini açıklamıştır.

Üçüncü makalemiz, *Redouane TOUATI and Halima TOUATI* tarafından hazırlanan “New Media and Their Role in Supporting the Humanitarian NGOs during Armed Conflicts the ICRC’s Work in the Syrian Conflict: A Case Study” başlığını taşımaktadır. Bu makalede yazarlar sosyal medyanın farklı alanlardaki işlevine odaklanmışlardır. Bu bağlamda Suriye iç savaşında Kızılhaç’ın Facebook’u nasıl kullandığı bir olay analizi olarak ele alınmış ve incelenmiştir.

Dördüncü makalemiz, *Gökhan KÖMÜR* tarafından hazırlanmış olan “Yumuşak Güç Unsuru Olarak Kamu Diplomasisi” başlığını taşımaktadır. Bu makalede yazar değişen dünya koşullarında diplomasinin nasıl bir evrim geçirdiğini Yumuşak Güç kavramı üzerinden açıklamaktadır.

Beşinci makalemiz Christopher Ryan MABOLOC tarafından yazılmış olan “President Rodrigo Duterte and the Birth of Radical Democracy in the Philippines” başlığını taşımaktadır. Bu makalede yazar Filipinde iç istikrarsızlığın bir nedeni olan uyuşturucu kaçaklığıyla mücadelede radikal demokrasi uygulamasının işlevini sorgulamaktadır.

Üçüncü sayının son makalesi ise Hasan ACAR ve *Mustafa PEKCONDANOĞLU* tarafından hazırlanmış olan “Evaluation of Developments in Afghanistan in the Context of Foreign Policy and Security Issues” başlığını taşımaktadır. Bu makalede yazarlar Afganistan gibi önemli bir konuma sahip ülkenin tarihsel süreç içinde, içte ve dışta yaşadığı sorunlardan nasıl etkilendiği ve bu durmun Afganistan’ın stratejik konumuna nasıl yansıdığı sorusuna cevap aramışlardır.

Bu sayıda *Elanur AKDAĞ* tarafından incelenen bir kitap özetine de yer verilmiştir. Adeep Khalid tarafından yazılmış olan *Komünizmden Sonra İslam: Orta Asya’da Din ve Politika* başlıklı kitabın Komünizm sonrası Orta Asya’da değişen sosyal yapıyı din üzerinden incelemektedir. Akdağ, bölgeyi tanımak ve anlamak konusunda önemli bulduğu bu kitaba okuyucunun dikkatini çekmeyi amaçlamıştır.

Bu sayıya katkı sağlayan yazar ve hakemlerimize teşekkür eder, faydalı olması dileğiyle, iyi okumalar dileriz.

IJPS Editörü

Editorial

We are delighted to announce that third issue of IJPS is out for academic usage. This includes six papers and one book review. First paper of this issue is about “Drivers of Political Radicalization and De-radicalization of Terrorism in Northern Nigeria”. Neba Ridley Ngwa focuses on the reasons of popular support to Boko Haram in Nigeria and criticizes the responsibilities of government and other actors on this issue.

Second paper was written by Mudassir Fatah on “Analysis of the Intra-State Conflict in Afghanistan”. This paper questions external roots of the civil war in Afghanistan. According to the author, external interventions and actors have serious responsibilities about worsening the situation in Afghanistan.

Third paper title-named “New Media and Their Role in Supporting the Humanitarian NGOs during Armed Conflicts the ICRC’s Work in the Syrian Conflict: A Case Study”. In this paper Redouane Touati and Halima



Touati present a different aspect of social media. They focus on the activities of the ICRC in Syria conflict and take the role of Facebook into the consideration as a facilitator for humanitarian aid.

Fourth paper about "Public Diplomacy as an Element of Soft Power" was written by Gökhan Kömür. According to the author, public diplomacy gains importance beyond classical diplomacy today and serves to create better soft power for states.

Our fifth article, titled "President Rodrigo Duterte and the Birth of Radical Democracy in the Philippines" was written by Christopher Ryan Maboloc. In this article, the author questions the function of radical democracy practice in combating drug trafficking, which is a cause of internal instability in Philippines.

The last article of the third issue is titled "Evaluation of Developments in Afghanistan in the Context of Foreign Policy and Security Issues" which was prepared by Hasan Acar and Mustafa Pekkandanoğlu. In this article, the authors focus on the question of how strategic position and importance of Afghanistan have been affected badly by the internal conflict and external intervention in the context of security.

In this issue, a book summary examined by Elanur Akdağ is also included. The book titled "Islam after Communism: Religion and Politics in Central Asia", written by Adeep Khalid, examines the changing social structure in the Central Asia after communism through religion. Akdağ aimed to draw the attention of the reader to this book, which she finds important in getting to know and understand the region.

I would like to thank our authors and referees who contributed to this issue and hope that these papers serve to understand international area better.

IJPS Editor-in-Chief



Drivers of Political Radicalization and De-radicalization of Terrorism in

Northern Nigeria

Neba Ridley NGWA*

Abstract

This article sheds more light on the role of states and the bearing which political and elite interests may have exerted on public support for Boko Haram. It examines the political, socio-economic, and ideological context of the crisis and moves on to map the two dominant de-radicalization approaches; top-down and bottom-up approaches. The article exposes the fault lines of realism's top-down approaches toward national security in Northern Nigeria and proposes a bottom-up approach as a complement to the earlier top-down model. An evaluation of both approaches reveals that top-down approaches are state-centric and are predisposed to realist techniques of wars centered on threat, use and control of military force. The work specifically argues for a hybrid security model that incorporates both elements on top down and bottom up security approaches. The key theoretical considerations employed in the article relates to micro and macro theories of collective political violence. The theories provide a better understanding of the underlying drivers of violent extremism and radicalization that leads to terrorism and also justification for the approaches used in countering them. The article answered key research questions related to Top-down and Bottom-up security approaches.

Keywords: Terrorism, Radicalization, De-radicalization, Bottom up and top down Approaches.

Kuzey Nijerya'da Siyasal Radikalleşmenin Nedenleri ve Radical Terörizmin Önlenmesi

Özet¹

Bu makale, Kuzey Nijerya'da Boko Haram örgütüne olan kamuoyu desteğinin artmasının arkasında itici bir güç olarak yer alan devletin rolüne ve seçkinlerin çıkarlarını temsil etmesine ışık tutmaktadır. Bu kapsamda krizin politik, sosyo-ekonomik ve ideolojik bağlamı incelenmekte ve aşağıdan-yukarıya; yukarıdan aşağıya yaklaşımlarla radikalleşmenin önlenmesi konusunda genel bir çerçeve çizilmektedir. Bu makale Nijerya'da ulusal güvenliğe yukarıdan aşağı bir yaklaşım sergileyen Realizmin fay hatlarını ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlamaktadır. Her iki yaklaşımın değerlendirilmesi sonucu yukarıdan-aşağı yaklaşımın devlet merkezli ve savaşa odaklanan Realist tekniklere müzahir olduğu ortaya konulmaktadır. Ayrıca bu çalışma yukarıdan-aşağı ve aşağıdan-yukarı her iki modeli de içeren Hibrit güvenlik modelini de tartışmaktadır.

* Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University, ORCID, 0000-0003-3121-7766 nebaridley@yahoo.com

¹ Turkish abstract has been translated and added by IJPS.

Received: 02.09.2019

Accepted: 13.04.2020



Çalışmanın kolektif siyasal şiddetin mikro ve makro teorilerine dayandırılmıştır. Bu teoriler radikal terörizmin itici nedenlerini daha iyi anlamayı kolaylaştırarak bunlara karşı koymak için kullanılan yaklaşımların gerekçelerini daha iyi anlamayı sağlar. Bu bağlamda makale yukarıdan-aşağı, aşağıdan-yukarı yaklaşımlarla ilgili temel sorulara da cevap vermektedir.

Anahtar Kavramlar: *Terörizm, Radikalleşme, İlimlulaşma, Aşağıdan-yukarı ve Yukarıdan Aşağı yaklaşımlar*

1. Introduction

Over the past decade, the northern region of Nigeria has experienced an upsurge in youth radicalization and terrorist violence instigated by a sectarian group known as Boko Haram. Nigeria's ranking on the Global Terrorism Index has risen from 16th out of 158 countries in 2008 to 3rd after Iraq and Afghanistan in 2016.² The group's use of suicide attacks, beheading and massive shooting presents an appalling threat typical of global terror. This paper notes that the multi-dimensional challenges of Boko Haram terrorist continue to confront the Nigerian government, leaving it struggling to clearly define the problem and to devise a comprehensive strategy to prevent and counter it. This paper holds that unless one clearly understands the process of radicalization, it will be difficult to devise a comprehensive and concise strategy of de-radicalization from terrorist activities. Radicalization explains a process by which an individual or a group of individuals adopts a change in beliefs, feelings and behaviors in the direction that increasingly justify inter-group violence and demand sacrifice for the defense of the group. While de-radicalization is the most fashionable counter terrorism model today, it includes both the use of force to confront violent threats in tandem with peaceful measures that transform individuals away from violent radicalism and extremism that leads to terrorism. In recent years de-radicalization has grown both in proportion and scope as it supports programs relating to individuals in the vulnerable age group that are most likely to be subject of intergroup violence.³

The major unresolved problem drawn in this article rest on the fact that a great deal of academic literature presented by previous analyst and security experts on the subject tend to focus

² Global Terrorism Index, "Measuring and Understanding the Impact of Terrorism", Institute for Economics and Peace, 2016, <http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Global-Terrorism-Index-2016.2.pdf> (03.09.2017).

³ S. V. Marsden, "Introduction," *In Reintegrating Extremists* (Palgrave Macmillan, UK, 2017).



more on top-down approaches towards de-radicalization of terrorist threats. The study attempts to argue that overdependence on top-down approach has led to a series of inadvertent consequences that pulled the entire de-radicalization process and desire to contain a crisis and achieve stability into a conservative end of the spectrum. Top-down approaches to counter violent extremism and radicalization that leads to terrorism have been inclined to depend solely on conventional warfare mechanisms centered around the study of threat, use and control of military force.⁴ Also, proponents of top-down model mostly rely on religious and ideological drivers of radicalization perpetrated by the terrorist group Boko Haram, they tend to ignore the socio-economic and political drivers and the unintended role of the state in radicalizing violent extremism. This research will attempt to argue that since the drivers of terrorism has extensive socio-economic and political ramifications, top-down approaches that rely solely on ideological drivers are bound to be superficial and will likely fail to provide long term solutions to the complex threats posed by organized crime groups such as Boko Haram. It is on the basis of these limitations that this work aims to argue for a complementary approach within the literature of international security and strategic studies. The article moves away from the defensive claims mounted by traditional security and military experts that there are no alternatives to top-down approaches in the fight against terrorism.

The work contends that the weaknesses of realism's traditionalist approach built around conventional warfare techniques provide opportunities for implicit and explicit reforms in societies caught in the web of terrorist violence.⁵ It is in this respect that this paper underpins the need for a bottom-up approach that advocates for de-radicalization programs with strong emphasis for a conceptual framework that guarantees long term solutions in societies facing violent insurgencies and radicalization that leads to terrorism. It is imperative to note that such bottom up model established within the framework of a de-radicalization program provides support for community-based approaches to counter terrorism, rebuild trust, establish legitimate domestic political order,

⁴ M. Kaldor and I. Rangelov (Eds.), *The Handbook Of Global Security Policy*, (John Wiley & Sons, 2014).

⁵ P. Hough, S. Malik, A. Moran and B. Pilbeam, *International Security Studies: Theory and Practice*, (Routledge, 2015).



ensures access to justice, rule of law and legal empowerment of local agencies and native councils, economic empowerment of individuals in vulnerable age groups that have been recruited or are most likely to be recruited into terrorist groups in local communities, intelligence cooperation by civil society actors in local communities. The conceptual approach proposed in this paper will set the basis for a new set of socio-economic, political and military reforms.

This paper answers two fundamental key questions and other subsidiary questions. The first set of questions at the heart of this article include; Do top-down approaches framed around realist conventional warfare techniques based on the use and control of military force provide long term solutions to threats posed by Boko Haram terrorist group? How do political and socio-economic structures of the state act as drivers of violent radicalization of terrorism in Nigeria? Is religious ideology an independent driver of radicalization or is Boko Haram ideology enshrined in local politics?

At the heart of the second set of questions include: How do bottom-up approaches framed around a conceptual framework of human security programs provide long term solutions to violent extremism and radicalization that leads to terrorism? What constitutes the major conceptual framework for viable de-radicalization programs, under what local conditions will such programs operate, what objectives and methods will be employed by the said program? When will such programs succeed and when are they more likely to fail?

It is imperative to highlight that the purpose of this article is not to replace or completely repudiate the present conventional realist (top-down) approach used to counter terrorism; rather the objective is to modify and transform the existing approaches and to further circumvent the pitfalls that leads to a series of inadvertent consequences that pulled de-radicalization processes into the conservative end of the spectrum. Just as recent studies conducted by military innovation and strategist scholars have purported, this paper attempts to develop a more hybrid and pragmatic security strategy that will provide viable answers to contemporary challenges on global terror. It highlights the importance of framing a model that combines the more conventional "top-down" approaches to security with "bottom-up" perspectives.



The paper therefore offers that unless one fully understands the process of radicalization it will be difficult to develop a comprehensive approach to counter terrorist threats. The purpose of this study is to shed more light on the role of states and the bearing which political and elite interests may have exerted on public support for Boko Haram. It examines the socio-economic context of the crisis and the extent to which it incites public support for Boko Haram. It further focuses on the catalytic role of religion and how it has been exploited by these terrorist groups in generating huge solidarity in northern Nigeria. The core of the analysis section develops a human security paradigm as a form of bottom-up approach towards de-radicalization in Nigeria. Under the framework of the new hybrid approach focus is on individuals such as men, children, women, and girls within youthful age groups that are highly vulnerable to Boko Haram strategy of ideological socialization.

This article undertakes qualitative research methods built on interpretivist research techniques. Interpretivism is the key technique in qualitative research methods that attempts to understand the purpose of actions alongside the intension of human behavior.⁶ Interpretivism clearly aligns with constructivist approach of inquiry since it offers valuable ways of studying how shared beliefs, rules, norms and cultural practices shape individual behaviours and those of states and other non-state actors. In using this techniques this work upholds the views of proponents of qualitative research who believe that access to reality cannot be simply observed from measurable data imbued in quantitative methods, rather the study contends that access to reality can be interpreted through social constructions such as language, communication, imagination, constraints.⁷ In a similar vein this work will embrace interpretivist approach of analysis and will utilize individual orientation related to language, communication, shared beliefs, imaginations and constraints to explain and comprehend the process of radicalization and de-radicalization of terrorism.

The article consists of two parts and four sections. First, theories of political violence, second, the historical background of Boko Haram, then drivers of political radicalization and finally

⁶ G. Walsham, "Interpretive Case Studies in Research: Nature and Method," *European Journal of Information Systems*, no. 4(2) (1995): 74-81.

⁷ A. C. Lin, "Bridging Positivist And Interpretivist Approaches To Qualitative Methods," *Policy Studies Journal*, no. 26(1) (1998):162-180.



top-down and bottom up approaches to de-radicalization. The first part of the analysis presents a brief historical background of the Boko Haram terrorist group; it traces the origin of the group and its evolution with particular emphasis on the political and socio-economic drivers that led to the rise of the group to international prominence. The second part uncovers the fault lines of conventional top-down approaches towards national security in Nigeria, while the third part assumes a unique bottom-up human security paradigm as a complement to top-down reductionist approach. The study specifically offers a hybrid model approach towards national security, the proposed model emphasizes not just on states and military security but on individuals, society and environment as major referent objects of security. This new approach considers both military and non-military threats as principal security concerns. In our contemporary global era, it is apparent that the rise of complex intra state violence cannot be fully explained and addressed in terms of traditionalist explanations; it is on the basis of this limitation that this study underpins the need of a more nuanced hybrid security approach.

2. Theories of Political Violence

At the theoretical level, this article adopts theories of collective political violence used within the discipline of security studies to provide explanations to the causes of violent conflicts and justification to the approaches used in countering them. In international security and strategic studies many scholars have put forward theories that help account for the new wave of violent extremism and radicalization relating to terrorism. This part of work borrows the idea of Conteh-Morgan who classified theories in the area of conflict analysis into two main categories; macro and micro theories, or what others termed reductionist and holistic approaches. Micro theories attempt to explain the underlying causes of conflicts in the nature of human beings, while macro theories focus on society's or state's structure and institutions.⁸ To this far, the major theoretical considerations deployed in this paper relates to both micro and macro theories of collective political violence. The principal micro theoretical approaches used in this article relates to Ted Robert Gurr's

⁸ E. Conteh-Morgan, *Collective Political Violence: An Introduction to the Theories and Cases of Violent Conflicts*, (Psychology Press, 2004).



Relative Deprivation Theory. These micro theories suggest how relative socio-economic deprivation, class discrimination and societal injustices that prevent individuals from reaching their full potentials stir extremism and radicalization that leads to the rise terrorist groups.⁹ At macro level this study makes use of Jonan Galtun's Structural Violence Triangle.

On the one hand, studies carried out by the International Center for the Study of Radicalization (ICSR) offers more intelligent solutions in dealing with radicalization and political violence. ICSR establish trustworthy conditions for promoting human rights, safeguarding the rights of national minorities, resolving political, ethnic and religious fault lines and preventing violent extremism and radicalization that lead to terrorism.¹⁰ The ICSR is uniquely committed to execute local programs and lead capacity building efforts in conflict prone areas. The ICSR illustrates the importance and potential impacts of coercive and non-coercive approaches that have been adopted in this article in dealing with issues of violent extremism and radicalization that lead to terrorism.

2.1. Micro Theories; Relative Deprivation as a Theory of Political Violence

The theory of relative deprivation is mostly associated with the American sociologist Robert K. Merton. He was amongst the first scholars to use the concept of relative deprivation to explain the presence of deviance conduct and a surge in violent criminal behavior within a given society. Relative deprivation occurs when an individual or a group of individuals perceived itself as unfairly treated in favor of another group having similar attributes as them. Walter Runciman used a hypothetical example in his formal definition of the concept.¹¹ He noted that there are 4 preconditions that clearly defines the concept of relative deprivation as seen as follows: Consider an object (X) and a person (A),

- a) 1st condition, person A does not have an object X

⁹ T. R. Gurr, "Relative Deprivation and the Impetus to Violence," *Why Men Rebel*, (1970):22-58.

¹⁰ International Center for the Study of Radicalization-ICSR, "Countering Violent Extremism and Radicalization that Lead to Terrorism: Ideas, Recommendations, and Good Practices from the OSCE Region," 2019, <https://icsr.info/2017/12/07/countering-violent-extremism-radicalisation-lead-terrorism-ideas-recommendations-good-practices-osce-region/> (13.02.2019).

¹¹ I. Walker and T. F. Pettigrew, "Relative Deprivation Theory: An Overview and Conceptual Critique," *British Journal of Social Psychology*, no. 23(4) (1984): 301-310.



- b) 2nd condition, person A knows other person in his community that have the object X
- c) 3rd condition, Person A wants to have the object X
- d) 4th condition, person A believes that it is his right to obtain the object X

To put it together, relative deprivation is the feeling that one has been impaired or prevented to claim that which legitimately belongs to him. It is important to point that the term relative deprivation is different from absolute deprivation. Absolute deprivation is a situation wherein everyone in a given society is deprived or deficient of a particular necessity whereas relative deprivation relates to individuals who find their own welfare inferior to that of others with whom they share a common territorial space. Feelings of relative deprivation are derived from a comparison of social and political norms that are applicable to individuals differently at a given time.¹² Thus relative deprivation is different from absolute deprivation or absolute poverty which signifies a condition that applies to all underprivileged persons.

Equally as a point of focus, it is important to understand how relative deprivation theory account for the rise of social movement and different modes of political violence and deviant conduct related to terrorism. In brief retrospect, the concept of relative deprivation dates back to ancient Greece. Aristotle the ancient Greek scholar articulated the idea that revolution is driven by a relative sense of feeling and inequality rather than by an absolute measure.¹³ In a similar vein Robert Gurr's writing titled "Why men rebel" (1970) provided a clear understanding of relative deprivation as a theory of political violence. He emphasized that political violence is the outcome of collective discontent caused by a feeling of relative deprivation. He noted that "Relative deprivation is the term used to describe the tension that arises from a discrepancy between ought and is".¹⁴ The gap between individual's legitimate expectation and achieved welfare is what result to collective discontent. One very important question that needs to be answered here is how can feelings of relative deprivation translate into violence? In a bid to proffer an answer to the said question, Gurr (1970) adopted a psychological approach which describes how collective discontent

¹² Ibid, 308.

¹³ E. N. Muller, "Income Inequality, Regime Repressiveness, and Political Violence," *American Sociological Review*, (1985):47-61.

¹⁴ T. R. Gurr, "Relative Deprivation and the Impetus to Violence," *Why Men Rebel*, (1970): 22-58.



manifest into different forms of political violence such as terrorism, and civil wars.

Gurr's approach was built on a causal relationship between frustration and aggression. He emphasized the fact that the primary source of violence in human beings is derived from frustration and aggression. The anger induced by frustration is the primary force that induces people to act aggressively.¹⁵ However, Gurr was not the first political psychologist to propose a causal relation between frustration and aggression. Dollard Millard and others in 1939 had as well established a theory that postulated that frustration induces men to act aggressively. Relative deprivation further explains the rise of social movements; it accounts for the reasons why a group of diffusely organized people bound by a common goal relating to human society strive to pursue social change. Improved desire and determination to achieve their goals usually spark violent deviant behaviors manifested in the form of violence. To sum up, the term relative deprivation has been used to explain the expression of radical politics, violent religious manifestations, the rise of social movements, and a plethora of advanced criminal conduct. This attempt to explain the different strands of political violence from a perspective of relative deprivation is not new in international security studies.

2.2. Macro Theories; Johan Galtung's Violence Triangle

This paper submits that Robert Gurr's framework on relative deprivation theory and violence can be further strengthened and complemented with Johan Galtung's violence triangle. The essence here is to examine the political drivers of terrorism within the framework of Johan Galtung's approach to conflict. His theory specifically describes how socio-economic structures and political systems of a country cause different forms of political violence including terrorism.¹⁶ He offered that violence constitute actions, words, structures and systems that causes direct physical, mental, emotional, social, and environmental damage to human beings, thus preventing them from reaching their optimum human potential. Violence such as terrorism is usually structured within the system of relationship that prevails within a given society, which is within the socio- economic and cultural arrangement of a society. Hence, systemic or

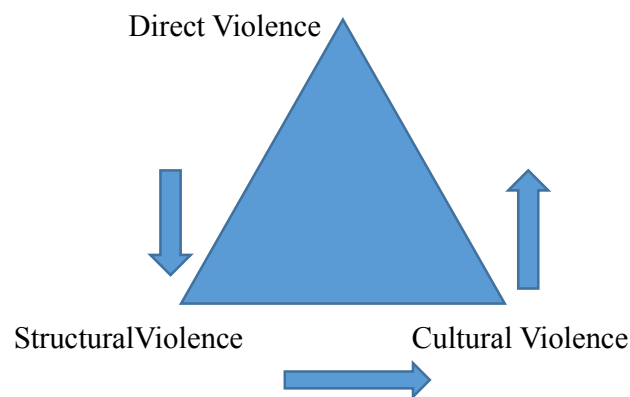
¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ J. Galtung, "Cultural Violence," *Journal of Peace Research*, no. 27(3) (1990):291-305.



structural violence can turn out to be the root cause of unending violent conflict as well as violent behavioral responses to specific conflict situation. In 1969 Johan Galtung in his illustration of “violence triangle” made a clear cut distinction between structural violence, cultural violence and direct violence.¹⁷ According to him these variants of violence are causally interconnected to each other and usually take a cyclical pattern from structural violence to cultural violence and then direct violence.

Figure 1.1. Violence Triangle¹⁸



According to the triangle as shown in figure 1,1 structural violence is at the bottom left, cultural violence bottom right and direct violence at the top vertex. The assumption is that structural and cultural violence causes direct violence. As seen above the most dangerous and lethal form of violence is direct violence, it is the classic form that involves the use of physical force such as killings, torture, rape, beatings, beheading, wars, genocide and psychological abuse. This article holds that it is under the category of direct violence that terrorism is more visible. Direct violence is typified as personal violence because its perpetrators are human beings or persons.

Structural violence is much less visible; more often than not it is deadly than direct violence. Typically, no specific individual can be directly held responsible as a perpetrator of structural violence. Here violence is intricately linked to the structure of human organization within a given society; that is within the social, economic and political structure of governance

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid, 292.



of a society. Structural violence is usually invisible, not because it is rare or hidden but because it is so ordinary and discreet that it does not stand out unique. Its ordinary nature has made it to be viewed by most people as “normal” or “natural” part of how we see and interpret the world.¹⁹ Structural violence is considered to exist when some groups, classes, gender, nationalities are perceived to have more resources or in fact do have more access to resources and opportunities than other groups, classes, genders, and nationalities within a given society. The inequality demonstrated here is a product of a political and socio-economic system used in governing societies and states across the world.²⁰ This article underpins the fact that in systemic or structural inequality, some groups, classes, and nationalities happen to be the root causes of most unending violent conflicts and resistances. It is necessary to quickly point out here that even though structural violence has real victims, it however does not have real perpetrators. The major actors responsible are states and their socio-economic and political systems of governance.

A more concise description of how systemic inequality is produced at both national and transnational levels can be found in Immanuel Wallenstein understating of world system approach. Wallenstein in his approach describe how unequal relation of production and the expansion of surplus capital (accumulation by disposition) inspires world economies and core states at both national and transnational levels to exploit mini system, semi peripheral and peripheral states and communities. Thus, world economies and core states have the political, economic, and military power to enforce unequal relations between the core and the periphery.²¹ This article does not intend to amplify Immanuel Wallenstein approach in great depth, it however upholds the underlining fact that socio-economic systems that result in relative deprivation of basic human needs have an intricately causal relationship with varied forms of political violence particularly terrorism which is our major unit of analysis.

¹⁹ J. Galtung, “Violence, War, and Their Impact: On Visible and Invisible Effects of Violence,” *In Polylog: Forum for Intercultural Philosophy*, Vol. 5(2004).

²⁰ K. M. Weigert, “Structural Violence,” *Stress Of War, Conflict And Disaster*, (2010):126-133.

²¹ T. K. Hopkins and I. M. Wallerstein, *World-Systems Analysis: Theory and Methodology*, (Sage Publications, 1982).



Moving to cultural violence, this article notes that cultural violence is the prevailing attitude that surrounds our daily lives or that we have been taught from childhood and in effect such attitude instills an orientation or behavior in us that results in the infliction of physical injury, mental, social or environmental harm.²² Cultural violence prevents persons from attaining their full human potentials. It occurs in the arena of culture, in the realm of beliefs, ideology and symbols. The challenge is that both direct and structural violence explained above poses a problem of meaning and interpretation that needs to be justified or legitimized in way one or the other. Cultural symbols, beliefs and attitudes helps justifies and legitimizes the manifestation of direct violence.²³ This paper holds the view that it is erroneous to assert that culture is the root cause of violent conduct such as terrorism; rather I posit that culture only serve as a causal link that justifies and legitimizes direct-violent behavioural responses whose root causes lie in structural violence. Neither direct nor structural violence prevail for long without at least some support from cultural symbols, beliefs and attitudes. The practice is that in most cases of direct violence the justification and legitimization of violent actions can come from a variety of cultural values such as religion, national and cultural and symbol like language etc. In the case of global terrorism which constitute the deadliest form of direct violence and insecurity threat across the world today, cultural symbols such as language and religion has been continually used as a means of justify and legitimize violent behaviors.

3. Scrutinizing Drivers of Political Radicalization and Counter Terrorism Approaches

The first part of this analysis presents a brief historical background of the Boko Haram terrorist group; it traces the origin of the group and its evolution with particular emphasis on the political and socio-economic drivers that led to the rise of the group to international prominence. The second part uncover the fault lines of conventional top-down approaches towards national security in Nigeria while the third part assume a unique bottom-up human security paradigm as a complementary framework to the top-down reductionist approach. The

²² J. Galtung, "Cultural Violence," *Journal of Peace Research*, no. 27(3) (1990): 291-305.

²³ J. Lewis, *Language Wars: The Role of Media and Culture in Global Terror and Political Violence*, (Pluto Press, 2005).



study specifically offers a hybrid model approach towards national security, the proposed model emphasizes not just states and military security but on individuals, society and environment as the major referent object of security.²⁴ This new approach considers both military and non-military threats as principal security concerns. In our contemporary global era, it is apparent that the rise of complex intra states violence cannot be fully explained and addressed in terms of traditionalist explanations; it is on the basis of this limitation that this study underpins the need of a more nuance hybrid security approach.

3.1. Historical Background of Boko Haram

The introductory analysis begins with a brief historical background of the Boko Haram terrorist group, and proceeds to answer fundamental research questions: Is religion or are ideological factors the primary drivers of violent radicalization of terrorism in Northern Nigeria? How do socio-economic structures of the states in Nigeria serve as drivers of violent radicalization of violent extremism that leads to terrorism? What bearing does political and elite interest exert on public support for Boko Haram? Finally, the article concludes with what role can existing leadership in Nigeria play in the de-radicalization process at local or national level.

A lot of controversy surrounds the origin of Boko Haram; however, a great deal of academician holds that the rise of the terrorist organization can be traced as far back as in 1995 with the emergence of a Muslim-youth organization called Shabaab. The Group's headquarters is located in the Northeast of the country which is in Maiduguri-Bornu state. In the early years of its formation the group was headed by a man known as Lewan Abubakar who later departed for further studies to the University of Medina in Saudi Arabia. Before his departure he handed over the leadership of the organization to Mohammed Yusuf. Boko Haram is a Hausa word which literally means "western education is unlawful" but today it has been modified to mean "western culture is forbidden".

In 2002 Mohammed Yusuf altered religious sermon in line with the ideology fundamentalist beliefs of the group, as a result he was prevented from preaching in the Indimi

²⁴M. Kaldor, M. Martin and S. Selchow, "Human Security: A New Strategic Narrative for Europe," *International Affairs*, no. 83(2) (2007): 273-288.



Mosque in Maiduguri.²⁵ It is important to note that between the period of 2002 to 2009, (period prior to extremist violence) the group managed to gain wide base support and followers from mostly youthful ages between 17-30years old. During this period the organization gained many supporters, mostly unemployed youths and poor families. In the early formation years Boko Haram generated a huge appeal for thousands of youths who were already discontented with the poor system of federal governance in Nigeria.²⁶ As part of its founding principle the group provided social programs and employment opportunities in a bit to help the impoverished indigenous people in the north eastern part of the country. As time went on, the activities of the group spread to other parts of the country with the most dreadful areas being Kano, Yobe, Katsina and Bauchi regional states.

Equally the political history of northern Nigeria cannot be neglected in the discourse of the rise of the group. This is because the political history helps us understand the contemporary political impasse and the rise of violent insurgent groups. Prior to colonization of the region, the northeastern part of the country known as the Bornu Empire was under the control of the Kanuri Muslims. However British colonization and the imposition of British system of indirect rule led to increased allegiance of local people to the Bornu sultanate. It has been argued that profound dissatisfaction with the activities of British authorities fuelled the rise of Islamic fundamentalism among the Kanuri people.

This article argues that even though anti-colonial discontent is not unique to the Kanuri people, yet one cannot dislodge the fact that it helped a great deal to explain the genesis of the sympathy and popular support for Boko Haram in the early years of its formation. It is important to point out that Boko Haram's insurgency group and its activism become violent from July 2009 onwards after clashes between government security forces and members of the militant group in Bauchi state saw the death of 17 of its members including its key leader Mohammed Yusuf. The groups' denial to adhere to the enforcement of transport safety laws on compulsory

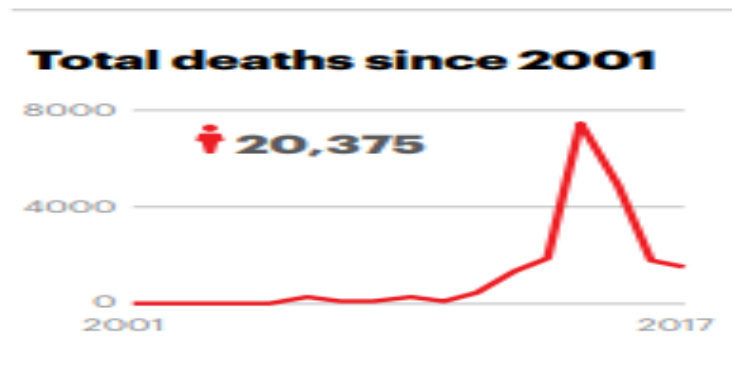
²⁵ J. Campbell, *Boko Haram: Origins, Challenges and Responses*, (NOREF Policy Brief, 2014).

²⁶ D. E. Agbibo, "Why Boko Haram Exists: The Relative Deprivation Perspective," *African Conflict & Peacebuilding Review*, no. 3(1) (2013):144-157.



use of helmets for motorcyclists led to the confrontations. In the aftermath of these confrontations, the group's hideouts in Bauchi were invaded and materials for producing explosives discovered.²⁷ In retaliation, the group resurfaced with more advanced violent attacks characterized by bombings of the police headquarters in Abuja, June 2011, UN headquarters in August 2011 and numerous churches across the country in 2012. Even at the time of writing (September 2017) things are not getting any better with an increased rate of suicide and car bombers terrorizing Nigeria and its immediate neighbors especially Chad, Cameroon and Niger. In terms of support national intelligence report reveals that the group was\is heavily supported by university lecturers, political elites, bankers' unemployed graduates and local indigenes in from most the northern part of Kanuri, Bauchi, Bornu and other provinces located in the northeastern part of the country.²⁸

Figure 1.2. Total Terrorism Deaths by Boko Haram²⁹



Source: Global Terrorism Database

Figure 1.2 highlights the fact that total deaths from terrorism in Nigeria gradually increased in the year 2000 and reached its peak in 2014. It then dropped to 1,532 in 2017, with a decrease of 16 per cent.³⁰

²⁷ P. Rogers, "Nigeria: The Generic Context Of The Boko Haram Violence," *Monthly Global Security Briefing*, (2012):1-55

²⁸ A. Olojo, *Nigeria's Troubled North: Interrogating the Drivers of Public Support for Boko Haram*, (2013).

²⁹ Global Terrorism Index, 2017.

³⁰ Global Terrorism Index, "Measuring and Understanding the Impact of Terrorism," *Institute for Economics and Peace*, 2017, <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Global%20Terrorism%20Index%202017%20%284%29.pdf> (07.12.2017).



Figure 1.3. Deaths from Terrorism

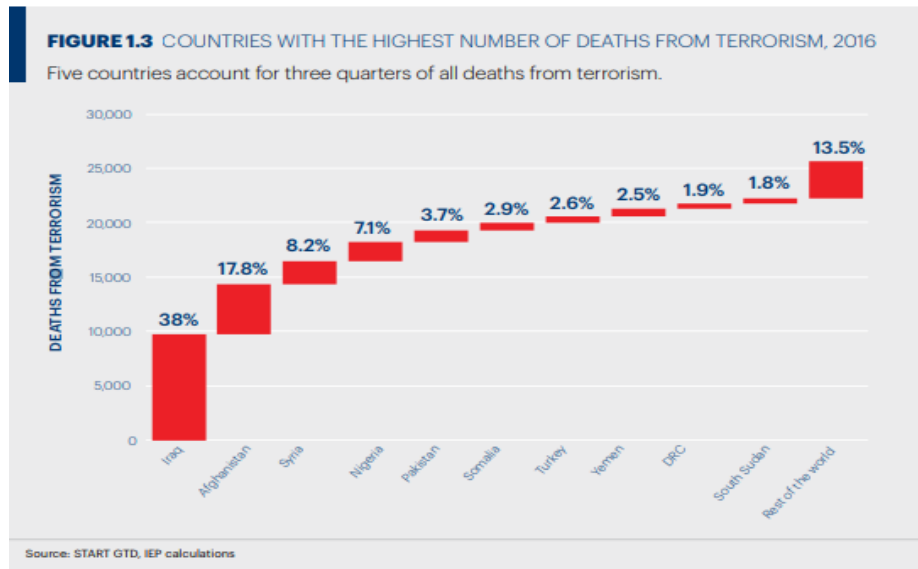


Figure 1,3. shows countries with the highest number of deaths from terrorism in the 2016. The analysis reveals that five countries accounted for three quarters of all deaths from terrorism: Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, Nigeria and Pakistan. These same countries have been the five most affected by terrorism since 2013.

Figure 1,4. Deaths from Terrorism by Country

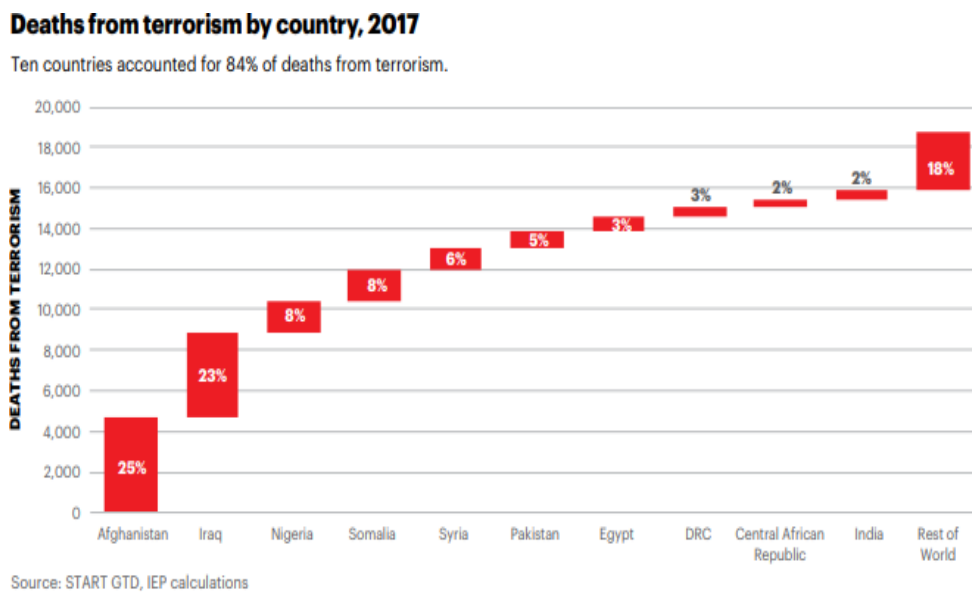


Figure 1.4 highlights the countries that experienced the highest rate of terrorist attacks and deaths in terrorism from 2016 to 2017. Iraq, Syria, and Nigeria witnessed the highest amount.



3.2. Socio-economic Drivers

This section of the paper attempts to provide concise answers to certain key questions. Firstly, how do socio-economic systems in Nigeria serve as drivers of violent radicalization of terrorism perpetrated by Boko Haram? Drawing from Immanuel Wallerstein approach, this paper maintains that in Nigeria unequal relation of production between peripheral, semi peripheral and core states contribute to increased inequality, exploitation and marginalization of some people.³¹ Peripheral states like Bornu, Kanu and Maiduguri in the northeastern part of Nigeria are least developed part of the country. They face heightened levels of deprivation with exploitation of cheap labor, raw materials and agricultural production by core states like Abuja. Accordingly, the semi peripheral and core regions of Nigeria have political, economic and military power and advantage that enable them to impose unequal relation of production characterized by institutionalization of unequal exchange and income rates on inhabitants in the Northeast of the country. This paper put forward that one significant driver that has influenced violent radicalization, recruitment and support for Boko Haram is relative economic deprivation.

This paper debunks the claim offered by some scholars that religion or ideological factors are the primary and sole drivers of violent radicalization of terrorism in northern Nigeria. Drawing from the structural violence paradigm this paper maintains that violence is intricately linked to the structure of human organization within a given society; that is within the socio-economic and political structure of the society. The root causes of Boko Haram terrorism need to be perceived as the outcome of the Nigeria's failed federal system of governance which favours some states at the detriment of others by providing more opportunities and access to resources to some groups and classes at the expense of others.³² Thus, as a result of relative deprivation and structural violence of the failing federal structures in Nigeria, the rise of social movements and the desire to pursue change for political liberation and socio economic

³¹ T. K. Hopkins and I. M. Wallerstein, *World-Systems Analysis: Theory and Methodology*, (Sage Publications, Inc., 1982).

³² B. E. Aigbokhan, "Growth, inequality and poverty in Nigeria," *Prepared for United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA)*, (Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 2008).



emancipation has been the driving force behind Boko Haram rhetoric to establish a distinct political entity based on sharia law.

Information from Nigeria's national Bureau of statistics in 2008 revealed that relative poverty in Nigeria is highest in northeastern part of the country compared to southeast and southwest. The relative poverty figures in southeast and southwest stood at 67% and 59% while that of northeast and northwest stood at 76.3% and 77.7% respectively.³³ With regards to other indicators such as education of girls, a similar pattern of inequality is visible with much lower rates of enrolment for female students in the northern regions of the country compared the south. The difference between the north and the south is mainly as a result of poor federal system of governance and a feature of relative deprivation. This therefore has huge implication in exacerbating rate of frustration and aggression manifested by emerging social movements such as Boko Haram. As a practical case in point in 2015 the Nigerian government released dozens of women and teenagers who were members or presumed to be members of Boko Haram. Among the youths were members who testified to have previously accepted 5000 Naira (15\$) from Boko haram members who in return provided them with gallons of fuel to set schools ablaze in Maiduguri and Borno State³⁴.

The phenomenon of increasing youthful population in Africa and Nigeria in particular has further exacerbated the number of economically deprived population that is susceptible to recruitment by the terrorist sect. Nigeria has a predominantly youthful population with three quarters of the population constituting youths below the ages of 30.³⁵ In the past decade political violence inspired by deprived and marginalized youths in the peripheral zones of the country specifically in northern part of Maiduguri and southern part of the Niger Delta is a clear reminder that there is a causal link between human development indicators (poverty, income, health, etc) and terrorism. Violent extremism perpetrated by a huge number of Nigerian

³³ Ibid, 18.

³⁴ Ibid, 14.

³⁵ F. I. Ogbeide, H. Kanwanye and S. Kadiri, "Revisiting the Determinants of Unemployment in Nigeria: Do Resource Dependence and Financial Development Matter?" *African Development Review*, no. 28(4) (2016): 430-443.



youthful populations living in the margins or peripheral societies justifies the causal linkages. Ahmed Sakida a journalist who happened to have had a close contact to one of the founding members of the sect Mohammed Yusuf, in an interview before his death it was found that Boko Haram's followers increased in leaps and bounds because most of them were school drop outs, unemployed youths, low income civil servants and parliamentary staffs.³⁶ This article further underpin the fact that even though socio-economic deprivation constitute a powerful driver for violent radicalization of terrorism in Northern Nigeria, one must however remain cautious of the way and extent in which it influences Boko Haram's insurgency. This is because there are other intervening drivers or factors that need to be examined. As such this work hold the view that reducing Boko Haram's terrorism to socio economic deprivation obscure the analysis and the role which other drivers of radicalization can play.

3.3. Political and Elite Interest in Nigeria

As mentioned in the introduction of this paper one of the major objectives of this work is to shed more light on the role of poor governance and the bearing which political and elite interest may have on public support for Boko Haram. Needless to say, that national intelligence and surveillance report has revealed overwhelming evidence and suspicions that the political and elite class mostly from the northern part of the country provides material, financial and technical assistance to the group. As a case in point, in 2012 former President Goodluck Jonathan noted that some sympathizers of Boko Haram included both members from the legislative, executive and judicial arm of the government as well as the country's arm forces including some military officials who sympathize with the group.³⁷

In recent years intelligence report has revealed the implicit role played by Nigerian Political elites from the Northern region of Nigeria, For instance before the clash with national security forces and violent radicalization in 2009 it was apparent that the group was under the influence of key politicians from the north. During the period between 2002 and 2009 some

³⁶ A. Olojo, *Nigeria's Troubled North: Interrogating the Drivers of Public Support for Boko Haram*, (2013).

³⁷ A. R. Adenrele, "Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria as a Symptom of Poverty and Political Alienation," *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, no. 3(5) (2012): 21-26.



politicians supported the group's ideology in order to gain grass root support of the local population in their constituencies. In 2007 a key affiliate to the group Alahji Buji was appointed as commissioner of Religious affairs in Bornu state. Before his death in 2009 he was known as one of the major financiers of the sect.³⁸ Northern Nigerian political elites who lend their support to the organization do so not just because they believe in the ideology of the group but partly because they intend to capitalize on the group's ability to mobilize a broad base support. They use the ideology of the group as a means to justify, legitimize and consolidate their position in power. For instance, in 2009 the leadership of the group was able to cooperate with the political class which provided financial support that enabled the group to acquire dozens of taxis, buses and motorcycles that were distributed to unemployed youths who joined the organization. Again in 2012 a spokesperson of Boko Haram revealed that Kano state governor Ibrahim Shekarau and Bauchi state governor Issa Yugunda had paid them monthly. Hence at domestic level, intelligence reports have persistently showed that the activities of the group are heavily financed and supported by politicians, businessmen and organized criminal networks.³⁹ However, this article strongly argue that the support accorded to the organization by the political elite is not mainly because of their belief in the groups radical ideology but mainly because of their un-quenching desire to pursue their political interest of having access to power and resources either under the federal structure or under a separate political entity govern by sharia law.

3.4. Religion as Opium of the Masses and a Force for Political Mobilization and Legitimization

Religious demography in Nigeria is almost evenly distributed between Muslims and Christians with the later representing about 50.05% of the population and the former representing 48.2% of the population. Other religious and non-religious groups cover the remaining 1.4%.⁴⁰ Islam and Christianity constitute the dominant religious denominations and

³⁸ Olojo, Nigeria's troubled North, 14.

³⁹ A. R. Adenrele, "Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria as a Symptom of Poverty and Political Alienation," *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, no. 3(5) (2012): 21-26.

⁴⁰ M. Stonawski, M. Potančoková, M. Cantele and V. Skirbekk, "The Changing Religious Composition of Nigeria:



a major factor of identity formation in Nigeria. The entire political, social and economic relations of Nigeria revolve around these identity factors. In 1914 the combination of Northern and Southern regions together brought Muslims and Christians together to participate in the process of forming a nation state. Based on religious demography it is not surprising that religion dominates the daily life of the people and equally constitute an important feature of their national identity. In February 2004 a survey carried out by BBC ranked Nigeria among the top 10 religious nation with over 90% of the population believing in God/Allah.

Accordingly, this article strongly affirms that the role of religion as a force of political mobilization and an instrument for the justification and legitimization of power has serious implications in a pluralist society like Nigeria. As stipulated in section 10 of Nigeria's constitution, the country is a secular state, governed by secular laws. But the paradox is that Nigerian politicians and religious groups have been inclined to politicize religion as they see it as a means and source for political power. It is this perception of power that leads to the struggle for political leadership along religious lines instead of party lines. This partly explains why in Nigeria elections and political appointments are entangled between religion and politics. What prevails is that members of a particular religious denomination, sect, or group tend to strongly support or lobby for one of its members to be elected in political office. In many cases the struggle for political leadership along religious lines has resulted in civil confrontations and violent extremism in other parts of the country similar to that manifested by Boko Haram in the North. For example, in September 2001 the appointment of a Christian as local council chairman in Jos state ignited violence that led to the death of 160 persons. Again, in the aftermath of the 2011 presidential elections, reports from Human Right Watch stated that about 800 persons were killed and 6500 people displaced following three days of violent protest in

Causes and Implications of Demographic Divergence," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, no. 54(3) (2016):361-387.



the 12 Northern states.⁴¹ The violence started because President Muhammadu Buhari a Northern Muslim lost to incumbent Goodluck Jonathan.

Again, this paper proffers the view that the root cause of political violence in Nigeria is not religion per say, rather it is the politicization of religion in a pluralist secular state that has contributed to the rise of social movements and different forms of political violence with terrorism being the most prominent. In a more nuance and deeper look, religion itself is not the major problem and the root cause of the crisis in northern Nigeria. Instead it is the destructive and exploitative behavior of structural violence that have transform religion as a key driver of political violence in all its forms. Hence, it is the manipulation of religion that Boko Haram has capitalized on to the detriment of the Islamic faith and Nigerian state. What needs to be understood in this context is that the mere presence of religious factor does not cause violent sectarian conflicts. Rather, it is the presence of other factors such as political and socio-economic factors that aid manipulative attitudes of individuals and religious groups.

Emphasis on the role of religion as a force of political mobilization has been reinforced by Jeffrey Seul who explained that “religion is not the primary cause of conflict”. Seul stressed that in situations of conflict pitting two or more religious groups, the fighter may take advantage of the religious identity factor to galvanize financial, moral and institutional support in order to sustain the group’s objective, but this is not sufficient to say that religion is the primary cause.⁴² It is exactly under these circumstances that Nigeria finds its self in a violent, unending war today. While religion is essentially a force for good, Boko Haram has used it to present high levels of negativity, they have persistently used it to advance their cause of establishing a distinct political entity govern by sharia law. Religious aspiration has been used to appeal to many young Muslims and followers who are drawn to the group with assurances of political and economic emancipation.

⁴¹ K. K. Aaron, “Relative Deprivation and Insurgency: What Lessons from Nigeria’s Flawed Federalism?” *International Area Studies Review*, no. 18(2) (2015):164-181.

⁴² D. Agbiboa, “The Ongoing Campaign of Terror in Nigeria: Boko Haram versus the State,” *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development*, no. 2(3) (2016).



4. Counter Terrorism Approaches in Northern Nigeria

The second part uncovers the fault lines of conventional top-down approaches towards national security in Nigeria. By top-down approaches refers to traditional or conventional methods that dominates the discipline of international security and strategic studies during the early years of its formation. Traditional approach towards security usually draws its inspiration from realist theory in international relations. Since the inception of the discipline, the meaning of security is usually interpreted through three fundamental questions, what is referent object of security? What is the nature of the threat? How should states or other actors respond to such threats? In answering these questions proponents of national security holds that the state remains the sole referent object of security because process of globalization has failed to change the most important characteristics of the international system established in the treaty of Westphalia in 1648. It has failed to change the world of sovereign states. On the contrary proponents of bottom security approaches towards security argue that the state is not the only referent object or principal actor in security, there are other important actors which includes individuals, communities, and environment. Secondly in responding to the nature of threat, while top-down or traditionalist security apologists hold that the nature of threat should always be determined in military terms and may be internal or external. On the other hand, supporters of bottom up security approach challenged the traditionalist school of thought, they disagreed over what threats are faced by states, and accordingly the nature of security threat should not be determined only in military terms but also in non-military terms, particularly with respect human security. In an effort to answer the third question “How should states or other actors respond to security threats”

This article holds that overdependence on traditionalist or top down notion of security pushes the meaning of concept security into the conservative end of the spectrum. The following section of this paper reveals the fault lines of conventional top-down approaches in Nigeria. National security agencies are inclined to focus only on states as the main referent object of analysis in security studies. The analysis in this part of the work considers human security paradigm or bottom up approaches as a complement to the top-down traditional reductionist approach. It specifically examines a hybrid security model that tends to focus on not just on states but on other



actors such as individuals, communities and environment as the major referent object of security in Nigeria.⁴³ This hybrid approach further considers both military and non-military threats and the combination of hard and soft power, use of direct military actions, national intelligence gathering and most especially the consideration of a political solution that addresses the underlying root causes of terrorism. In our contemporary global era it is apparent that the rise of intra state violence related to terrorism cannot be fully explained and addressed only in terms of traditionalist explorations, it is on the basis of this limitation that this study attempt to argue for the need for a hybrid model, that is a combination of bottom and top down security response to Boko-Haram terrorism in northern Nigeria.

4.1. Top-down Approaches to Counter Terrorism:

Top down approaches in response to violent extremism and radicalization that leads to terrorism are State centric in nature. The types of state centered techniques include use of national intelligence, surveillance and military force. Nigeria's responses to Boko Haram terrorist threats are based on a state-centric framework. The different state security agencies charged with different functions to counter terrorist threats include, the National Police Unit, the National Intelligence Agency (NIA) charged with domestic and foreign intelligence services, and the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) responsible for military intelligence. This work concurs with the dominant view that when faced with severe terrorist threats characterize by suicide attacks and guerilla warfare tactics, securitization measures dealing with the use of national intelligence, surveillance and military force becomes an inevitable counter strategy. Nigeria's security agencies charged with the responsibility to ensure national security has embarked on stringent measures involving the use of national intelligence and military force. In the wake of Boko-haram attacks national security agencies strengthen its coordination, improve intelligence gathering and ease the flow of vital information in a timely and preemptive manner. However, this paper holds that these measures must be done in line with respect for the rule of law. Reports from international and national human rights agencies like Amnesty International reveal that security agents in the country

⁴³ M. Kaldor, M. Martin and S. Selchow, "Human Security: A New Strategic Narrative for Europe," *International Affairs*, no. 83(2) (2007): 273-288.



have not avoided the backlash of extra-judicial and indiscriminate killings and other forms of human rights abuses that lead to dissention and aggression in the minds of local populace. Since the onset the crisis, national security agencies have adopted an independent approach of fighting in isolation and of committing extrajudicial killings. This research submits that such top-down tactics employed by the Nigerian government pulls the fight against terrorism into the conservative end of the spectrum. Rather, issues of national security should be closely tied to the degree of cohesion, cooperation between national defense agencies and the population in local communities in northern eastern part of the country.

Drones also known as Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAV), a modern instrument in contemporary warfare have become a prominent feature in the fight against global terrorism. Since 2014 the Nigerian military has been running a counter insurgency program with the use of UAV from China and Israel. Drones have been largely deployed for surveillance and combat capacities in the Northeastern part of the country. This article however submits that the use of drone may be an effective instrument for national intelligence and surveillance but when used in combat missions its effectiveness is questioned. Reports have further showed that the use of drones in combat missions has resulted in extrajudicial and indiscriminate killings; it remains illegal under international law. Regardless of how far the insurgents constitute legitimate targets; there is no legitimate justification for using drone to kill many innocent civilians in combat missions. In the light of these arguments, response to violent extremism and radicalization that leads to terrorism in Nigeria is highly based on a state-centric framework; it is largely committed to the traditionalist preoccupation of the state as the sole referent object of security. Security is about something that needs to be secured; a nation, state, individual, ethnic group, community and environment. National security or what many observers termed as state security has been the principal occupation of the Nigerian government in the wake of Boko-haram activism. The use of top-down security approaches built within the framework of interstate or conventional warfare tactics to de-radicalize instar state violence that leads to terrorism remains controversial. The use of UAV in the northern parts of Nigeria has to a greater extent generated widespread hostilities and anger among the local population. This article submits the Nigeria government needs to reconsider its national security



approach in its fights of Boko-haram terrorist group, at a very fundamental level, it is essential to adopt a complementary security approach that gives reference to the state nation, state, individuals, ethnic group and community as key elements that needs to be secured.

Since after taking office in 2015, president Buhari has fortified security cooperation with its immediate neighbors coupled with other foreign partners in the fight against terrorism. Nigerian forces now work closely with its closest neighbors in the West African and Sahel region to block the flow of external support. In this respect multinational security alliance with Cameroon, Niger and Chad which borders the area where Boko-haram is based has been helpful albeit with some challenges. Grouping the four nations together to share information on intelligence and surveillance has proved harder due to mistrust among them. This article holds that such top-down hierarchical practice towards de-radicalization needs to be merged with a bottom up approach. Intelligence and security agencies in Nigeria need to highly consider the fact that the objective to de-radicalize demobilize and de-engage extremist greatly depends on ability to work in close collaboration with the local communities and win their support.

In the aftermath of Boko-Haram activism the Nigerian government has also received enormous support from its foreign counterparts in the fight against terrorism, U.S and Nigeria security relations have been cordial though restricted. Military cooperation between both countries has often been in the areas of joint military training, provisions of modern equipment, logistics support, and human rights monitoring operations. US department of defense has provided Joint-Combined Exchange Training (JCET) programs which trains and equip Nigerian troops in the wake of Boko-haram attacks. For example, in 2017 under the scheme of the said program General Bolduc a Green Beret with multiple task forces in Afghanistan visited Nigeria and ordered an assessment team to review the violent situation in the country. Upon assessment a small dozen of special U.S forces where stationed in Maiduguri in the northeastern part of the country to help Nigerian forces plan effective counter terrorism campaigns. It is worth noting that a major impediment in US-Nigeria security relations concerns issues related to respect for human rights. In the fight against Boko-haram the Nigeria government has taken steps through human rights training programs to ensure that troops do not resort to violate human rights. Nonetheless incidents of human rights



violations whether justified or unjustified is still reported by Amnesty International, hence a challenge to US-Nigeria security relations. In a similar vein as of August 2017 Russia signed a military cooperation agreement with Nigeria which allowed Nigerian military officers to obtain training from Russia's military establishments, secure sale of military equipment and fortify cooperation in the fight against terrorism. Symmetrical pattern of security cooperation has been witnessed with China that supplies modern military facilities like the CH-3s drone and Israel that equipped Nigeria with its Aerostar Unmanned Ariel Vehicles. This paper notes that in a bid to counter Boko-Haram terrorism president Muhammadu Buhari's government has adopted a top-down de-radicalization method shaped around a framework of interstate cooperation. Nigerian authorities have increased cooperation with its external partners in the fight against Boko-haram terrorism, however this article submits that such top-down measures characterize by interstate relations with over centrality on formal state institutions and state actors limit towards national intelligence and surveillance in local communities. The solutions the intra-state crisis facing Nigeria should also be home-driven and should base on local knowledge and inspired by local actors who understand local dynamics of various communities. At a very fundamental level, it is essential to complement external cooperation with internal collaboration.

4.2. Bottom-Up Approaches to Counter Terrorism: Human Security and Community-Based Approaches

Bottom up approach built around the framework of human security paradigm is the most fashionable counter terrorism model today. It includes programs that aim to peacefully transform individuals and groups away from insurgencies, extremism, radicalism and violent activism. It has of recent grown both in proportion and scope and support programs related to individuals in the vulnerable age groups that are most likely to be subjects of intergroup violence. Bottom up approach focuses on disengagement, rehabilitation and reintegration of violent extremist offenders or potential offenders.

The analysis employed in this part principally focuses at local level; little reference is being made to the role of regional and transnational actors. This is so because it is more apparent that solutions to the challenges arising from a crisis deeply rooted to the structure of the state and nature



of governance in Nigeria must ultimately come from Nigerians. They must necessarily be home-driven and based on local knowledge inspired by local actors who understand the local dynamics in the region. A society's path to peace and security is greatly determined by the ideals, vision and values that shape that society's future and these can only come from within. Even though certainly there are solutions or benefits from external support and cooperation, again attention should be also given to local actors. This mainly because the case of Boko Haram terrorism manifest both typical and unique challenges. Its unique challenges do not fit well into the all-encompassing regional and international narratives of global terrorism. It is on this premise that this work underpins the need for local approaches to de-radicalization.

Borrowing from the Organization for Security Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) this paper put forward that community-based approach offers the notion that the security of a community is closely related to the degree of cohesion, cooperation between national defense agencies and the local community.⁴⁴ Therefore, counterterrorism policies in Nigeria should aim at building resilient communities that reject political violence, violent extremism and terrorist propagandist ideologies. Public officials should focus on mobilizing citizens, individuals and groups in Bornu, Yobe, Bauchi, Katsina and Kano to support counterterrorism goals. These counterterrorism policies have to focus on developing technical resilience, for instance by protecting strategic infrastructures and strengthening emergency responses. Also, there is growing evidence that little efforts have been placed on fostering resilience at local levels.

Drawing from a bottom up perspective towards de-radicalization this article contends that threat posed by Boko-Haram terrorist group has been solely if not mainly defined in military terms. The Nigerian government has given little consideration to non-military threats related to human security. At a fundamental level, there is a high need to establish a framework of political solution that addresses the underlying root causes of the violent extremism and radicalization that leads to terrorism in local communities. If fully created, community-oriented framework to countering terrorism will build strong public confidence, strengthen public support and police actions. It will

⁴⁴ T. Husain, "Counter Terrorism Approaches: With Reference to Bangladesh," *ABC Journal of Advanced Research*, no. 6(1), 2017: 9-16.



fortify the legitimacy of state actions and state actors in areas caught in a vicious cycle of violent extremism and radicalization in Nigeria. Community security approaches to counterterrorism in northern Nigeria should involve both local men and women in communities or ethnic groups prone to conflict. Building and maintaining trust is essential for a successful de-radicalization from terrorist groups. Confronted by relative deprivation, structural and cultural violence in northern parts of the country, the Nigerian government must now realize that political solution to address these underlying causes in local communities is essential for long term solutions. Community support for, and involvement in, the formulation, implementation and evaluation of various strategies, policies and measures need to be taken into consideration.

Since the formation of the country in 1914 religion has remained as the major factor of its national identity. Religious antagonism between the two dominant denominations Christianity and Islam has been a stimulant to violent conflicts. This paper holds the view that there is an increasing need for inter-religious cooperation. Heightened measures should be employed to address issues of Christian-Muslim relations in Nigeria; it is true that in first decade of the 21st century some efforts were made by the former president Obasanjo to establish a Nigerian Inter-Religious Council-NIREC.⁴⁵ Building upon this initiative, interreligious dialogue and inter-faith working groups should be encouraged so that interaction can translate into greater understanding with trust and cooperation. As it stands, in Northeast Nigeria the government needs to engage credible Islamic scholars and experts, who can contribute to the process of de-mystifying doctrines which Boko-Haram distorts in order to spread its extremist ideologies.

Human security reforms in the peripheral communities in the Northern part of Nigeria needs to be geared towards expanding individual capabilities, providing more employment opportunities, alleviating poverty, improving economic infrastructure, and supporting political institutions that are corruption-free and accountable.⁴⁶ This paper maintains that the federal and regional governments in Nigeria needs to implement policies to target relative deprivation and structural violence highly

⁴⁵ B. Gent, *Contemporary Muslim-Christian Encounters: Developments, Diversity & Dialogues*, (2017).

⁴⁶ J. S. Omotola, "Combating Poverty for Sustainable Human Development in Nigeria: The Continuing Struggle," *Journal of Poverty*, no. 12(4) (2008): 496-517.



manifested in the northern parts of Maiduguri, Yobe, Kano, Bauchi, Katsina etc. The socioeconomic conditions of indigenous people in the north eastern communities in Nigeria undoubtedly need a boost. Particular focus should be on human development indicators established in the United Nations Human Development Index, the indicators include education, income and health. Most importantly the increasing unemployed youthful population and women must be at the epicenter of a human security program. This article notes that effort in these areas will greatly circumvent the ability of Boko Haram extremist to exploit the socio-economic conditions of the persons in vulnerable age groups. The failure of the government to constructively address the structural challenges at local levels and in grass root communities in the northeastern part of the country inadvertently led to the rise of social movements and a steady supply of young and violent extremists groups like Boko Haram and Niger Delta movement.⁴⁷ In effect a political solution created under the framework of de-radicalisation programs should target structural challenges and strengthening the rule of human rights law in the fight against Boko Haram. It is noteworthy that the Nigerian government should acknowledge the fact that efforts to circumvent the complex challenges that come along with threats relating to terrorism require the necessary political will. In line with this the Northern States Governors Forum (NSGF) can be used as a platform by the major platform to ensure greater decentralization of power, resources, transparency and accountability.

Conclusion

To sum up, this article explored two key aspects within the contemporary literature of terrorism; that is on the first count drivers of political radicalization and on the second count approaches employed to de-radicalize and counter terrorist threats. This article so far underpins the fact that unless one clearly understands the process of radicalization, it will be difficult to devise of comprehensive and succinct strategy to counter or de-radicalize terrorist activities. The major problem disclosed in this work so far revealed that a great deal of academic scholars and security expert have been inclined to focused more on catalytic role of religion as the only or principal drivers of violent extremism and radicalization that leads to terrorism in northern Nigeria. They

⁴⁷ K. K. Aaron, "Relative Deprivation and Insurgency: What Lessons from Nigeria's Flawed Federalism?" *International Area Studies Review*, no. 18(2) (2015): 164-181.



have often ignored the political drivers and the inadvertent role of the state in the radicalization process of violent extremism. However, the study has brought to bear the role of states and the bearing which political and elite interests may have exerted on public support for Boko Haram. It examined the socio-economic context of the crisis and also focused on the catalytic role of religion especially how it has been exploited by the terrorist group in generating huge solidarity in northern Nigeria. The second part of the discourse submitted in the analysis section also made known the fact that national security agencies in Nigeria tend to focused more on top-down approaches to counter violent extremism and radicalization that leads to terrorism. Top-down approaches towards de-racialization are state centric and are disposed to depend mainly on conventional warfare strategy centered on the study of threat, use and control of military force. The article exposed the fault lines of top-down approaches towards national security in Nigeria. It contends that top down such approaches highly leads to a series of inadvertent consequences that pulls counter terrorism processes and desire to achieve stability into a conservative end of the spectrum. To this far, the paper far does aim to replace or completely repudiate the present realist conventional warfare approach used to counter terrorism. Rather, the discourse considered an additional bottom up approach as a complement to the earlier top-down model. Thus, this work specifically brings to bear the importance of a hybrid bottom and top down security model that tends to focus not just on states but also on individuals and communities as the major referent object of security in Nigeria.

At theoretical level the work adopted theories of collective political violence used within the discipline of security studies. The theories provide a better understanding of the underlying political drivers of violent extremism and radicalization relating to terrorism as well as justification to the approaches used in countering them. The major theoretical considerations deployed in this paper relate to both micro and macro theories of collective political violence. Micro theoretical approaches used in this article relates to Robert Gurr's relative deprivation theory that suggested how relative deprivation, class discrimination and societal injustices which prevent individuals from reaching their full potentials stir extremism that leads to the rise terrorist groups. At macro level this study makes use of Johan Galtung's theory of structural violence.



References

- Aaron, K. K. "Relative Deprivation And Insurgency: What Lessons From Nigeria's Flawed Federalism?". *International Area Studies Review* 18, no. 2 (2015): 164-181.
- Adenrele, A. R. "Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria as a Symptom of Poverty and Political Alienation". *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 3, no. 5 (2012): 21-26.
- Agbiboa, D. "The Ongoing Campaign of Terror in Nigeria: Boko Haram versus the State". *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development* 2, no. 3 (2016).
- Agbiboa, D. E. "Why Boko Haram Exists: The Relative Deprivation Perspective". *African Conflict & Peacebuilding Review* 3, no. 1 (2013): 144-157.
- Aigbokhan, B. E. *Growth, Inequality and Poverty in Nigeria*. Prepared for United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA). Ethiopia: Addis Ababa, 2008.
- Campbell, J. *Boko Haram: Origins, Challenges and Responses*. NOREF Policy Brief, 2014.
- Conteh-Morgan, E. *Collective Political Violence: An Introduction to the Theories and Cases of Violent Conflicts*. Psychology Press, 2004.
- Galtung, J. "Cultural Violence". *Journal of Peace Research* 27, no. 3 (1990): 291-305.
- Galtung, J. "Violence, War, and Their Impact: On Visible and Invisible Effects of Violence". *In Polylog: Forum for Intercultural Philosophy* 5, 2004.
- Gent, B. *Contemporary Muslim-Christian Encounters: Developments, Diversity & Dialogues*, 2017.
- Global Terrorism Index "Measuring and Understanding the Impact of Terrorism", *Institute for Economics and Peace*, 2017. <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Global%20Terrorism%20Index%202017%20%284%29.pdf> (07.12.2017).
- Gurr, T. R. "Relative Deprivation and the Impetus to Violence". *Why Men Rebel*, (1970): 22-58.
- Hopkins, T. K., and Wallerstein, I. M. *World-Systems Analysis: Theory and Methodology*. Vol. 1. Sage Publications, Inc., 1982.
- Hough, P., Malik, S., Moran, A., and Pilbeam, B. *International Security Studies: Theory and Practice*. Routledge, 2015.
- Husain, T. "Counter Terrorism Approaches: With Reference to Bangladesh". *ABC Journal of Advanced Research* 6, no. 1 (2017): 9-16.
- International Center for the Study of Radicalization-ICSR. *Countering Violent Extremism and Radicalization that Lead to Terrorism: Ideas, Recommendations, and Good Practices from the OSCE Region*, 2019. <https://icsr.info/2017/12/07/countering-violent->



- extremism-radicalisation-lead-terrorism-ideas-recommendations-good-practices-osce-region/ (13.02.2019).
- Kaldor, M. and Rangelov, I. (Eds.). *The Handbook of Global Security Policy*. John Wiley & Sons, 2014.
- Kaldor, M., Martin, M. and Selchow, S. "Human Security: A New Strategic Narrative for Europe". *International Affairs* 83, no. 2 (2007): 273-288.
- Lewis, J. *Language Wars: The Role of Media and Culture in Global Terror and Political Violence*. Pluto Press, 2005.
- Lin, A. C. "Bridging Positivist and Interpretivist Approaches to Qualitative Methods". *Policy Studies Journal* 26, no. 1 (1998): 162-180.
- Marsden, S. V. "Introduction". In *Reintegrating Extremists*, 1-20. Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2017.
- Muller, E. N. "Income Inequality, Regime Repressiveness, and Political Violence". *American Sociological Review*, (1985): 47-61.
- Ogbeide, F. I., Kanwanye, H. and Kadiri, S. "Revisiting the Determinants of Unemployment in Nigeria: Do Resource Dependence and Financial Development Matter?" *African Development Review* 28, no. 4 (2016): 430-443.
- Olojo, A. *Nigeria's Troubled North: Interrogating the Drivers of Public Support for Boko Haram*, 2013.
- Omotola, J. S. "Combating Poverty for Sustainable Human Development in Nigeria: The Continuing Struggle". *Journal of Poverty* 12, no. 4 (2008): 496-517.
- Rogers, P. "Nigeria: The Generic Context of the Boko Haram Violence". *Monthly Global Security Briefing*, (2012): 1-55.
- Stonawski, M., Potančoková, M., Cantele, M. and Skirbekk, V. "The Changing Religious Composition of Nigeria: Causes and Implications of Demographic Divergence". *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 54, no. 3 (2016): 361-387.
- Walker, I. and Pettigrew, T. F. "Relative Deprivation Theory: An Overview and Conceptual Critique". *British Journal of Social Psychology* 23, no. 4 (1984): 301-310.
- Walsham, G. "Interpretive Case Studies in Research: Nature and Method". *European Journal of Information Systems* 4, no. 2 (1995): 74-81.
- Weigert, K. M. "Structural Violence". *Stress of War, Conflict and Disaster*, (2010): 126-133.



Analysis of the Intra-State Conflict in Afghanistan

Mudassir FATAH*

Abstract

Afghanistan has been the hotbed of the international conflict since the Soviet invasion in December 1979. The decade long foreign troop presence mainly initiated the conflict within the different communities in Afghanistan. the withdrawal of the Soviets in no way marked the end of the Afghan conflict. With the Soviet withdrawal gave rise to a power vacuum and then the Taliban. The withdrawal of the Soviets intensified the intra-state conflict in Afghanistan and also the involvement of the external actors. The involvement of the external actors further intensified the intra-state conflict and the same continued till 1996. Afghanistan witnessed a kind of a stability for a brief period with the rise of the Taliban. The Soviet invasion and the civil war had already given rise to multiple militias and they continuously engaged the Taliban government/forces, and Afghanistan never saw the peace. The Taliban government too was not elected, so the challenges were bound to rise. The conflict continued till 2001. After the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the US, the conflict in Afghanistan took a new turn. US intervened in Afghanistan to dislodge the Taliban government and started the war on terror. Again, number of international actors fiercely got involved in Afghanistan. The United Nations, the NATO, Pakistan, Iran, India, Turkey, etc. all are now involved in the race for dominating Afghanistan, which further intensified the conflict in Afghanistan.

Keywords: *Afghanistan, Intra-State Conflict, 9/11, International Actors, Taliban*

Afganistan'daki Devlet-İçerik Çatışmanın Analizi

Özet

Afganistan, 1979 Aralık'ındaki Sovyet istilasından bu yana uluslararası ihtilafın merkezi olmuştur. Yabancı askerlerin yıllara kadar Afganistan'da bulunması, oradaki farklı etnik gruplar arasındaki çatışmalara yol açtı. Sovyetlerin geri çekilmesi hiçbir şekilde Afgan ihtilafının sona ermesine sebep olamadı. Aksine bu bir güç boşluğuna ardından Taliban'ın ortaya çıkmasına neden oldu. Sovyetlerin geri çekilmesi Afganistan'daki devlet içi çatışmayı ve dış aktörlerin katılımını arttırdı. Dış aktörlerin katılımı, devlet içi çatışmayı daha da yoğunlaştırdı ve aynı, 1996'ya kadar devam etti. Taliban'ın yükselişiyle Afganistan, kısa zamanlık bir tür istikrar gördü. Sovyet istilası ve iç savaş çoktan milislere yol açmıştı. Bu miliseler sürekli olarak Taliban'la savaş halinde olduğundan Afganistan da huzuru görmedi. Taliban hükümeti de seçilmiş bir hükümet olmadığından zorlukların artması tabii idi. Böylece çatışmalar 2001 yılına kadar devam etti. ABD'ye yapılan 9/11 terörist saldırısının ardından

* Postdoctoral Research Fellow, International Relations Department, Faculty of Political Sciences, Sakarya University,

Email: mudassirparray@gmail.com, ORCID: 0000-0002-9670-9860

Received: 18.11.2019

Accepted: 02.12.2019



Afganistan'daki çatışma yeni bir hal aldı. ABD, Taliban hükümetini yerinden etmek için Afganistan'a müdahale etti ve terörle mücadeleye başladı. Yine, Afganistan'da uluslararası aktörlerin yoğun sayısı yer aldı. Birleşmiş Milletler, NATO, Pakistan, İran, Hindistan, Türkiye, vs. hepsi Afganistan'da kendi etkisini arttırmak çabasında olduğundan Afganistan sorunu daha da büyümektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Afganistan, Devlet-içi çatışma, 9/11, Uluslararası güçler, Taliban*

1. Introduction

Afghanistan has been lingering in the conflict at least since 1979 when the Soviet forces invaded the country, and the conflict still goes on. Passing from the different phases, the conflict in Afghanistan needs to be analysed in the light of intra-state conflict as the same has majorly relied upon the community to community conflict, called either as a Civil War or an intra-state conflict. The Soviet withdrawal gave rise to the new possibilities which finally culminated in the Civil War followed by the emergence of the Taliban. Again, the intra-state conflict dominated the politics of Afghanistan where the Pushtun's governing body (Taliban) tried to suppress all other ethnic groups, and the intra-state conflict continued.

The paper analyses the intra-state Afghan conflict in the light of theoretical approach and the research methodology designed. The theoretical approach of the research demands that the Afghan conflict may be looked into as an intra-state conflict and the involvement of international actors. The research method drawn demands that the Conflict Mapping Approach be followed which demands the response towards the five-basic questions, which include; I) What is a conflict? II) How and why do conflicts arise? III) How and why do conflicts evolve? IV) What elements constitute a conflict? and V) What can be done with a conflict?⁴⁸ In the light of these five-basic questions and other requirements, the discussion will be followed and the reasons and stages of the conflict will be discussed extensively, their support base and their gains will also be looked into. The paper is qualitative in nature and draws its strength extensively from the secondary sources. The actors to the conflict will be identified, their expectations, demands and capabilities will be

⁴⁸Programa Compartim, *Conflict Mapping: Theory and Methodology, Practical Application in Juvenile Justice*, (Department of Justicia, 2014), 20.



discussed as needed by the research design of the research project, as the Conflict Mapping demands these to be identified and thoroughly looked into. The discussion will be followed by the search for the positivities and the way forward, which will be in a way focusing on the peaceful resolution of the Afghan conflict.

2. Theoretical Approach: Role of International Actors in the Intra-State Conflicts

International actor(s) are the ultimate source(s) for solving the intra-state long-drawn conflicts, as “71% of conflicts that ended through agreement involved third party intervention.”⁴⁹ The international actors join hands when they realize that some intra-state conflict has the expanding ability beyond borders, which can ultimately disturb regional or international peace. As the actions of the state(s) are fully driven by their interests, states vulnerable to conflicts are taken care of by the international actors to limit the conflict and to give peace a chance. History bears the witness to many such conflicts which eventually engulfed other states.

There are many conflicts where international actors came forward and started the peacebuilding initiatives. Some failed, but some changed the discourse of history and peace prevailed. The United Nations had been involved in the Palestinian-Israeli war since 1947, when the British cabinet decided to refer the problem to it. Since then the UN has been actively involved on different fronts in this intra-state conflict, but all in vain. No solution could be found, and the conflict is still lingering. The United States also had been actively involved in this conflict and had been mediating between the duo from time to time, but again all in vain. Palestine-Israel issue is the failure of the international community when it comes to their role in these types of conflicts.

Bosnian war was put to an end by the efforts of the international community. The war had started in 1992 and had claimed more than 100,000 lives and also created two million refugees.⁵⁰ The efforts by the US and the UN are praiseworthy, and the war was put to an end successfully in

⁴⁹ Jonas Baumann and Govinda Clayton, “Mediation in Violent Conflict”, *Center for Security Studies*, no. 211, 2017, <https://ethz.ch/content/dam/ethz/special-interest/gess/cis/center-for-securities-studies/pdfs/CSSAnalyse211-EN.pdf> (02.12.2019).

⁵⁰ Katherine Brisson, "International Intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia from the 1990s Through the 2000's", *Syracuse University Honors Program Capstone Projects*, 1004, (2017): 22, https://surface.syr.edu/honors_capstone/1004_1 (13.03.2019).



February 1996. Kosovo is one of the finest examples of the intra-state conflicts where the conflict ended with its secession. In Kosovo's war a limited military intervention was done by NATO in March 1999. Finally, with the help of international community, particularly the UN and the US, Kosovo war was ended, and Kosovo declared its independence in February 2008. It was all because of international efforts the wars, like in Bosnia and Kosovo, were put to an end. While Palestine-Israeli war represents the failure of the international community, Bosnia and Kosovo represents the success of the same. There are many more such instances of establishing peace, but it is beyond the scope of this study to discuss them all.

International actors can play different roles towards the solving the intra-state conflict, like, the Deployment of United Nations Peacekeeping Mission, Conflict Solving, Peacemaking (*In-Conflict Negotiations*), *Mediation*, Peace Enforcement, Diplomacy, Economic Sanctions, Conflict Prevention, Peacebuilding (*Conflict Transformation*), etc.

3. Introducing Afghanistan as an Intra-State Conflict

After the Soviet withdrawal in February 1989, Afghanistan became the hot bed of intra-state conflict between different *Mujahideen* groups, earlier united against the Soviet occupation. The different *Mujahideen* groups started fighting each other with new vigor for political supremacy of Afghanistan, and the war flared up. The ethnic enmity between different groups started dominating the scene once again. The intensity of the conflict increased with each passing day. Several wars were going on at the same time, 'mujahideen *versus* Najib; Pushtun mujahideen *versus* non-Pushtun mujahideen; Shia *versus* Sunni; mercenary *versus* nationalist; Peshawari *versus* local commander Masood-Rabbani *versus* Hekmatyar-Dostum.'⁵¹

The then President of Afghanistan, Dr. Najibullah managed to be in power till April 1992. With the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the foreign aid and support stopped, Najibullah too stopped fighting against the *Mujahideen*. The situation in Afghanistan changed and escalated into a human tragedy. The intensity of the conflict increased with each passing day. In August that year,

⁵¹ Aabha Dixit, "The Afghan Civil War: Emergence of the Taliban as Power Broker", *South Asian Survey* 2, no. 1, (1995): 111-118.



a tragedy was implanted on Kabul wherein 3,000 people died in the bombardment of rockets. As Afghanistan is tribal, multiethnic, multilingual society, marked by factionalism and military fiefdoms, the warfare had slipped into a virtual anarchy.⁵² The country became battle of battlegrounds, where everybody was against everybody, it was a Hobbesian State of Nature where all were against were the enemies of all.

On the other hand, efforts were going on by the international community, the United Nations power-sharing arrangement was put in place. An interim government with fifteen-member council were selected among several *Mujahideen* groups and Wattan Party, the former Communists. But everything did not go well according to the UN plan, as the Najibullah's government crumbled. Abdul Rashid Dostum abandoned the regime and formed an alliance with rebel military officers and leaders of some major guerrilla parties. The other powerful *Mujahideen* leader, Ahmad Shah Masood also formed an alliance in the northern Afghanistan and went beyond the UN plan of neutral government.

In view of the above incidents and defections, the Peshawar Accord was signed on April 24, 1992, headed by academician Sibghatullah Mojaddedi for two months, followed by Burhanuddin Rabbani for four months. After President Najib's exit from power, the Peshawar Accord was first significant step towards the establishment of stable government. The Peshawar Accord consisted of fifty-one persons, an amalgamation of almost all the *Mujahideen* parties.⁵³ But, unfortunately, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, who was an important stakeholder at that time in the Afghan politics, did not attend this meeting. The agreement was to prevent further bloodbath in Afghanistan, hailed by Nawaz Sharief, Prime Minister of Pakistan, as "the biggest achievement of the Afghan war and expressed the hope that *Mujahideen* coalition would smoothly take over power in Afghanistan."⁵⁴

⁵² Shah M. Tarzi, "Afghanistan in 1992: A Hobbesian State of Nature", *Asian Survey* 33, no. 2, (1993): 165-174.

⁵³ Khalid Manzoor Butt, Azhar Javed Siddqi, "Pakistan-Afghanistan Relations from 1978 to 2001: An Analysis", *South Asian Studies* 31, no. 2, (2016): 723-744.

⁵⁴ Quoted in, Siddqi Butt, "Pakistan-Afghanistan Relations from 1978 to 2001: An Analysis".



The Peshawar Accord could not achieve its goal in *toto*. Once Rabbani took over the Presidency from Mojaddedi, he changed his policy and refused to hold elections for his successor. Afghanistan was now further plunged into a new phase of fighting. Once again foreign powers had to intervene and join hands for the promotion of another accord. With the blessings of Pakistan, Iran and Saudi Arabia, a fresh accord, known as ‘Islamabad’ Accord, was signed on March 7, 1993. The irony of the Accord is that it endorsed the continuation of Rabbani as the President of Afghanistan and in addition elected Hekmatyar as the Prime Minister.⁵⁵ This accord was again aimed at bringing peace and putting an end to the armed hostilities. President Burhanuddin Rabbani was to continue with his position for next eighteen months and Gulbuddin Hekmatyar was given the post of Prime Minister. Ceasefire between all *Mujahedeen* groups was to come into force with immediate effect. Election Commission was to be constituted and a national army was to be formed too. Unfortunately, all the efforts (the Peshawar Accord, the Islamabad declaration, Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) as well as the UN) failed to yield any permanent peace.⁵⁶

While this Accord bizarrely endorsed the Rabbani’s continuation, the new Accord in itself violated the Peshawar Accord in letter and spirit. With this endorsement, President Rabbani and his forces became more powerful and left the peace in lurch. Although it was an attempt by the foreign actors to stabilize Afghanistan and to avoid the internal war, but these kinds of agreements never worked, the fight over who would govern continued. Zalmay Khalilzad believes that although the *Mujahideen* groups rose to power, “but they have failed to govern the country and the war has turned into a brutal civil conflict.” He further believes that the fight in Afghanistan has been majorly about ‘who should govern.’⁵⁷

The Islamabad Accord was a corrupt case of who should govern as the one who violated the Peshawar Accord was openly endorsed for the continuation of power. Rather than providing the

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Kamal Matinuddin, *the Taliban Phenomenon: Afghanistan 1994-1997*, (New Delhi: Lancer Publishers, 2000), 12.

⁵⁷ Zalmay Khalilzad, “Afghanistan in 1994: Civil War and Disintegration”, *Asian Survey* 35, no. 2, (1995): 147-152.



solution to the problem, the Rabbani's corrupt practice that he should govern further increased the dispute.

As the Civil War and switching sides continued, diplomatic/political search for a settlement also continued. In 1994, several proposals were put forward to end the Civil War. President Rabbani proposed that a *loya jirga* (grand assembly) should be convened to choose a new leader. His proposal was that the leader should be chosen from the interim parliament and the parliament should set procedures for future elections of National Assembly. He was ready to turn over the Presidency to the leader selected by *loya jirga*. Hekmatyar could not digest the Rabbani's plan, he wanted him to resign first and turn the control of Kabul to an interim administration before an assembly would be organized. Hekmatyar wanted this interim administration to organize elections, and then the future of the country could have been decided. Hekmatyar with others did not recognize Rabbani as a legitimate President as his term had ended in June 1994.⁵⁸

Commander Haqqani also put forward a peace proposal in 1994 himself. He called for the formation of an Islamic Council composed of religious scholars, *Mujahideen* leaders, tribal leaders, intellectuals, and also three representatives from each of the country's administrative units. Haqqani wanted this council to decide on the President and Prime Minister who would in turn decide on the division of power between them. Haqqani also called for the expulsion of all Communists from the government, but the proposal was rejected by Rabbani and Dostam.⁵⁹

Another plan for peace was proposed by three neutral parties headed by Pir Ahmad Gailani, Nabi Mohammadi and Mohammad Asif Mohseni. They proposed that power should be transferred from Rabbani and Massoud to a council composed of the leaders of nine *Mujahideen* parties. Then this council was to decide about the convening of *loya jirga* which was to take a call on the future political system of Afghanistan. President Rabbani had rejected this proposal as well.⁶⁰

On the other hand, the involvement of the United Nations also increased in 1994 for the peaceful resolution of the Civil War. The UN dispatched a special mission to Afghanistan headed

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.



by Mahmoud Mistri of Tunisia. The mission started with a fact-finding tour of Afghanistan and adjacent areas in March and April. The mission concluded that ‘a military victory by either side was impossible.’ During the second phase, Mistri unsuccessfully tried to negotiate a political settlement acceptable to both sides fighting in Kabul. Rabbani was attributed by Mistri for the failure of the same. Rabbani had once again stalled any peace accord as he was not having any positive inclination towards the United Nations efforts.⁶¹

When all the efforts failed, the *Mujahideen* factions once again started fighting each other, thus resulted in severe intensity of Civil War, and peace never came to Afghanistan. Unfortunately, all the factions were highly distrustful towards each other, even after belonging to same nation and same religion. Every group wanted to have full access to and control over the central government. Ethnic enmity again dominated the scene and all the religious values came to an end. The lust of power filled their hearts by hate towards other fellow citizens, and nothing except power mattered for them.

The Soviet withdrawal had generated optimism for peace, but unfortunately all the militant factions with high distrust, started barbaric killing of other groups. All the *Mujahideen* factions were fully armed by the US and Pakistani officials during the Soviet occupation. The weapons, which were used to kill the Soviets, were now being used to kill fellow citizens of Afghanistan. Destruction, chaos and confusion again rang the bell of the Afghan people. Now, the Civil War was going on at its peak, with everyone’s hand on the throat of every fellow citizen. During the Civil War from 1992-1994, 45000 Afghans died. Burhanuddin Rabbani and Hekmatyar were now involved in a severe fight for power.⁶²

4. Causes of the Afghan Civil War

4.1. Soviet Invasion: the conflict in Afghanistan started with the foreign invasion in 1979. The Soviet Union deployed the forces upon the direct request by the Noor Mohammad Taraki and later by Hafizullah Amin.⁶³ Once the Soviets invaded Afghanistan, the conflict got

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Matinuddin, *the Taliban Phenomenon: Afghanistan 1994-1997*, 10.

⁶³ Oleg Yegorov, “Why did the USSR enter Afghanistan”, *Russia Beyond*, (2019),



internationalized. The Soviet invasion invited further international actors to actively pursue and get involved in Afghanistan, like Pakistan, the United States and Saudi Arabia.

The international aid from the United States and Saudi Arabia helped the Afghan *Mujahideen* to bleed the Soviets, finally after the decade of war and destruction, the Soviets withdrew their forces from Afghanistan. This withdrawal gave rise to a power vacuum, which now was eyed by different armed groups. This tussle over power and the control over the government is the first and foremost reason, which pulled the trigger of Civil War in Afghanistan.

After the Soviet withdrawal, the international involvement took a new turn. Pakistan, Iran and India etc. started aiding their own favorites to fulfill their own national interests. This in turn increased the intensity of the Civil War to an unimaginable level. The Afghan state collapsed, and it caused a local anarchy, as is well defined by Yilmaz, “State collapse causes a local anarchy in which individuals and groups find themselves in a state of serious insecurity. In the absence of a central authority, security is inevitably subjectively pursued, and social conflicts occur out of it.”⁶⁴ Exactly the same happened with Afghanistan.

4.2. Ethnic factor is the second most important cause of the Civil War in Afghanistan. As referred earlier, once the Soviets left, the reason of unity between different *Mujahideen* groups no longer existed. The old ethnic enmity returned to the Afghan politics and the price paid was too heavy to bear. All the ethnic groups with their own armed forces started marching towards Kabul for fulfilling the power vacuum left void by the Soviets. The earlier mentioned international factor is well much connected with the ethnic cause of the Civil War, as the outside powers started helping some particular ethnic group, like Pakistan started supporting Pushtun’s,⁶⁵ Iran and India started arming Hazara’s and Northern Alliance.

<https://www.rbth.com/history/329948-why-did-ussr-enter-afghanistan-war> (09.07.2019).

⁶⁴ Muzaffer Ercan Yilmaz, “Intra-State Conflicts in the Post-Cold War Era”, *International Journal on World Peace* 24, no. 4, (2007): 11-33.

⁶⁵ Will Durant, “Civil War in Afghanistan”,

www.socialstudies.org/sites/default/files/publications/se/6507/650706.html (27.04.2019)



4.3. Economic factor has also played an undefined role in the Afghan Civil War. War in itself has become “major employer” in Afghanistan, as the increasing unemployment pushes the young men towards the armed groups and choosing the life of irregular soldiers to feed themselves and avoid poverty and starvation. Widespread poverty, destruction, millions of displaced refugees, wrecked infrastructure and poverty, etc. are some major contributors of the Afghan Civil War, dominantly economically.⁶⁶

4.4. Domestic political factors have also played an important role in the Afghan Civil War, it majorly includes the warlordism, which dominantly increased after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Some ethnic leaders became warlords and they attempted for control over rival groups, their land and trade. Alliances and shifting alliances became a norm and the well-being of their own tribe became the priority, which increased the rivalry and led to the severe conflicts between different warlords.⁶⁷

5. Policies of External Actors Concerning Afghanistan

The intra-state conflict in Afghanistan is a protracted one, since its inception in 1979 it ‘assumed strong elements of a proxy war between the former superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States.’⁶⁸ The United States smelled an opportunity to bleed the Soviet Union and involve their security forces militarily without directly involving its own military. The Soviet invasion provided an opportunity to the United States to give them their own Vietnam that too on the foreign land. With this invasion, external involvement found its way to Afghanistan.

As earlier mentioned, the Soviet forces withdrew its troops from Afghanistan in February 1989 under the Geneva Accords of April 1988. The same marked a turning point in Afghanistan as Najibullah could hold on to the government at Kabul only till the foreign aid continued. He was removed from power in April 1992 followed by the failed seven Peshawar-

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Citha D Maass, “The Afghanistan Conflict: External Involvement”, *Central Asian Survey* 18, no. 1 (1999): 65-78.



based *Mujahideen* Accord. Afghanistan was again plunged into the deep crisis, ‘the war sank into international oblivion,’⁶⁹ thus opened the floodgates for the wider external involvement, subsequently and successfully exploited by numerous outside actors for their own national gains. Every external actor started playing politics in Afghanistan and exploited the internal actors involved according to their own whims and wishes. This external involvement had a long lasting and devastating impact on Afghanistan, and it is yet to come out of that disaster.

Regional powers were deeply involved in the Afghan Civil War, which by 1995 had become a type of mini-great game for them. The policies of the regional countries added fuel to fire as the intensity of the Civil War increased. Competition between the outside actors increased and the Afghan Civil War became a proxy fight. Pakistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Uzbekistan, Russia and India were some important outside actors who helped their own preferred proxies in Afghanistan.⁷⁰ Their support to their proxies helped them in extending their fight fiercely, which ultimately increased the Civil War violence.

5.1. Pakistan

Apart from the Soviet Union who got directly involved in the Afghan conflict with their military invasion in 1979 till their withdrawal in February 1989, Pakistan is the only external actor who has since then been aggressively involved in Afghanistan on multiple fronts. Among all external actors, Pakistan holds a strategic position in Afghanistan. During the Soviet-Afghan war, the US supplied arms and ammunition to the Afghan *Mujahideen* only through Pakistan, giving it a leverage to decide on their own favorites, which was Gulbuddin Hekmatyar for a long time. As mentioned earlier, by 1994 Pakistan had shifted its stand and started aiding a new group, the Taliban. When in 1996 Taliban seized the power in Afghanistan with the Pakistan’s blessings, it recognized the Taliban as the ‘official’ government ‘prematurely’ on May 25, 1997, only to be followed by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates on May 26 and 27 respectively.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Zalmay Khalilzad, “Afghanistan in 1995: Civil War and a Mini-Great Game”, *Asian Survey* 36, no. 2, (1996): 190-195.



In consonance with the Pakistan's Afghan policy, the crazy and the hurried decisions were always taken in the backdrop of their security interests, particularly regarding their access to the Central Asian States, 'strategic depth' to Pakistan in Afghanistan *vis-à-vis* India, and their 'controlling irredentist Pashtun nationalism across the controversial Afghan-Pakistani border,' the so-called *Durand Line*.⁷¹

All these reasons have deeply encouraged Pakistan to involve in Afghanistan, the opportunity was opened to them in 1979 with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. When the Taliban came to power, a success was smelled by the Pakistani government about having a pro-Pakistani government, which in fact was their proxy, although indirectly. The success of Pakistan was short-lived as Taliban within short span of time invited the international condemnation for their policies against women, the destruction of the 6th century Bamiyan Buddhas. It was further marginalised for having ties with the Al Qaida operatives and for providing them shelter and safe space in Afghanistan. The whole discourse of the Pakistani involvement in Afghanistan changed after 9/11, and Pakistan acquired a new role where it sided with the US forces who were to dislodge the Taliban government. With the US intervention in Afghanistan, a new phase for the Pakistani involvement in Afghanistan started.

5.2. Iran

Iran, like Pakistan, is also a 'regional linkage state' in relation to Afghanistan. Iran did also have a strategic position in the intra-state conflict in Afghanistan during the last decade of 20th century. Iran was also responsible along with Pakistan in internationalizing the Afghan conflict, although to a lesser extent in comparison to Pakistan. Iran is responsible for increasing the intensity of the Afghan conflict when it supported the opposing groups to those of who were supported by the Pakistani government. Iran had links with the Northern Alliance and was particularly supportive to the Shiite member parties. Iran had one fundamental reason to get itself involved in Afghanistan, to counter the US-led international isolation efforts. After the emergence of Peshawar-based Sunni *Mujahideen* groups, primarily backed by Pakistan and

⁷¹ Maass, "The Afghanistan Conflict: External Involvement".



allegedly by the US, Tehran smelled the ‘political-cum-Islamist containment attempt. To counterbalance it, Iran, like Pakistan, felt compelled to assume a special role in the Afghan conflict during the 1990s.’⁷²

When the anti-Shia Taliban captured most of the Afghan provinces, including those bordering the Iranian territory, Iran had to intensify its support to the Shia-led parties which mostly came from ethnic Hazaras. With the advancement of the Taliban towards the government at Kabul, the Iranian authorities expanded their support to other parties of the Northern Alliance. Iran’s primary objective in Afghanistan after the arrival of the Taliban has been their containment and it also wants to prevent the spread of ‘radical ideology’ over into the Iranian territory.⁷³

5.3. Afghanistan’s Extended Neighbours: *Saudi Arabia, Turkey and India*

These extended neighbours of Afghanistan did also function as ‘regional conflict parties due to their close engagement with either of the two war camps,’ can be grouped accordingly:⁷⁴

- a) *On the Taliban side:* Saudi Arabia and its Arab client states, having become *de facto* regional actors by closely siding with Pakistan;
- b) *On the Northern Alliance side:* Turkey and India, the latter trying to gain influence by cooperating with Russia and Iran.
- c) The Saudi Arabia’s massive financial and political assistance to the Taliban was based on three motivations:⁷⁵
 - d) Religious-ideological interests in spreading its Wahhabite interpretation of Islam in Greater Central Asia;
 - a) Power political interests in extending the Saudi sphere of influence, using well-established secret service contacts;

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.



b) Financial and geoeconomic interests, i.e. backing the Saudi oil company Delta in its endeavour to secure a share in the gas pipeline, whose route, according to present planning, would lead through a Taliban-controlled region.

Turkey had no interests in directly projecting its power in Afghanistan and did not feel immediately threatened by the Taliban. Its support of the Northern Alliance was confined to granting political backing and was based on two motivations:⁷⁶

- a) A defensive interest in containing an Islamist subversion, and
- b) An offensive interest in propagating the Turkish secular social model among the ‘brother states’ of the Turkish peoples in the Central Asian region.

India, along with Russia and Iran, found a common ground during the 1990s war in Afghanistan. India’s Afghan policy during this period was dependent on external powers. Lalit Mansingh, former Foreign Secretary of India (1999-2000) had in an interview put it:⁷⁷

“We [India] discovered that we could play a security role during the Taliban period when the Northern Alliance was formed. And since Russia and Iran were on the same page, we were very comfortable in giving military assistance. But then we didn’t have to worry about the routes because we had the active support of the Iranians. Therefore, getting military supplies across to the Northern Alliance was not a big problem.... But the fact is that it also acknowledges that India can’t work alone. India by itself cannot play a major role in the security situation of Afghanistan.”

5.4. The United States of America (USA)

There is a belief in certain sections of scholars that the CIA took a leading role in Afghanistan six months before the Soviet Union intervened in Afghanistan. This belief was later confirmed by the revelations of declassified documents. On July 3, 1979, under the Presidential “finding” CIA was authorised to spend \$500,000 on propaganda and psychological operations. The third country whose help was taken in this funding was Pakistan. Medical equipments and radios were shipped to Pakistan to be distributed to the Afghan guerrillas

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Avinash Paliwal, “New Alignments, Old Battlefield: Revisiting India’s Role in Afghanistan”, *Carnegie India*, 2017, [https://carnegieindia.org/2017/06/15/new-alignments-old-battlefield-revisiting-india-s-role-in-afghanistan-pub-71272\(02.05.2019\)](https://carnegieindia.org/2017/06/15/new-alignments-old-battlefield-revisiting-india-s-role-in-afghanistan-pub-71272(02.05.2019)).



through Pakistan's ISI. Some handful congressional leaders were also notified for the purpose.⁷⁸ The US looked upon the Communist influence as a threat to whole world. That is why Pakistan was made one of the most important allies of the US, to preserve their interests in the region. It was through Pakistan that the US was having easy access to operate in this region.⁷⁹

The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan was perceived as a direct threat to Iran and Pakistan in particular and the Gulf region in general. After the Second World War, for the first time a direct Soviet intervention took place. Writing about the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, Zbigniew Brzezinski notes that the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan intensified the 'two-pronged American response', first, direct American assistance to the *Mujahedeen*, second, to think about the large-scale presence of the US in the Persian Gulf region. The motive behind these American responses was to deter the future Soviet expansion in this region.⁸⁰

Further, warning the Soviet Union, President Carter used very tough language on the part of the USSR's activities in the Gulf region, while warning the Soviet Union against their expansionist policy, President said,⁸¹

"Let our position be absolutely clear: An attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America, and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force".

With this the foreign policy of the US was made clear and a strong message was sent to the USSR. In fact, the US got a chance to engage the Soviet Union in the actual battlefield without engaging their security forces.

The primary goal of the US covert operation was the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from Afghanistan. Even if the goal was not to be attained quickly it was to be made costly for the Soviets. In a top-secret memo, Brzezinski wrote, *"Even if this is not attainable, we should*

⁷⁸ Steve Coll, *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan and Bin Laden, From the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001*, (London: Penguin Books, 2005), 46.

⁷⁹ A. Z. Hilali, *US Pakistan Relationship: Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan*, (Great Britain: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005), 70.

⁸⁰ Zbigniew Brzezinski, *the Grand Chessboard, American Primacy and its Geostrategic Imperatives*. (United States: Basic Books, 1997), 7.

⁸¹ State of the Union Address, 1980, "Carter Doctrine".



make Soviet involvement as costly as possible". As mentioned earlier, it was to give the Soviets their own Vietnam.⁸² The CIA's Covert action authorised by President Carter in late December 1979 and reauthorized by President Reagan in 1981, was to raise the costs of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. The other objective of this covert action was to break the Soviets in such a way so to deter their further expansion to any other Third World country. Having the belief that the rebels could not defeat the Soviets on their own, the covert aid through Pakistan was provided to them to resist and continue the war, with the intention to raise the costs of Soviet intervention.⁸³

Pakistan laid down the rules that no American, CIA or otherwise would be allowed to move to Afghanistan. Every movement and distribution of weapons would be handled by ISI. Training of *Mujahedeen* was also to be done by ISI.⁸⁴ ISI started buying new weapons. Lee Enfield .303s, RPG-7s were bought in vast quantities, 60-millimeter Chinese mortars and 12.7 millimetre heavy machine guns were also bought. CIA also bought old weapons from Egypt. From Turkey, sixty thousand rifles, eight thousand light machine guns, ten thousand pistols and hundred million rounds of ammunition were bought. Big arms deals were done with the Chinese government and it was unbelievable that Chinese were selling weapons used to be against the Soviets. One of the CIA officers involved in the Afghan program, said, "*can it possibly be any better than buying bullets from the Chinese to use to shoot Russians*".⁸⁵

It is clear that the US got deeply involved in the first phase of the Afghan war, although for their own motives, but the fact is that the war supply from the US to the Afghan guerrillas further escalated the Civil War once the Soviets had left Afghanistan. The *Mujahideen* were strong enough to have a tough fight as they were having the foreign-made weaponry in their hands, which actually increased the intensity of the internal war.

5.5. The Soviet Union / Russian Federation

Where other regional and international powers got indirectly involved in the Afghan war, the Soviet Union is the source of all. Once the Soviet Union got its boots imprinted on the soil of

⁸² Coll, *Ghost Wars*, 50-51.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 63-64.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 66.



Afghanistan, all others had the reason to support the Afghan *Mujahideen*. The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in late December 1979 and one of the bloodiest wars of the world was born. The Soviet leaders initially visualized the Afghan war as a ‘small-scale intervention’ but the same stretched into a decade-long war and involving nearly one million Soviet soldiers and killing and injuring some tens of thousands of them. *Noorte Haal*, the newspaper of the Estonian Komsomol, has estimated that 50,000 were dead and 150,000 injured.⁸⁶ The war lasted for almost a decade and the Soviet Union withdrew its forces in February 1989, after much destruction and human loss on both sides. The impact of the Afghan war was so much that it eventually contributed to the disintegration of the Soviet Union on December 26, 1991. The Afghan war was a key factor in the breakdown of the empire, though not the only cause.⁸⁷

Table I: Who fought against whom in Afghanistan during the Intra-State Conflict⁸⁸

Years	Regime	Opposed by
1978-1992	Communist (PDPA)	Various <i>Mujahideen</i> groups
1992-1996	<i>Mujahideen</i> government	<i>Mujahideen</i> opponents, then Taliban
1996-2001	Taliban government	Northern Alliance
2001-2014	Hamid Karzai (First Democratically elected government)	Taliban and other insurgent groups
2014-2019	Ashraf Ghani (Democratically elected government)	Taliban and other insurgent groups

After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, ‘formulating a post-Soviet policy did not come easily to Russia.’ While it had curtailed its diplomatic relations with Afghanistan, it almost had lost its interests there now. The top priority of the Russian government was setting their house in order first. But the game did not end here, Russia did not have the official relations with the Taliban, they along with other countries backed the Northern Alliance in their fight against the Taliban.⁸⁹ Although the Russian government has denied these charges, but the fact of the matter is that Ahmad Shah Masood had once himself said in an interview that ‘*he receives much*

⁸⁶ *Noorte Haal*, 1989.

⁸⁷ Rafael Reuveny and Aseem Prakash, “The Afghanistan war and the Breakdown of the Soviet Union”, *Review of International Studies* 24, no. 04, (1999): 693-708.

⁸⁸ Australian Government, “Afghanistan: Political Parties and Insurgent Groups 1978-2001” (With authors additions from 2014 to 2019).

⁸⁹ “Afghanistan's Northern Alliance”, BBC News, 2001, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/1552994.stm (03.05.2019).



of his equipment from the Russian mafia, not the Russian government,⁹⁰ which clearly indicates that Russia was involved whether directly or indirectly. Apart from Masood, Russians were also supplying arms to General Dostum, ‘aiming to affect the military balance of power, in spite of the awareness that the Northern Alliance cannot be victorious.’⁹¹

6. Stages of the Conflict In Afghanistan

6.1. Stage I: The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan 1979-1989 (*Saur Revolution*)

The existing conflict in Afghanistan started with the Soviet invasion in December 1979. It laid the foundations for all forthcoming stages. The resistance started mainly built on *Mujahideen* fighters, motivated by Islam, joined by other fellow Muslims from different Arab and African countries.⁹² The first stage of war in Afghanistan was directly internationalized as the opposite main party was aided by the United States, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan. Billions of dollars were pumped in from the US and Saudi government through the Pakistani intelligence ISI. The primary purpose of Washington had little to do with the Afghan conflict, they had everything to do with their competition with the Soviet Union. It was to bog the Soviets down and deter them for further expansion.⁹³ The Afghanistan invasion involved the Cold War rivals in the Third World country, although indirectly. They played their politics on the land which never belonged to any of them and devastated the same for retaining their Cold War supremacy.

The first phase of Afghan war totally devastated the Afghan society, almost one and a half million people died during this phase, apart from the destruction of 60 percent of infrastructure of the country.⁹⁴ With the restrictions and the coercion increased by the Communist government, the refugee flow from Afghanistan increased, which ‘reached to five million out of a population of about sixteen million.’ The heart of the first phase was religion, as Islamic organisations and fighters

⁹⁰ James Risen, “Russians are Back in Afghanistan, Aiding Rebels”, The New York Times, 1998, <https://www.nytimes.com/1998/07/27/world/russians-are-back-in-afghanistan-aiding-rebels.html> (03.05.2019).

⁹¹ Maass, “The Afghanistan Conflict: External Involvement”.

⁹² Human Rights Watch, “Backgrounder on Afghanistan: History of the War”, <https://www.hrw.org/legacy/backgrounder/asia/afghan-bck1023.htm> (06.05.2019).

⁹³ George Friedman, “The 30-Year War in Afghanistan”, *Geopolitical Weekly (Stratfor)*, 2010, <https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/30-year-war-afghanistan> (06.05.2019).

⁹⁴ Neamatollah Nojumi, *the Rise of the Taliban in Afghanistan: Mass Mobilization, Civil War, and the Future of the Region* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 97.



fought the war with religious zeal, they collectively came to be known as *Mujahideen*, based in Pakistan and Iran.⁹⁵

6.2. Stage II: From the Geneva Accords to the *Mujahideen*’s Civil War

The Geneva Accords were culminated in 1988 to end the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, accordingly the Soviet Union withdrew its forces by February 1989. The first phase of the conflict came to an end, but the war didn’t. Although the Soviets left, but the Communist government with their blessings continued till April 1992. *Mujahideen* continued their struggle against the Najibullah-led Communist government. The fall of Najibullah gave birth to the new phase, the high intensity Civil War, where the struggle was going on for fulfilling the power vacuum created by the exit of President Najibullah. The militias of Gen. Abdul Rashid Dostum and Tajik leader Ahmed Shah Masood and the Hazara faction of *Hizb-I Wahdat* joined hands and attacked Kabul followed by the agreement on a coalition government, which outrightly excluded Gulbuddin Hekmatyar – ‘the protégé of Pakistan.’ Rabbani became the President under the new coalition and Hekmatyar continued to bombard Kabul. In January 1994, Dostum left Alliance and joined Hekmatyar to oust Rabbani and Masood, ‘*launching full-scale Civil War in Kabul,*’ killing thousands of people and reducing the one-third of the city to rubble.⁹⁶

Figure I: Levels / Stages of Conflict Intensities⁹⁷

intensity Level	terminology	level of violence	intensity class
1	dispute	non-violent conflicts	low intensity
2	non-violent crisis		
3	violent crisis	violent conflicts	medium intensity
4	limited war		high intensity
5	war		

⁹⁵ Human Rights Watch, “Backgrounder on Afghanistan: History of the War”.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Methodology of the Heidelberg Conflict Research, <https://hiik.de/hiik/methodology/?lang=en> (09.11.2019).



6.3. Stage III: Emergence of the Taliban and their Conquest of Afghanistan

As mentioned earlier, the dramatic entry of the Taliban changed the direction of the Afghan Civil War, with a new phase, where a strong force emerged with the ability to crush most of the existing Afghan militias/*Mujahideen*. The movement started in 1994 and within two years they were able to conquer the capital city of Afghanistan and eventually formed the government. The new phase of Civil War had started in the Afghan history as soon as the Taliban managed to dislodge the Masood-backed Rabbani government in September 1996. They also renamed the country as Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan, but the war did not end.

With his loss of Kabul, Masood began to obtain the military assistance from Iran and Russia. The opposing parties also reconstituted the Northern Alliance for their fight against the Taliban. Throughout 1997 and 1998, the Taliban with their increasing ambitions made repeated attempts for extending their control to other parts of the country, particularly to the north of Afghanistan, 'where Dostum had carved out what amounted to a mini-state comprising five provinces which he administered from his headquarters in Shiberghan, West of the important city of Mazar-i Sharif.'⁹⁸ On May 19, 1997 as many as 5,000 commanders of Dostum were arrested by the Taliban after his deputy Gen. Abdul Malik Pahlawan struck an agreement with the Taliban. But the Malik-Taliban agreement could not hold for so long, and the alliance disintegrated quickly. When Taliban entered Mazar-i Sharif, they attempted to disarm the local Hazaras, this led to the death of the hundreds of the Taliban soldiers in the city streets, and some 3,000 Taliban were imprisoned by Gen Malik and 'allegedly also by Hizb-i Wahdat, and summarily executed.'⁹⁹ The Taliban was finally able to take the control of Mazar-i Sharif in August 1998 wherein they massacred at least 2,000 people, most of them were civilians of Hazara. With this bloodiest act, both Dostum and Gen Malik had to leave Afghanistan for exile in Turkey and Iran, respectively.¹⁰⁰ Shortly after these episodes, United Islamic Front for the Salvation of Afghanistan was constituted, and the fight against the Taliban continued, so

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.



continued the sufferings of the people of Afghanistan. The Taliban continuously fought for extending their territorial control, so fought against the fringe militias, but the most effective were the forces of Ahmad Shah Masood. Hizb-i Wahdat and Harkat-i Islami had briefly taken control of Yakaolang town in late December 2000, but they lost the same to the Taliban on January 8, 2001. After retaking the town, the Taliban had massacred at least 178 civilians in revenge. From January to June the town changed hands several times and was finally burnt by the Taliban and many other villages against their failure of retaining the same.¹⁰¹

During this phase of the Civil War in Afghanistan, international community got involved many times for different reasons, were the United States demanded the handing over of the Bin Laden, the United Nations and most of the nations condemned the destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas by the Taliban. Bin Laden was wanted by the US for his alleged role in the bombings of the US Embassies in Nairobi and Dar es-Salaam, the demand rejected by the Taliban government. The US launched air strikes on the training camps of Bi Laden near the Pakistani border. In October 1999, the UN imposed sanctions on the Taliban for not turning over Bin Laden. Further on December 9, 2000, the UN expanded the sanctions to arms embargo, travel ban on the Taliban officials and closing of the Taliban offices abroad.¹⁰²

This phase of the war in Afghanistan ended with the US military intervention in Afghanistan after the 9/11 terrorist attacks on World Trade Centre and the Pentagon. Ahmad Shah Masood was assassinated on September 9, 2001 by the suicide bombers. A new phase of war began in the Afghan history, an internationalized intra-state conflict.¹⁰³

6.4. Stage IV: 9/11 and the US Intervention in (2001-2014)

The orientation of the modern politics drastically changed with the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the US soil. Afghanistan became the primary target of the 'War on Terror' campaign by the US and its allies to combat terrorism and to put the culprits to justice. Whole world stood with the US in the time of grief. On the very next day of the attacks, President George W. Bush had

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.



a meeting with the National Security Council (NSC), where he had stressed that the US was at war with a new and a different kind of enemy,¹⁰⁴ a non-state actor, with state backing. The actor was Al-Qaida, who was responsible for these attacks, alleged by the US. Afghanistan was identified as a 'failed' state, which was identified as safe havens for them.¹⁰⁵

The US authorities had demanded that the Taliban should turn Bin Laden to them, the demand struck down by the Taliban government, as they did not find any merit in the US demand. Taliban did not comply with the US demands, they ignored the non-negotiable demands from the Bush administration and the current phase of the bloodiest war in the Afghan history began with the US intervention in Afghanistan for eliminating the acts and safe havens of terrorism. On October 2, 2001, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) members formally invoked the Article 5 of the NATO Charter,¹⁰⁶ putting their military coalition on a war footing. This was for the first time that the related article was invoked. The article states that an attack on any NATO associate will be treated as an attack on all.¹⁰⁷ The formal military attack began on October 7, 2001 when the US-led Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) began with air strikes.¹⁰⁸ The attack trembled the Taliban government and this was the beginning of the new era, an internationalized conflict.

The US-led intervention further deepened the already existing intra-state conflict in Afghanistan, the conflict took a new turn, and members of the Northern Alliance immediately joined the Western coalition and became the inalienable part of the transitional government, which was actually meant to challenge the Taliban forces. The Northern Alliance was formally dissolved in 2001 as its members and parties joined the Karzai government.¹⁰⁹ The conflict

¹⁰⁴ National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, "9/11 Commission Report", p. 330, [https://9-11commission.gov/report/\(10.05.2019\)](https://9-11commission.gov/report/(10.05.2019)).

¹⁰⁵ Sonali Huria, "Failed States and Foreign Military Intervention: The Afghanistan Imbroglio", *IPCS Special Report*, no. 67 (2009).

¹⁰⁶ The North Atlantic Treaty, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_17120.htm (25.04.2019).

¹⁰⁷ David Wildman and Phyllis Bennis, "The War in Afghanistan Goes Global", *Critical Asian Studies* 42, no. 3 (2010): 469-480.

¹⁰⁸ Kenneth Katzman, "Afghanistan: Post-War Governance, Security, and U.S. Policy", CRS Report for US Congress", (2004), 9.

¹⁰⁹ Australian Government, "Afghanistan: Political Parties and Insurgent Groups 1978-2001", Migration Review Tribunal-Refugee Review Tribunal, 2013, [https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/1154721/1226_1369733568_ppig1.pdf\(29.04.2019\)](https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/1154721/1226_1369733568_ppig1.pdf(29.04.2019)).



within the Afghan society further deepened and the ethnic enmity and rivalry reached to an unparalleled level, were the Taliban became the prime target and almost all others united against them. Dostum who was exiled to Turkey returned and became the part of the democratic government. Hekmatyar also signed a peace deal with the Afghan government, he was pardoned for his crimes against the Afghans. In return, his forces agreed to cut ties with the extremist forces and shunned the violent path. Rabbani was chosen as a chief of High Peace Council, the primary job of which was to facilitate the negotiations with the Taliban and other insurgent groups. He held this position until his assassination on September 20, 2011.

6.5. Stage V: Major Withdrawal of the US/NATO Forces and the Emergence of Resolute Support Mission (RSM, January 01, 2015-till date)

Osama bin Laden had been the major irritant between the Taliban and the US from the very beginning. Subsequently, the hunt for Osama increased after the September 11 terrorist attacks. When the negotiations for his extradition failed, then the US directly intervened in Afghanistan and started hunting for him with their own forces on the ground. The hunt for him continued for almost a decade (2001-2011). The search came to an end with his death by the US Navy SEAL team raid, in his compound on May 2, 2011, in Abbottabad Pakistan.¹¹⁰ It was a major victory for the US in their decade long battle against the Al-Qaida. The US did not limit its search to Afghanistan, but searched him in Pakistan too, where he was finally nabbed. He had been hiding in a compound in Abbottabad for about six years, in isolation, with three wives, and over a dozen children. This compound was only forty miles away from the Pakistan capital, Islamabad. The US SEAL team was on the ground for forty minutes and executed the operation successfully.¹¹¹

Announcing the death of bin Laden, the President of the US, Barrack Obama said, “...on nights like this one, we can say to those families who lost loved ones to Al-Qaida’s terror: justice has been done”.¹¹² With the death of Bin Laden, President Obama indicated that the US

¹¹⁰ Hillary Rodham Clinton, *Hard Choices*, (London: Simon and Schuster, 2014), 164.

¹¹¹ Carlotta Gall, *the Wrong Enemy: America in Afghanistan 2001-2014*, (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2014), 242-243.

¹¹² Tom Cohen, “Obama tells families of 9/11 victims that ‘justice has been done’”, *CNN*, 2 May 2011.



forces would withdraw by 2014 from Afghanistan.¹¹³ This was, in fact, a big success for the US which paved the way for the major US withdrawal from Afghanistan, as the main target was eliminated. The US was there in Afghanistan to break the bones of the Al-Qaida network, which was achieved to a large extent with the killing of bin Laden.

“Afghanistan Exit and Accountability Act”, unveiled by Representative McGovern and Rep. Jones, the bi-partisan team, introduced H. R. 1735, it required on President Obama for presenting a timetable for the US troop withdrawal from Afghanistan. President was to lay a time frame before the American Congress and in addition a clear date to end the war.

After the death of Bin Laden, this was the first practical step towards ending the war in Afghanistan. Osama was eliminated on May 2, 2011, and this bill was introduced on May 5, 2011. This bill clearly put forward the idea of transition from the US to the Government of Afghanistan. Although, NATO in the Lisbon Summit Declaration in 2010 had hinted towards the transition with the end of 2014. With December 2014, they were to transfer responsibility to the Afghan forces across the whole of Afghanistan.¹¹⁴ But there was no rationale for these withdrawal plans as their main target Bin Laden was still alive and there was no reason to end the war like this. Bin Laden’s death provided a reason for the US and allied forces for their partial withdrawal from Afghanistan. Before this successful operation, there was no reason for the US to end the war.

In 2012, the NATO members met once again; this time in Chicago, where the members reaffirmed their commitment for a sovereign, secure and democratic Afghanistan. They also reaffirmed the approach concluded in the Lisbon summit, to conclude the ISAFs’ mission with the end of 2014. In addition to these, they decided that Afghanistan would not be left alone: “*we reaffirm that our partnership will continue beyond the end of the transition period*”. The members also affirmed their support to Afghanistan in its struggle towards self-reliance in security, economic and social development, and governance. It was aimed that Afghanistan

¹¹³ John F. Shroder, *Natural Resources in Afghanistan: Geographic and Geologic Perspectives on Centuries of Conflict* (USA: Elsevier, 2014), 10.

¹¹⁴ NATO Lisbon Summit Declaration, 20 November 2010, www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_68828.htm (18.06.2019).



would be prevented from becoming the safe haven for terrorists which threatened the country as well as the region.¹¹⁵

To execute the plan accordingly, the NATO members again met to discuss and draw the future plan while ending the war in Afghanistan, this time in Wales, on September 5, 2014. ISAFs' mission which was to be concluded in December 2014, was discussed as it would influence the nature and scope of the NATO's engagement in Afghanistan. They affirmed that the NATO allies and other partner nations will continuously train, advise and assist the Afghan National Security Forces after the withdrawal through the non-combatant Resolute Support Mission.¹¹⁶

The outcome of all these summits was the end of the war with the major US withdrawal from Afghanistan. As the ISAF's mission ended on December 31, 2014, the NATO's Resolute Support Mission began on January 1, 2015. The NATO's role changed from Combatant to non-Combatant, to aid, advice and assist the Afghan National Security Forces.¹¹⁷

As the major withdrawal has already taken place which gave rise to RSM, the intensity of the conflict started arising once again. The limited role of foreign forces increased the miseries of the common people of Afghanistan. As the role of foreign forces changed in 2015 the civilian casualties started increasing. In 2015 alone, 3,545 deaths were reported along with 7,475 injured,¹¹⁸ this abrupt increase is directly seen as the fallout of the major US withdrawal, as the casualties saw a four percent increase in the casualties from the previous year, women and the child were the worst sufferers.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ NATO Chicago Summit Declaration on Afghanistan, 21 May 2012, www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_87595.htm (18.06.2019).

¹¹⁶ NATO Wales Summit Declaration, 5 September 2014, www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_112964.htm (19.06.2019).

¹¹⁷ NATO, Resolute Support: Afghanistan, <https://rs.nato.int/rs-commands/combined-security-transition-command-afghanistan.aspx> (19.06.2019).

¹¹⁸ Civilian Casualties hit new High in 2015: United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), 2016, <https://unama.unmissions.org/civilian-casualties-hit-new-high-2015> (20.06.2019).

¹¹⁹ Ibid.



Table II: Troop Contributing Countries to the NATO led Resolute Support Mission in Afghanistan (as of November 2019)¹²⁰

NATO		Resolute Support Mission		Troop Contributing Nations		RS NATO-OTAN		
	Albania	135		Germany	1.300		Poland	354
	Armenia	121		Greece	11		Portugal	214
	Australia	300		Hungary	93		Romania	797
	Austria	16		Italy	895		Slovakia	33
	Azerbaijan	120		Latvia	40		Slovenia	8
	Belgium	83		Lithuania	50		Spain	66
	Bosnia-Herzegovina	68		Luxembourg	2		Sweden	25
	Bulgaria	159		Mongolia	233		Turkey	579
	Croatia	110		Montenegro	27		Ukraine	21
	Czech Republic	334		Netherlands	160		United Kingdom	1.100
	Denmark	155		New Zealand	13		United States	8.475
	Estonia	42		North Macedonia	47			
	Finland	67		Norway	54			
	Georgia	871						
							Total	17.178

See links to media backgrounder on "[NATO-Afghanistan relations \(October 2019\)](#)" and to media backgrounder on the [ANA Trust Fund](#).

November 2019

Note: this contribution from individual nations should be taken as indicative as the same changes regularly, in accordance with the deployment procedures of the individual troop contributing nations.

The casualties saw almost the same increase in 2016. 3,498 civilians lost their lives and 7,920 were wounded. The increase in casualties was witnessed because of the intense fighting between the Afghan forces and the armed groups.¹²¹ In 2017 the situation couldn't improve, the casualties continued at the record high. 10,453 casualties were reported by UNAMA in Afghanistan in 2017, among them 3,438 died and 7,015 were injured.¹²² In 2018, the war became even more deadly. The intra-state conflict started taking deep roots again in the Afghan society. Taking a sharp increase from the previous years, the casualties reached a new level.

¹²⁰ NATO: Resolute Support Mission: Key Facts and Figures,

https://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf_2019_11/20191106_2019-11-RSM-Placemat.pdf (11.11.2019).

¹²¹ Aljazeera Afghan civilian casualties at record high in 2016: UN, 2017, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/02/afghan-civilian-casualties-2016-170206062807210.html> (20.06.2019).

¹²² Afghanistan: 10,000 civilian casualties in 2017: United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), 2018, <https://unama.unmissions.org/afghanistan-10000-civilian-casualties-2017-un-report-suicide-attacks-and-ieds-caused-high-number> (20.06.2019).



UNAMA reported 10,993 casualties in 2018, with 3,408 deaths and 7,189 injured,¹²³ the conflict took a deep-rooted turn in the Afghan history.

7. Conclusion

The present scenario of the Afghan crisis is no less than the past, conflict is still at its peak with a grimmer picture. Civilian deaths are on the rise and the casualties from the Afghan forces are too at alarming level. The conflict in Afghanistan has gone through all the stages mentioned in figure I. It has completely transformed from dispute to war. It is now high intensity violent conflict. Since the US has majorly withdrawn by December 2014, the onus of security and the responsibility lies on the shoulders of the Afghan National Defense and Security Forces (ANDSF), with NATO led Resolute Support Mission aiding, advising, and training them. The Afghan forces aren't professional and well equipped yet, this gives the Taliban leverage over the Afghan forces. The dominance and control of the Taliban have increased both territorially and population wise. Although the foreign forces are still there but their role is only limited to aid and advise the Afghan forces. This has given the Taliban the chance to regroup and show their presence as well as importance.

The increasing Taliban activities are giving sleepless nights and the tough times to the foreign forces as well as the Afghan forces. This has compelled the US for the peace negotiations. The US is tirelessly working on the peaceful solution of the Afghan crisis now. Direct communication channels with the Taliban have been opened and the talks are going on. The most important thing about these talks is that the Afghan government is nowhere in the picture. Taliban are consistently refusing the talks with them, as they don't recognize them as the legitimate government of Afghanistan, and the US seems less bothered about it. This has consequently delegitimized the democratically elected government of Afghanistan and legitimized the Afghan Taliban. Afghan military action over the Taliban militants is

¹²³ Civilian deaths from Afghan conflict in 2018 at highest recorded level-UN report: United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), 2019, [https://unama.unmissions.org/civilian-deaths-afghan-conflict-2018-highest-recorded-level-%E2%80%93-un-report\(20.06.2019\)](https://unama.unmissions.org/civilian-deaths-afghan-conflict-2018-highest-recorded-level-%E2%80%93-un-report(20.06.2019)).



overlapping with the peace talks, and both are continuing their actions. Future of Afghanistan is still at large, unpredictable, but violent.

Bibliography

- Afghanistan: 10,000 civilian casualties in 2017: United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), 2018. <https://unama.unmissions.org/afghanistan-10000-civilian-casualties-2017-un-report-suicide-attacks-and-ieds-caused-high-number> (20.07.2019).
- Aljazeera Afghan civilian casualties at record high in 2016: UN, 2017. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/02/afghan-civilian-casualties-2016-170206062807210.html> (20.07.2019).
- Australian Government, "Afghanistan: Political Parties and Insurgent Groups 1978-2001," Migration Review Tribunal-Refugee Review Tribunal, 2013. https://www.ecoi.net/en/file/local/1154721/1226_1369733568_ppig1.pdf (29.04. 2019).
- Baumann, Jonas and Govinda Clayton. "Mediation in Violent Conflict". *Center for Security Studies*, no. 211 (2017). <https://ethz.ch/content/dam/ethz/special-interest/gess/cis/center-for-securities-studies/pdfs/CSSAnalyse211-EN.pdf> (02.12.2019).
- Brisson, Katherine. "International Intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia from the 1990s Through the 2000's". *Syracuse University Honors Program Capstone Projects*, 1004 (2017): 22. https://surface.syr.edu/honors_capstone/1004 (13.03. 2019).
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew. *The Grand Chessboard, American Primacy and its Geostrategic Imperatives*. United States: Basic Books, 1997.
- Butt, Khalid Manzoor and Azhar Javed Siddqi. "Pakistan-Afghanistan Relations from 1978 to 2001: An Analysis". *South Asian Studies* 31, no. 2, (2016): 723-744.
- Civilian deaths from Afghan conflict in 2018 at highest recorded level-UN report: United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), 2019. <https://unama.unmissions.org/civilian-deaths-afghan-conflict-2018-highest-recorded-level-%E2%80%9393-un-report> (20.07.2019).
- Clinton, Hillary Rodham. *Hard Choices*. London: Simon and Schuster, 2014.
- Coll, Steve. *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan and Bin Laden, From the Soviet Invasion to September 10 2001*. London: Penguin Books, 2005.
- Compartim, Programa. *Conflict Mapping: Theory and Methodology, Practical Application in Juvenile Justice*. Department of Justicia, 2014.
- Dixit, Aabha. "The Afghan Civil War: Emergence of the Taliban as Power Broker". *South Asian Survey* 2, no. 1, (1995): 111-118.
- Durant, Will. "Civil War in Afghanistan". www.socialstudies.org/sites/default/files/publications/se/6507/650706.html (27.04.2019).
- Friedman, George. "The 30-Year War in Afghanistan". *Geopolitical Weekly (Stratfor)*, 2010. <https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/30-year-war-afghanistan> (06.05. 2019).



- Gall, Carlotta. *The Wrong Enemy: America in Afghanistan 2001-2014*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2014.
- Hilali, A. Z. *US Pakistan Relationship: Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan*. Great Britain: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005.
- Huria, Sonali. "Failed States and Foreign Military Intervention: The Afghanistan Imbroglio," *IPCS Special Report*, no. 67 (2009).
- Katzman, Kenneth. "Afghanistan: Post-War Governance, Security, and U.S. Policy". CRS Report for US Congress, 2004.
- Khalilzad, Zalmay. "Afghanistan in 1994: Civil War and Disintegration". *Asian Survey* 35, no. 2, (1995): 147-152.
- Khalilzad, Zalmay. "Afghanistan in 1995: Civil War and a Mini-Great Game". *Asian Survey* 36, no. 2, (1996): 190-195.
- Maass, Citha D. "The Afghanistan Conflict: External Involvement". *Central Asian Survey* 18, no. 1 (1999): 65-78.
- Matinuddin, Kamal. *The Taliban Phenomenon: Afghanistan 1994-1997*. New Delhi: Lancer Publishers, 2000.
- National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, "9/11 Commission Report," p. 330. <https://9-11commission.gov/report/> (10.05.2019).
- NATO Chicago Summit Declaration on Afghanistan, 2012. www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_87595.htm (18.07.2019).
- NATO Lisbon Summit Declaration, 2010. www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_68828.htm (18.07.2019).
- NATO Wales Summit Declaration, 2014. www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_112964.htm (19.06.2019).
- Nojumi, Neamatollah. *The Rise of the Taliban in Afghanistan: Mass Mobilization, Civil War, and the Future of the Region*. New York: Palgrave, 2002.
- Paliwal, Avinash. "New Alignments, Old Battlefield: Revisiting India's Role in Afghanistan". *Carnegie India*, 2017. <https://carnegieindia.org/2017/06/15/new-alignments-old-battlefield-revisiting-india-s-role-in-afghanistan-pub-71272> (02.05. 2019).
- Reuveny, Rafael and Aseem Prakash. "The Afghanistan war and the Breakdown of the Soviet Union". *Review of International Studies* 24, no. 04, (1999): 693-708.
- Shroder, John F. *Natural Resources in Afghanistan: Geographic and Geologic Perspectives on Centuries of Conflict*. USA: Elsevier, 2014.
- Tarzi, Shah M. "Afghanistan in 1992: A Hobbesian State of Nature". *Asian Survey* 33, no. 2, (1993): 165-174.
- Wildman, David and Phyllis Bennis. "The War in Afghanistan Goes Global". *Critical Asian Studies* 42, no. 3 (2010): 469-480.



Yegorov, Oleg. “Why did the USSR enter Afghanistan”. *Russia Beyond*, 2019.
<https://www.rbth.com/history/329948-why-did-ussr-enter-afghanistan-war> (09.07.2019).

Yilmaz, Muzaffer Ercan. “Intra-State Conflicts in the Post-Cold War Era”. *International Journal on World Peace* 24, no. 4, (2007): 11-33.



New Media and Their Role in Supporting the Humanitarian NGOs during Armed Conflicts the ICRC's Work in the Syrian Conflict: A Case Study

Redouane TOUATI* and Halima TOUATI**

Abstract

This paper aims to highlight the role of New Media, especially the social networking sites, in supporting the international Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) during crises and armed conflicts. The focus is on the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), which has relied on Facebook in its work during the armed conflict in Syria. This reliance on Facebook has helped facilitate the process of communicating and interacting with the people affected by the conflict, and has made them aware of the consequences of the conflict and the necessary precautions that must be taken. Also, it has contributed to directing them to drinking water points, collective restaurants, and health centres, quickly and with a little effort.

Key words: *Armed conflict, Humanitarian NGOs, ICRC, New Media, Syria, Virtual space.*

Yeni Medya ve Silahlı Çatışmalar Sırasında Sivil Toplum Kuruluşlarını Desteklemedeki Rolü, ICRC'nin Suriye'de Çalışmaları: Bir Vaka Çalışması

Özet***

Bu makale krizler ve silahlı çatışmalar sırasında Uluslararası Sivil Toplum Örgütlerini (STK'lar) desteklemede Yeni Medyanın, özellikle sosyal paylaşım sitelerinin rolünü vurgulamayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu kapsamda çalışma, Suriye'de ki silahlı çatışmalar sırasında yürüttüğü çalışmalarında Facebook'a güvenen Kızılhaç Uluslararası Komitesi (ICRC)'ne odaklanmıştır. Facebook'a olan bu güven, çatışmadan etkilenen insanlarla iletişim ve etkileşim kurma sürecini kolaylaştırmış ve onları çatışmanın sonuçları ve alınması gereken önlemler konusunda bilgilendirmiştir. Ayrıca, onları hızlı ve az bir çabayla içme suyu noktalarına, toplu restoranlara ve sağlık merkezlerine yönlendirmeye katkıda bulunmuştur..

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Silahlı Çatışma, İnsani Sivil Toplum Örgütleri, Uluslararası Kızılhaç Komitesi, Yeni Medya, Suriye, Sanal Dünya*

* Assist. Prof.Dr. University Yahia Farés of Médéa, redtouati@hotmail.fr, ORCID ID:0000-0003-29679179

** Doctoral Student University Abderrahmane Mira of Béjaia, ORCID ID:0000-0001-8011-3926

*** Turkish abstract has been translated and added by IJPS

Received: 09.03.2020

Accepted: 02.05.2020



1. Introduction

International Committee of the Red Cross is a pivotal actor in developing the International Humanitarian Law (IHL), ensuring its implementation and dissemination through training sessions and issuing leaflets to introduce it, not to mention field visits to hotbeds of tension, prisons and detention centres. Nevertheless, the work of this committee remains in need of new means and techniques due to the circumstances and the rapid development that the world has witnessed in recent years due to the spread of the Internet and the emergence of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) as one of the most important changes in contemporary life.

Accordingly, New Media helped this organization to activate its role and increase the effectiveness of its human performance and tasks, as it adheres to principles that reflect speed, immediateness, interactivity, participation, and breaking down geographical barriers.

Consequently, the paper sheds light on the role of New Media, mainly social networking sites, in supporting the work of the International Committee of the Red Cross in the Syrian conflict, the latter being one of the longest conflicts that has preoccupied international public opinion.

In fact, every research must involve an explicit approach to arrive at desirable results. In this paper, we will depend on the Qualitative Approach. This, according to Beverley Hancock, Elizabeth Ockleford and Kate Windridge, is concerned:

*“With developing explanations of social phenomena. That is to say, it aims to help us to understand the social world in which we live and why things are the way they are. It is concerned with the social aspects of our world and seeks to answer questions about: Why people behave the way they do, how opinions and attitudes are formed, how people are affected by the events that go on around them, how and why cultures and practices have developed in the way they have... It focuses on words rather than numbers, on description and interpretation and might lead to development of new concepts or theory or to an evaluation of an organisational process”.*¹²⁴

¹²⁴Beverley Hancock and Elizabeth Ockleford and Kate Windridge, *an Introduction to Qualitative Research* (UK: the NIHR Research Design Service for the East Midlands /Yorkshire and the Humber, 2009): 6 and 7.



That in mind, the Qualitative Approach comprises of the following methods:

Discourse analysis, logic, ethnography, open-ended interview, participant observation, biography, comparative method, introspection, focus group, literary criticism, meditation practice, historical research, case study, etc.¹²⁵

Since the paper will focus on the ICRC's work during the Syrian armed conflict, the appropriate method for analysis is the "Case Study", which was one of the first methods of research to be used in the field of Qualitative Approach. In this regard, Sagadin states that:

*"A case study is used when we analyse and describe, for example each person individually (his or her activity, special needs, life situation, life history, etc.), a group of people (a school department, a group of students with special needs, teaching staff, etc.), individual institutions or a problem (or several problems), process, phenomenon or event in a particular institution, etc. in detail."*¹²⁶

It is worth mentioning that a literature review is also an important step in carrying out any scientific research. In this paper, I critically engaged with existing literature about academic understanding of New Media, the International Humanitarian Law, the International Non-governmental Organizations, the International Committee of the Red Cross and armed conflict. In this context, the following are highlighted: Lievrouw Leah and Sonia Livingstone (Introduction: The Social Shaping and Consequences of ICTs), Sadok Hammami (New Media: A Communicational Approach), Manovich Lev (New Media from Borges to HTML), Timo Luge (How to Use Social Media to Better Engage with People Affected by Crisis), Reem Ramadan (Questioning the Role of Facebook in Maintaining Syrian Social Capital during the Syrian Crisis), Henry Dunant (A Memory of Solferino), Pierre Krähenbühl (The ICRC's Approach to Contemporary Security Challenges: A Future for Independent and Neutral Humanitarian Action)...etc. These studies help to understand the topic and make a general layout of our paper.

¹²⁵ Sylvain K. Cibangu, "Qualitative Research: The Toolkit of Theories in the Social Sciences", *Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to Social Sciences and Knowledge Management*. InTech (2012): 95-126.

¹²⁶ Adrijana Biba Starman, "The Case Study as a Type of Qualitative Research", *Journal of Contemporary Educational Studies*, no 1, (2013): 31.



Accordingly, it is worth pointing out that the research, in addition to the Introduction and the methodological framework, will address in the second section the definition of the ICRC, and highlight the role it plays during armed conflict, as it is an international mechanism for the International Humanitarian Law's implementation. Whereas the third section will demonstrate the use of New Media by the ICRC to promote Human Rights during the Syrian Conflict, especially the social networking site Facebook, which ensures the transmission of the information from the team of this international humanitarian organization to many affected people, quickly and with less effort. Lastly, the conclusion will be the final result of the paper.

2. The ICRC...An International Mechanism for the IHL's Implementation

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is an important international mechanism, for its close connection with International Humanitarian Law (IHL). It is considered as its protector because of the historical relationship between them and for their common background. It is characterised by its seriousness and neutrality in its dealings with humanitarian issues resulting from the accumulation of armed conflict, whether through denunciation and work in peacetimes, especially at the legal level, or through its field interventions to contain humanitarian crises and reduce impacts.

For this reason, this section will provide the definition of the ICRC and highlight the role it plays during armed conflict.

2.1 What is the International Committee of the Red Cross?

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is an impartial, neutral, independent and organised international committee whose purely humanitarian mission is to help people in need during armed conflict, natural disasters, and other emergencies, and preserve their dignity.¹²⁷ It was founded in Geneva in 1863 thanks to the ideas advocated by Henry Dunant in his book "A Memory of Solferino", which he published in the year 1862. Touched by the bad conditions of the wounded, who had access to neither care nor ambulance on the battlefield, he

¹²⁷ International Committee of the Red Cross, "The ICRC: Its Mission and Work," *International Committee of the Red Cross*, 0963/002 03.2009 5000 (2009): 3.



then called for the establishment of a framework for the relief of every person who is a victim of war in need of assistance.¹²⁸

2.2 The principles of the International Committee of the Red Cross

The ICRC is based on a set of fundamental principles that reflect its credibility at work, and this is what distinguishes it from other NGOs working in the humanitarian field. Those principles are mentioned in Article 4 of its statute, namely humanity, impartiality, neutrality, independence, voluntary service, unity and universality.¹²⁹

a) **Humanity:**

The ICRC is born of a desire to provide aid and relief to the wounded on the battlefield, without discrimination, and to alleviate suffering wherever it may be found. It aims to protect life and health, and to ensure respect for every human being. Not to forget, promoting a policy of cooperation and lasting peace amongst all peoples.¹³⁰

b) Impartiality: According to this principle, the ICRC makes no discrimination between peoples on the basis of their religion, nationality, race or political affiliation, as its sole purpose is to provide a helping hand to everyone who needs it.¹³¹

c) Neutrality: To enjoy the confidence of all, the ICRC refuses to participate in military operations or interfere in disputes of a political, racial, religious or ideological nature at any time. What is most important to it is the presence of an unusual circumstance and victims whose condition requires assistance and care.¹³²

d) Independence: The ICRC must always maintain its independence to ensure the principles of impartiality and neutrality. According to Pierre Krähenbühl:

¹²⁸ Henry Dunant, *A Memory of Solferino* (Geneva: American Red Cross (1939, 1959), Reprinted by the International Committee of the Red Cross by courtesy of the American Red Cross.

¹²⁹ International Committee of the Red Cross, Statutes of the International Committee of the Red Cross, <https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/resources/documents/misc/icrc-statutes-080503.htm> (03.10.2013).

¹³⁰ International Committee of the Red Cross, "The Fundamental Principles of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement," *International Committee of the Red Cross*, 4046/002 08.2015 5000 (2015).

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.



“The reason for working independently is very straightforward: in any conflict, parties will tend to reject humanitarian organizations they suspect of having ulterior political motives. This explains, unsurprisingly, why the ICRC is so adamant in insisting on respect for the individual identities, mandates and operational approaches of the various organizations working in the humanitarian field.”¹³³

e) Voluntary Service: This principle is derived from Henry Dunant's appeal to volunteer for the relief of the wounded on the battlefields. He himself was not paid by any political party except for what was dictated by his human conscience, and the same applied to each person who responded to his call.¹³⁴ Accordingly, the ICRC is a voluntary organization that works only for the benefit of humanity.

f) Unity: There must be only one Red Cross in any one country, it must be open to all and must ensure the continuity of its humanitarian work.

“This principle enables National Societies to serve as a unifying force in countries and communities, and to promote understanding and peace.”¹³⁵

g) Universality: The International Committee of the Red Cross is characterised by being universal, which signifies leading its endeavours towards all parts of the world. This principle has a strong link to the principles of neutrality and impartiality; respecting the latter renders the ICRC's work worldwide acceptable. "Universality" brings the meaning of responsibility and sympathy towards the suffering, even if they are geographically distant.¹³⁶

2.3 The objectives of the International Committee of the Red Cross

The main objective of the ICRC is to protect the lives and dignity of victims of armed conflict and other situations of violence and to provide them with assistance. It also maintains and disseminates its basic principles, carries out the tasks assigned to it by the Geneva

¹³³Pierre Krähenbühl, “The ICRC’s Approach to Contemporary Security Challenges: A Future for Independent and Neutral Humanitarian Action”, *IRRC September* 86, no 855, 512.

¹³⁴Henry Dunant, *Ibid.*

¹³⁵International Committee of the Red Cross, “The Fundamental Principles of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement”, *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*



Conventions and works to implement the International Humanitarian Law in armed conflict. Moreover, it receives complaints about any breach alleged to law.

The ICRC specifically set out its objectives in Article 4 of its Statute, and these are some of them:

- “- To maintain and disseminate the Fundamental Principles of the Movement, namely humanity, impartiality, neutrality, independence, voluntary service, unity and universality;*
- To recognize any newly established or reconstituted National Society which fulfils the conditions for recognition set out in the Statutes of the Movement, and to notify other National Societies of such recognition;*
- To undertake the tasks incumbent upon it under the Geneva Conventions, to work for the faithful application of international humanitarian law applicable in armed conflicts and to take cognizance of any complaints based on alleged breaches of that law;*
- To endeavour at all times — as a neutral institution whose humanitarian work is carried out particularly in time of international and other armed conflicts or internal strife — to ensure the protection of and assistance to military and civilian victims of such events and of their direct results;*
- To ensure the operation of the Central Tracing Agency as provided in the Geneva Conventions;”¹³⁷*

2.4 The ICRC... Its mission and work

The ICRC contributes to promoting, strengthening and spreading the International Humanitarian Law and the universal humanitarian principles,¹³⁸ as stipulated in the Four Geneva Conventions of 1949 and their Two Additional Protocols of 1977, by using various means like ICT and by encouraging its teaching at the universities, and organizing training sessions and workshops for the volunteers. Besides, it endeavours to protect the lives and dignity of victims of armed conflict and other situations of violence and to provide them with assistance, especially now that the world witnesses several armed conflicts and hotbeds of tension.

¹³⁷International Committee of the Red Cross, Statutes of the International Committee of the Red Cross, Ibid.

¹³⁸International Committee of the Red Cross, The ICRC: Its Mission and Work, Ibid, 4.



In its modern meaning, a war or armed conflict cannot be stopped or restricted from spreading, but it can be alleviated thanks to the IHL and its mechanisms. Accordingly, what does Armed Conflict mean?

Throughout history, humanity has known armed conflicts that take place between two or more countries to achieve personal interests for each of them, or within the same country that are often between the regular army and the splinter groups. This is despite the prohibition of the use of force in international relations as mentioned in Article 2/4 of the United Nations' Charter;

“All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.”¹³⁹

However, nations usually find pretexts under the name of “legitimate defence”, which is stipulated in the Charter itself as an exception to the general prohibition.

The armed conflict can be International or Non-International. The former, according to the common Article 2 of the Four Geneva Conventions, is an every declared war, or any other armed conflict, which may arise between two or more of the High Contracting Parties, even if the state of war is not recognised by one of them. It can also be an every partial or total occupation of one of the High Contracting Parties, even if this occupation does not face armed resistance.¹⁴⁰ Whereas the latter, according to the common Article 3 of the Four Geneva Conventions, is an armed conflict not of an international character occurring in the territory of one of the High Contracting Parties between the regular army and one or more splinter groups.¹⁴¹

We deduce that Non-International Armed Conflict does not enjoy a comprehensive and clear definition under the Four Geneva Conventions compared to the International Armed Conflict.

¹³⁹United Nations, UN Charter (Full text), <https://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/un-charter-full-text/>.

¹⁴⁰International Committee of the Red Cross, Treaties, States Parties and Commentaries, https://ihl_databases.icrc.org/applic/ihl/ihl.nsf/Comment.xsp?action=openDocument&documentId=BE2D518CF5DE54EAC1257F7D0036B518.

¹⁴¹International Committee of the Red Cross, Treaties, States Parties and Commentaries, <https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/ihl/WebART/375-590006>.



2.5 The ICRC's role during armed conflict

During armed conflict, the ICRC engages in many different activities. Adhering to its main principles and values has earned it widespread acceptance, as it works in more than 80 countries whose residents face severe humanitarian crises. It offers its services as follows:

a) Visiting detainees: The International Committee of the Red Cross verifies conditions of detention, respect for human dignity and checks the treatment accorded to detainees.¹⁴² It also transmits their concerns and establishes links with their families.

b) Providing humanitarian aid: It is required to provide food, clothing, medicine, health services and any other aid that reduces the suffering of victims and civilians, with the exception of war material and weapons. Not to forget, the maintenance of water and sanitation stocks in areas of armed conflict has also become a priority for the ICRC.¹⁴³

c) Restoring family links: Armed conflict often leads to the dispersal of families due to the fleeing, bombing, and forced deportation. Therefore, those families' concern is to know the fate of their missing relatives and communicate with them, but it is a very arduous and costly process. Here the Red Cross's role in lending a hand appears, where it works as a mediator between families and transmits their news, and reassures each other through written or verbal messages or phone calls.¹⁴⁴ In some cases, it uses radio and television, local and international newspapers and magazines, advertising boards, and social media as well as missing people's research teams to collect information.

d) Refugees repatriation: According to Jean-Philippe Lavoyer, the repatriation of refugees is one of the main problems facing the International Committee of the Red Cross because of its complexity and difficulty in dealing with it. Even though it generally does not engage in such operations, it is putting pressure on the countries and organizations concerned to provide all

¹⁴²Alain Aeschlimann, "Protection of Detainees: ICRC Action Behind Bars," *International Review of the Red Cross* 87, no 857, (2005): 95.

¹⁴³Salah eddine Boudjellal, *The Right to Humanitarian Assistance* (Egypt: Dar Elfikr El Gamie, 2011): 17.

¹⁴⁴International Committee of the Red Cross, Restoring Family Links, <https://www.icrc.org/en/what-we-do/restoring-family-links>.



necessary conditions to resettle refugees, and states warn against returning them early to their home countries because they are not ready yet to receive them.¹⁴⁵

2.6 The ICRC and its efforts during the Syrian armed conflict

The Syrian Arab Republic is not spared from the wave of change that affected many Arab countries in light of what is known as the Arab Spring since 2011. The Syrian conflict is considered as one of the most complex and multi-lateral conflicts, in which interests differ, so civilians are the biggest losers in the middle of this regional and international military jostle. Most of the basic principles of human rights and International Humanitarian Law are not respected, and the result; more than 150,000 killed and nearly 7 million internally displaced, and huge numbers of refugees to neighbouring countries, especially Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, Egypt and Turkey,¹⁴⁶ not to mention the dispersed numbers in other countries like Algeria. The suicide attacks, bombings that target population areas, schools and health centres and the use of weapons prohibited under the International Law are considered as one of the international crimes committed by the parties to the conflict.

All of these conditions necessitated an immediate humanitarian intervention from humanitarian organizations, especially the International Committee of the Red Cross, to assume several humanitarian tasks throughout the period of the conflict, among which are:

a) Make urgent appeals to accommodate the catastrophic humanitarian situation in areas that lack the minimum requirements for life amid a military siege, as happened in Eastern Ghouta and Aleppo, and to mobilize the international public opinion and exert moral pressure on the warring parties.

b) Field visits by officials of the International Committee of the Red Cross, such as its president, reporting of events, and calling on the international community to take up this issue politically and diplomatically.

¹⁴⁵International Committee of the Red Cross, Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons: International Humanitarian Law and the Role of the ICRC, <https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/resources/documents/article/other/57jmf3.htm>.

¹⁴⁶ Nicolas Dot-Pouillard, Syrie : Le Politique au défi du Militaire, <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-01063604/document>.



d) Condemning the heavy loss of life.

e) Delivering various humanitarian aids, like food and health care, and launching drinking water projects and supporting collective kitchens. Not to mention the opening of a physical rehabilitation centre, transplanting organs, supporting dialysis sessions in Aleppo, to save lives, evacuating patients, and ambulating and evacuating them from confined areas.

f) Children's immunisation.

g) Reuniting families, especially after the launch of the official website of Restoring Family Links.¹⁴⁷ This is evidence of the necessity of updating the means of communication used by the ICRC to reach satisfactory results. New Media may help ICRC to reduce the magnitude of violations, to contain crises quickly, to collect donations, make the victims' voices heard, and facilitate the convergence of views and ideas with international and local humanitarian workers. Accordingly, we will address in the following section the importance of New Media or Virtual Media in strengthening the work of the ICRC during the armed conflict in Syria.

3. ICRC and the use of New Media to promote Human Rights during the Syrian Conflict

3.1 What are New Media?

The researchers in the field of Information and Communication Sciences differ in setting a unified and comprehensive definition of New Media due to the complexity of the term and its multiple names. For example, Lievrouw and Livingstone highlighted three elements in their definition of New Media: the message, the technology, and the social context, where these three aspects of New Media appear frequently in many literatures, along with other more specific techniques and practices such as collaboration, digitization, and telecommunications.¹⁴⁸ As for Gitelman and Pingree, they used the time approach, employing the concept of "Media in

¹⁴⁷ Restoring Family Links, Reuniting Families, <https://familylinks.icrc.org/en/Pages/HowWeWork/reuniting-families.aspx>.

¹⁴⁸ Lievrouw Leah and Sonia Livingstone, "Introduction: The Social Shaping and Consequences of ICTs," *Handbook of New Media*, ed. L.A. Lievrouw and S. Livingstone, CA: Sage, 2002.



Transition” to describe the time period in which another medium has appeared to compete and contrast with the Old Media.¹⁴⁹

The problem of the term in itself baffles many researchers. The use of the word "New" refers to the "time" factor, which passes without stopping. So it would be better if the word "New" was excluded in this context, because there is always something new on the horizon.

This is while Al-Sadiq Al-Hamami has indicated that New Media is a new communication system, different in the ways it works from the one of institutional communication or the one of collective communication (mass communication). It is based on a specific system of relationships between the actors within it. For example, a mobile phone can be used as a medium for different communication systems, as the economic institutions that use it for marketing, public relations and trade purposes (advertising or commercial purposes), whereas individuals use mobile phones for other purposes such as talking, chatting, surfing the net, exchanging small consignments and video documents. This use has a purely social dimension.¹⁵⁰As for Manovich, he has linked New Media to the cultural dimension of their content and their distribution via digital media.¹⁵¹

We also find Steve Jones who mentioned the possibility of talking about New Media due to the use of the computer in the place of the Old Media, which includes printing press, cinema, radio and television. New media are distinguished in that they describe forms of digital communication, and they have the advantage of exchanging and interaction between the sender and the receiver. However, many of the differences between the New and Old Media have been crossed because the -old- has been adapted to the requirements of the times by reconfiguring, improving and revising it to meet the -New - in certain aspects.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹Gitelman L. and G. B. Pingree, "What's New about New Media?" *New Media 1740-1915*, ed. L. Gitelman and G.B.Pingree (MA: Cambridge, MIT Press, 2003): xi-xxii.

¹⁵⁰Sadok Hammami, "New Media: A Communicational Approach," *Arab States Broadcasting Union*, no 4, 2006, p.5.

¹⁵¹Manovich Lev, "New Media" from Borges to HTML, *The New Media Reader*, ed. N. Wardrip-Fruin and N. Montfort, (MA: Cambridge, The MIT Press, 2002).

¹⁵²Steve Jones, *Encyclopaedia of New Media: An Essential Reference to Communication and Technology*, (SAGE Publications, 2002).



In addition, New Media have adopted several names that differ from one researcher to another, including: Digital Media, Interactive Media, Online Media, Multimedia and more... they also take many forms such as blogs, forums, podcasts, wikis, websites, and social networking sites like Facebook, Twitter and YouTube.

3.2 The characteristics of New Media

New media have a number of characteristics, the most notable of which are:

a) **Switching from Analogue to Digital:** In the digital system, information is transferred in the form of separate numbers, which are zero and one. When the information reaches the receiver, he in turn translates it into a completely pure sound or image, in contrast to the analogue system that can contain partial values ranging from zero to one and then the possibility of interference is larger. The digital system is also distinguished by being compatible and integrated with other types of technology such as computers; it is expected that broadcasting devices, telephones and information networks will all become digital in the future. The digital system based on the principle of (On-Off) does not differentiate when it is used to transfer audio, text or video between that information, but rather deals with all of them in one stream, which makes storing, editing, transferring and receiving messages quicker.¹⁵³

b) **Interactivity:** The transition from one-way vertical information to two-way communication where the sender is a receiver and the receiver is a sender. Exchanging roles and ideas between them, participating in expressing opinions and sharing information creates the so-called Virtual Interactive Space, which emerged thanks to interactive websites, chat forums and social networking sites.

c) **Narrowcasting:** There is a kind of control in the communication process, where the informational message arrives directly from the sender to the receiver, and that the latter is not necessarily from the general public, but rather it can be a specific individual or group.

d) **Universality:** Thanks to the spread of the Internet, New Media have managed to overcome geographical barriers, as information is transmitted among users from around the

¹⁵³Samira Chikhani, "New Media in the Information Age," *Damascus University Journal* 26, no 1-2, (2010): 445.



world and in multiple languages. The world became a small village, as Marshall McLuhan predicted a couple years ago.

e) Transferability: Thanks to a group of applications, a message can be converted from one form to another. Where, for example, an audible message can be converted into a readable or visual message.

f) Hypertextual (Links): In the sense that there is diversity in the elements of the communication process, which provided the user with greater choices to employ the communication process in accordance with his needs and his motivation for communication.

“In more technical terms, links in web sites offer non-sequential connections between all kinds of data facilitated by the computer.”¹⁵⁴

3.3 New Media and humanitarian action

The importance of New Media has emerged after the decline of Traditional Media (Printing Press, Cinema, Radio and Television), which do not accomplish their role as a fourth power within society, as they have been emptied of their true meaning based on public service and defending the simple citizens' rights. It became more concerned with making profits at the expense of serving society, by using Propaganda and misinformation...etc. And because of that change in the structure of Traditional Media, it has become necessary to rely on New Media and civil society to defend human rights. For example, Citizen Journalism is the voice of the voiceless; it plays a great role in ensuring freedom of expression, public service, and raising public awareness.

New media, then, play many roles within society and in several fields. Thanks to them, people have become conscious about their various issues and about the civil and political rights and the fundamental human rights and liberties, which are considered as one of the most important international issues on which UNESCO focused.¹⁵⁵ In addition, they are a lifeline for millions of people affected by natural disasters and armed conflicts, as social networking sites

¹⁵⁴Main characteristics of New Media, <https://revisesociology.com/2018/12/13/main-characteristics-new-media/> (13.12.2018).

¹⁵⁵Intissar Brahim Abderrazak and Safad Houssam Al Semouk, *New Media: The Evolution of Performance, Means and Function*, I. ed. (Baghdad, 2011), 61.



and messaging applications help to maintain contact with family and friends, and they also guarantee access to information related to, for example, where food, medical services, or shelter are located. Moreover, they allow those people to suggest solutions and share responsibility. Therefore, this information provided can directly affect how people prepare for and overcome various crises.

3.4 New Media and Humanitarian NGOs

In the past few years, the role and presence of New Media and digital communication has been prominent in people's lives, especially in times of disasters and crises. For example, during the 2011 Tohoku earthquake and Tsunami, and the 2015 Nepal earthquake, as well as the "Syrian conflict" since 2011, "Facebook" and "Twitter" were crucial components of the humanitarian response. They allowed the national and international actors to participate in the relief effort, by disseminating lifesaving messages in real time.

The affected local communities are now required to create pages on different Social Media, through which they ask for help such as food, clothing and medicine, as well as to contact and gather separated family members. Concerning the beneficiaries, they may also interact and share their views about the quality of assistance provided to them, which will be taken into account by activists to improve the service and adapt the program when possible.

Accordingly, many current studies show that ICT, such as smart phones, can be an effective means before, during and after natural disasters, crises and armed conflicts. Disseminating early warning messages and safety tips, helping people to reconnect with their relatives, make complaints, and direct affected people to humanitarian services, all contribute in one way or another to saving lives and reducing suffering.¹⁵⁶

It is worth mentioning that natural disasters and humanitarian crises are often followed by chaos and the spread of rumours and fake news. Left untreated, it can shake people's confidence in humanitarian organizations and in the work of its staff and volunteers. Accordingly, it became necessary for Humanitarian Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), in the aftermath of emergencies, to contact the people affected and interact with them directly through social

¹⁵⁶Timo Luge, *How to Use Social Media to Better Engage with People Affected by Crisis*, A Brief Guide for those Using Social Media in Humanitarian Organizations (ICRC. IFRC. OCHA, 2017), 2.



networking sites to know what worries them and follow up what they post and what they share, so that there could be a decisive response (accurate and collaborative).¹⁵⁷

The use of New Media by the humanitarian organizations has become essential, especially with the increase in the number of Social Media users in the world, as they exceeded more than three billion users, including the individuals affected by natural disasters or armed conflict, who use new media to find and share information. In this regard, Charlotte Lindsey-Curtet, Director of Communication and Information Management at the ICRC, said:

“If we want to better inform and adapt our response, it is imperative that we also meet and engage affected people online.”¹⁵⁸

However, the use of New Media by humanitarian organizations to communicate with those people affected is still largely untapped due to a lack of scientific documentation and practical guidance. Accordingly, ICRC and the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC), with support from the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), have proposed providing a brief guide that includes a set of practical advice on how to make an effective use of Facebook and Twitter to communicate and interact with people during crises. This guide is directed to all staff in humanitarian organizations who assume responsibilities in the official media channels.¹⁵⁹

Among the qualities that a virtual space human rights NGO activist must have to build proximity and trust on Social Media are:¹⁶⁰

a) Add value: The information that he shares must be part of the activities of the community in crisis, which would be useful, life-saving, and implementable. He must also put himself in the shoes of his audience to determine the type of information and advice they may need, and work to realise them.

b) Be present: He must demonstrate that he is willing to participate in a dialogue with others, by asking questions and responding to comments within a 24-hour period.

¹⁵⁷ International Committee of the Red Cross, How to Use Social Media to Engage with People Affected by Crisis, <https://www.icrc.org/en/document/social-media-to-engage-with-affected-people>. (11.10.2017).

¹⁵⁸Ibid.

¹⁵⁹Timo Luge, Ibid, 1.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, 4.



c) **Be human:** His personal communication style on social networks must be clear, tactful, and more effective, because affected people do not believe in the fake slogans of anonymous activists. It must also be "a human being" in all meanings of the word, in terms of love, mercy and brotherhood, by showing interest and sharing sorrows and difficulties.

d) **Connect with others:** An extensive network must be created that includes influential personalities from the same organisation and from other humanitarian organizations, to exchange ideas and cooperate in the dissemination of information and messages.

e) **Involve his audience:** The activists should involve the target audience in the content production process, especially the audio-visual content. The people affected will have more trust in people who are in a similar position to themselves, who share the same conditions and the same fate than in the demagogic discourse of local political figures.

f) **Be timely and consistent:** He must be sure to provide consistent information whenever people need it, and it must be in optimal formats. For example, life-saving information, if not published in a timely manner, it is of no use.

g) **Sharing:** He must ensure that he has all the necessary facts and information about the crisis or issue in question, before commenting or providing advice and suggestions via Social Networking Sites. Sharing the wrong information is the biggest thing that destroys the trust contract.

h) **Be accountable:** If the communications manager (the admin) makes a mistake in providing information, he must be responsible and acknowledge it to fix the situation. Deleting the "tweet" that carries the wrong information is not the best solution, because things will remain vague in the mind of the target audience. Therefore, he must correct the erroneous post directly and publicly.

i) **Knowing his limits and be transparent about them:** He must acknowledge what he does not know, since he is not necessarily able to answer all questions. And if he needs more time to find the right information, there is nothing wrong with asking this from the target



audience. He can also share a link to another organization, if he knows that it has the information the audience needs.

j) Verifying his accounts: Most social networking Sites have a system that allows to verify the identity of accounts' users. Therefore, this system supports the safe sharing of information and the elimination of fake identities.

3.5 The role of New Media in enhancing the ICRS' work during the Syrian armed conflict

The ICT, in general, is very important for the work of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Syria, which is why it decided to make an immersive virtual reality movie called "The Right Choice" to put users next to a Syrian family trapped in urban warfare. That collaborative film with Google's Daydream Impact Project and the creative agency Don't Panic London, used a simulated experience to help people understand urban warfare and its impact on real lives. With "The Right Choice", the ICRC has developed a new way of interactive storytelling. The experience gives viewers a choice in the face of attack. But in the end, none of the options leads to a positive outcome, underscoring how war gives civilians nothing but bad options.¹⁶¹ In this context, Christopher Nicholas, the ICRC's project lead of The Right Choice said:

*"We wanted to create a short and dramatic experience that was still compelling and realistic. We want people who aren't familiar with urban conflict to get a sense of what it looks and feels like."*¹⁶²

Whereas, Sarah Steele VR Program Lead at Google declared:

*"It can be hard to raise awareness around some situations - especially when they are distant. We are thankful to have partnered with ICRC to leverage VR for a vital mission: giving insight into a complex situation, and helping give a voice to those left behind."*¹⁶³

On the other hand, the ICRC in Syria made changes to food parcels in 2016, which doubled the amount of food they contained. This was done because the time between food distributions

¹⁶¹International Committee of the Red Cross, War at the Front Door: A Virtual Reality Challenge Inside Urban Conflict <https://www.icrc.org/en/document/war-front-door-virtual-reality-challenge-inside-urban-conflict>, (22.10.2018).

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ International Committee of the Red Cross, War at the Front Door: A Virtual Reality Challenge Inside Urban Conflict, Ibid.



was becoming longer, as security continued to deteriorate. In order to inform the people affected of that change and explain the reasons, the departments of Communications and Economic Security produced a short video, which was shared via Facebook. The video has been viewed more than 50,000 times, with hundreds of accompanying comments, including a request to "double the amount of sunflower oil" as well as a claim to "improve the quality of the carton boxes" containing food, to avoid spoiling it during the transportation process. Indeed, there was a constant interaction by the Social Media team with all the comments, and they tried to answer all the questions and inquiries with explanations and advice. For example, when a user suggested adding the infant formula to food parcels, the organization explained that milk could not be distributed in Syria due to the uncertain conditions of hygiene, which would inevitably put children at risk of dehydration or diarrhoea. It is worth mentioning that the Social Media team thanked users for their interaction on Facebook and assured them that their opinions and suggestions would be carefully studied and taken into consideration by the Economic Security Department.¹⁶⁴

When one of the major water networks in Aleppo, northern Syria, was damaged in June 2015, the ICRC, with the participation of the Syrian Arab Red Crescent and the Aleppo Water Board, cleaned 56 drinking water points and set up water tanks across the city. As part of that project, the ICRC's Water, habitat and Communication teams have posted a map on Facebook and Twitter to direct the local population to where they could find water. Parallel to that, those teams asked the interacting population on Facebook and Twitter, to comment and give opinions, to help them improve service and provide the best. After a period of time, those teams posted an additional version of the map to be used on smart phones and tablet computers, which helped people locate the water point closest to them.¹⁶⁵

In this regard, the ICRC's spokesperson, Pawel Krzysiek, says:

"The map is very simple and works on every phone, and everybody now has access to a mobile phone with 3G. However, the important thing is that it's not just a map - which many people may not know how to read - it's the GPS that's

¹⁶⁴Timo Luge, *Ibid*, 11.

¹⁶⁵*Ibid*.



making a difference because people can actually be guided to the water point closest to them,"¹⁶⁶

Bearing in mind that the number of shared posts linked to the interactive "water points" initiative on Facebook has reached ten times the number of people holding regular jobs about other ICRC activities in Syria.

Accordingly, the importance of New Media for the work of the ICRC in Syria is clearly remarked. It used Social Media, especially "Facebook" to provide assistance and guidance through various communication forms represented in:

a) A written text (linguistic message): This is when the information needs to be disseminated quickly, or when the bandwidth is low.

Here is an example of the use of the written text by the ICRC during the Syrian Conflict:¹⁶⁷



Using "narration", as a form of digital communication via Facebook, the ICRC's members in Syria expressed the problem of Internally Displaced People's (IDPs) access to drinking water, especially with Ramadan fasting and high temperatures. That written message came simple and easy for everyone to understand. But it carries in its depth many meanings of reassurance and hope, especially since many indicators suggest changing conditions towards a better future. The statistics were used to highlight the important role the ICRC played in Syria, and how it managed to contain the water crisis.

¹⁶⁶Magdalena Mis, Syrians Discover New Use for Mobile Phones Finding Water, 16, <https://www.reuters.com/article/syria-water-map/syrians-discover-new-use-for-mobile-phones-finding-water-idUSL8N12E28F20151014> (14.10.2015).

¹⁶⁷ICRC in Syria, <https://www.facebook.com/ICRCsy/>, (18.05.2015).



a) **A picture or a picture accompanied by a linguistic message:** Pictures can also be caricatures, illustrations, infographics, or GIFs. They may contribute to expressing the message with very little effort and speed, but some of them need to be analyzed at the levels of Denotation and Connotation, according to the Roland Barthes' theory, to describe the apparent and discover and analyze what is implied.

Here is an example of how the ICRC used the picture accompanied by a linguistic message, during the Syrian Conflict:¹⁶⁸



The armed conflict in Syria has introduced epidemics and infections that have spread throughout vulnerable populations in the country, such as "Leishmaniasis", which was transmitted by female sand fly. Due to the seriousness of the disease, the Facebook page team of the ICRC in Syria posted those photos, which expressed a serious disease transmitted by a fly. That is why red colour was used, which often symbolizes danger.

It is worth mentioning that those pictures were accompanied by explanatory sentences and a written text defining the disease and showing the places of treatment. So, the linguistic message has been used to support the pictures and perform a function of emphasizing on the poor health status and insisting on educating the citizens and providing them with advice.

¹⁶⁸ICRC in Syria, Ibid.



b) A video: A video is an audio-visual product that attracting people’s attention by catching their eyes and ears. It is a pillar of communication, and one of great influence too. It allows access to people who are unable to read, but what is inconvenient with it is that it requires a relatively fast internet connection. Moreover, most social networking sites limit the length of pre-recorded videos that a person can post, and this is despite the fact that the length of the video clip is not as important as the content. That is why we found the most successful videos were less than two minutes long, with the exception of live broadcasts, which last longer. It is worth mentioning that the accompanying translations might contribute to spreading the video and understanding it well.

Here is an example of how the ICRC used the video during the Syrian Armed Conflict:¹⁶⁹



Since “Leishmaniasis” has affected many Syrian citizens of all ages and spread very quickly in that unstable social environment, the ICRC in Syria has once again used its official Facebook page to tackle the issue of that disease, not by posting pictures, but through a live audio-visual broadcast. As the live broadcast lasted about 18 minutes, the doctor talked about all the aspects of the disease and the methods of prevention and treatment, where he tried to answer all questions and concerns of those who interacted with him.

Through that audio-visual communication system, the ICRC in Syria managed to inform a large number of citizens about the seriousness of the situation, and this is evident by the number of views

¹⁶⁹ICRC in Syria, Ibid.



(14000), the number of likes (433) and the number of the video-sharing (56). In addition, the doctor's interactive broadcast was accompanied by many comments that took various forms, most of which were questions and inquiries about "Leishmaniasis", the rest were thanks and gratitude for the service provided.

Finally, we understand that the virtual space matches the physical real world in its importance and existence. Virtual space, then, has become more real than the real, as Jean Baudrillard said.

Conclusion

This paper focused on the role of new media in the ICRC's humanitarian work during the Syrian Armed Conflict. Through analyzing the Facebook page of the ICRC in Syria, we deduced how important this electronic media is in activating and improving its services in real life.

Communication through social networking sites such as Facebook ensures the transmission of the information from the team of this international humanitarian organization to many affected people, quickly and with less effort. Time and space barriers no longer exist in a vast virtual world open to all communication, interaction and participation. The ICRC relied on its Facebook page and used various communication pillars like pictures, written texts, videos and graphics through which it transmitted various information and messages. The contents of the messages are varied and this is due to the enormity of problems in Syria; some are related to health, some to the scarcity of drinking water, and others are pieces of advice and precautions to reduce the danger of weapons. The positive thing is that there is feedback and interaction between the users of that Facebook page, with all the educational messages and preventive advice, which are posted, they express their satisfaction with these new initiatives that would save the lives of many people. One example would be the short video about parcel contents: the under 2-minute reel racked up 51,000 views, near 1,500 likes, and over 250 shares.¹⁷⁰

¹⁷⁰Tina Bouffet, How Organizations Can Use Social Media to Better Serve Crisis Affected People, <https://news.itu.int/organizations-social-media-serve-crisis-affected-people/> (11.10.2017).



The social networking site Facebook, then, is an important bridge between the ICRC and the affected people in Syria, especially since that statistics say that Facebook was rated among the top used Social Media channels reaching to 97%. The vast majority (83%) of current Facebook Syrian subscribers access the channel on a daily basis. Facebook app usage is the highest in Syria (95%) among Arab countries.¹⁷¹

References

- Aeschlimann, Alain. "Protection of Detainees: ICRC Action Behind Bars". *International Review of the Red Cross* 87, no 857 (2005): 95.
- Biba Starman, Adrijana. "The Case Study as a Type of Qualitative Research". *Journal of Contemporary Educational Studies*, no 1 (2013): 31.
- Boudjellal, Salaheddine. *The Right to Humanitarian Assistance*. Egypt: Dar Elfikr El Gamie, 2011.
- Bouffet, Tina. How Organizations Can Use Social Media to Better Serve Crisis Affected People. [https://news.itu.int/organizations-social-media-serve-crisis-affected-people/\(11.10.2017\)](https://news.itu.int/organizations-social-media-serve-crisis-affected-people/(11.10.2017)).
- Brahim Abderrazak, Intissar, and Houssam Al Semouk, Safad. *New Media: The Evolution of Performance, Means and Function.1. ed.* Baghdad, 2011.
- Chikhani, Samira. "New Media in the Information Age". *Damascus University Journal* 26, no 1-2 (2010): 445.
- Dunant, Henry. *A Memory of Solferino* (Geneva: American Red Cross (1939,1959). Reprinted by the International Committee of the Red Cross by courtesy of the American Red Cross.
- Hammami, Sadok. "New Media: A Communicational Approach". *Arab States Broadcasting Union*, no 4 (2006): 5.
- Hancock, Beverley, Ockleford, Elizabeth and Windridge, Kate. *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*.UK: the NIHR Research Design Service for the East Midlands /Yorkshire and the Humber, 2009.
- ICRC in Syria, <https://www.facebook.com/ICRCsy/>.International Committee of the Red Cross, "The Fundamental Principles of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement". *International Committee of the Red Cross*, 4046/002 08.2015 5000, 2015.
- International Committee of the Red Cross, "The ICRC: Its Mission and Work". *International Committee of the Red Cross*, 0963/002 03.2009 5000, 2009.
- International Committee of the Red Cross, How to Use Social Media to Engage with People Affected by Crisis. [https://www.icrc.org/en/document/social-media-to-engage-with-affected-people_\(11.10.2017\)](https://www.icrc.org/en/document/social-media-to-engage-with-affected-people_(11.10.2017)).
- International Committee of the Red Cross, Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons: International

¹⁷¹Reem Ramadan, "Questioning the Role of Facebook in Maintaining Syrian Social Capital during the Syrian Crisis", *Heliyon*, (2017): 2.



- Humanitarian Law and the Role of the ICRC, <https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/resources/documents/article/other/57jmf3.htm>.
- International Committee of the Red Cross, Restoring Family Links, <https://www.icrc.org/en/what-we-do/restoring-family-links>.
- International Committee of the Red Cross, Statutes of the International Committee of the Red Cross, <https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/resources/documents/misc/icrc-statutes-080503.htm> (03.10.2013).
- International Committee of the Red Cross, Treaties, States Parties and Commentaries, https://ihl_databases.icrc.org/applic/ihl/ihl.nsf/Comment.xsp?action=openDocument&documentId=BE2D518CF5DE54EAC1257F7D0036B518.
- International Committee of the Red Cross, Treaties, States Parties and Commentaries, <https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/ihl/WebART/375-590006>.
- International Committee of the Red Cross, War at the Front Door: A Virtual Reality Challenge inside Urban Conflict <https://www.icrc.org/en/document/war-front-door-virtual-reality-challenge> Inside-urban-conflict (22.10.2018).
- Jones, Steve. *Encyclopedia of New Media: An Essential Reference to Communication and Technology*. SAGE Publications, 2002.
- K. Cibangu Sylvain. "Qualitative Research: The Toolkit of Theories in the Social Sciences". *Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to Social Sciences and Knowledge Management*. InTech (2012): 95-126.
- Krähenbühl, Pierre. "The ICRC's Approach to Contemporary Security Challenges: A Future for Independent and Neutral Humanitarian Action". *IRRC September* 86, n 855, 512.
- Leah, Lievrouw, and Livingstone, Sonia. "Introduction: The Social Shaping and Consequences of ICTs". *Handbook of New Media*, edited by L.A. Lievrouw and S. Livingstone, CA: Sage, 2002.
- Lev, Manovich. "New Media" from Borges to HTML. *The New Media Reader*, edited by N. Wardrip-Fruin and N. Montfort, Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2002.
- Luge, Timo. *How to Use Social Media to Better Engage with People Affected by Crisis*, a Brief Guide for those Using Social Media in Humanitarian Organizations, ICRC. IFRC. OCHA, 2017.
- Magdalena Mis, Syrians Discover New Use For Mobile Phones Finding Water. <https://www.reuters.com/article/syria-water-map/syrians-discover-new-use-for-mobile-phones-finding-water-idUSL8N12E28F20151014> (14.10.2015).
- Main characteristics of New Media, <https://revisesociology.com/2018/12/13/main-characteristics-new-media/> (13.12.2018).
- Nicolas Dot-Pouillard, Syrie: Le Politique au défi du Militaire, <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-01063604/document>.
- Ramadan, Reem. "Questioning the Role of Facebook in Maintaining Syrian Social Capital during the Syrian Crisis". *Heliyon*, 2017.
- Restoring Family Links, Reuniting Families, <https://familylinks.icrc.org/en/Pages/HowWeWork/reuniting-families.aspx>. United Nations, UN Charter (Full text), <https://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/un-charter-full-text/>.



Yumuşak Güç Unsuru Olarak Kamu Diplomasisi

Gökhan KÖMÜR*

Özet

Küreselleşen dünyanın giderek değişmesi ve dünyanın artık eski dünya olmaması, yeni aktörlerin ortaya çıkması ve yeni anlayışların oluşması, ülkeler arasında stratejinin daha güçlü olmasını gerektirmektedir. Bu stratejik gücün ise en kuvvetli silahı, kamu diplomasisidir. Uluslararası sistemin farklı boyut kazandığı günümüzde, bu sistemde kabul görmek için eski diplomasi alışkanlıklarının terk edilmesi gerekmektedir. Böyle sistemde, devletler, ulusal ve uluslararası menfaatlerini korumak için ortaya çıkan yeni aktörleri kontrol etmek ve bu aktörleri kullanmak için yeni politikalar üretmelidir. Ortaya çıkan yeni ilişki biçimlerini doğru analiz etmeli bu doğrultuda küresel sisteme uygun çalışmalar gerçekleştirilmelidir. Kamu diplomasisinin önemi, yabancı kamuoyunu ve gündemi etkileme becerisinde yatmaktadır. Yumuşak güç kamu diplomasisinin unsurlarından biri olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Yumuşak güç günümüzde demokratik sistemlerin politikalarının en önemli kısmını oluşturmaktadır. Yumuşak güç kullanarak milletler arasında etkileşime fırsat veren kamu diplomasisi araçları, ekonomik, kültürel, siyasi ortaklıkların ve barış ortamının oluşmasına zemin hazırlamaktadır. Dünyada cazibe merkezi olarak görülen, kendisini çok iyi ifade edebilen ve anlatan, güvenilirlik kazanmış, işbirliğine açık olan ülkeler, dış politikada ve yabancı kamuoyu nazarında stratejik değerlerini artırarak uluslararası politikada kendilerine önemli bir yer bulmaktadırlar. Bu çalışmanın amacı literatürdeki diğer çalışmaları da inceleyerek yumuşak güç unsuru olan kamu diplomasisinin daha iyi anlaşılmasını sağlamak ve önemini ortaya çıkarmaktır. Çalışmada öncelikle kamu diplomasisi kavramı ele alınarak, anlamı, tarihsel arka planı, amacı ve hedefleri, özellikleri ve unsurları, faaliyet alanı ve boyutları ve son olarak da yumuşak güç kavramı incelenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kamu Diplomasisi, Yumuşak Güç, Sert Güç Kimlik, Dış Politika, Küreselleşme

Public Diplomacy as an Element of Soft Power

Abstract

The changing globalization of the world and the fact that the world is no longer the old world, the emergence of new actors and the formation of new insights require a stronger strategic power among countries. The most powerful weapon of this strategic power is public diplomacy. In today's world where the international system has gained a different dimension, the old diplomatic habits must be abandoned in order to be accepted in the international system. In such a system, states should develop new policies to control and use the emerging actors to protect their national and international interests. Analyze emerging new relationship types correctly and work in accordance with global system. The importance of public diplomacy lies in its ability to influence the foreign public and the agenda. Soft power is one of the elements of public diplomacy. Soft power today is the most important part of the policies of

* Dr. Öğr. Üyesi, Bayburt Üniversitesi, Yerel Yönetimler Bölümü, gkomur@bayburt.edu.tr, ORCID ID: 0000-0002-7516-2560

Makalenin geliş tarihi 7 Nisan 2020



democratic systems. The tools of public diplomacy, which enable the interaction between nations by using soft force, pave the way for the establishment of economic, cultural, political partnerships, and peace environment. Countries regarded as centers of attraction in the world that express they well have gained credibility and that are open to cooperation find an important place in international politics by increasing their strategic values in foreign policy and foreign public opinion. This study aims at examining the other studies in the literature and providing a better understanding of public diplomacy which is an element of soft power and revealing its importance. In this study, firstly the concept of public diplomacy; its meaning, historical background, objectives, characteristics, and elements, field of activity, and dimensions and finally the concept of soft power are examined.

Keywords: *Public Diplomacy, Soft Power, Hard Power, Identity, Foreign Policy, Globalization*

1. Giriş

Ortaçağda deniz yollarına sahip olan devletler, tüm dünyaya hükmetme gücüne sahip olmaktadır. Günümüzde ise deniz yollarının yerini farklı yollar almış bulunmaktadır. Bu yollardan bir tanesi ise kamu diplomasisi olarak adlandırılmaktadır ve ülkelerin dış politikalarında bir güç unsuru olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır.¹⁷²

Kamu diplomasisi dış politikada aktif diplomasi yürütme gayreti gösteren devletlerin klasik diplomasi araçları yanında yürütmesi gereken önemli bir diplomasi yöntemidir ve popüleritesi günden güne artmaktadır. Esas vurgulanması gereken nokta bu yöntemi uluslararası dinamiklerin her gün değiştiği bir ortamda doğru ve etkili kullanmaktır. Kamu diplomasisinin önemi, yabancı kamuoyunu ve gündemi etkileme becerisinde yatmaktadır.

Kamu Diplomasisi (Public Diplomacy) kavramı Türkiye’de yeni kullanılmaya başlandığı için, ülkemize kamu diplomasisi vizyonu kazandırmak, etkin kullanılmasını sağlamak, araçların doğru tespit edilerek başarıya ulaşmasını gerçekleştirmek de zorunlu hale gelmektedir. Bu sebeple dünyada alternatif yeni diplomasi yöntemlerinin geliştirildiği ve uygulamaya konulduğu uluslararası arenada Türkiye, kamu diplomasisi konusuna ulusal ve uluslararası çıkarları ilgilendiren stratejik bir konu olarak bakmalı, geleceğini inşa etmede büyük katma değeri olacak bir unsur olarak görmelidir

Güç denilen kavram insanların muhataplarından elde etmek istediklerine sahip olmasıdır ve değişik yöntemler deneyerek elde edilebilir. Bunların birinci yöntemi güç ve zor

¹⁷²Şeref Ateş, “Yunus Emre Enstitüsü ve Kültürel Diplomasi,” *Kültürel Diplomaside Sınırların Dışında Düşünmek*, ed. Şeref Ateş vd., (İstanbul: Yunus Emre Enstitüsü Kültürel Diplomasi Akademisi Yayınları, 2016), 21.



kullanmaktır. İkinci yolu ise bedelini vererek, satın almaktır. Üçüncü yolu ise yumuşak güç, yani hedefini razı ederek kendi savları doğrultusunda inandırmaktır.¹⁷³

Yumuşak güç kamu diplomasisinin unsurlarından biri olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Yumuşak güç günümüzde demokratik sistemlerin politikalarının en önemli kısmını oluşturmaktadır. Yumuşak güç kullanarak milletler arasında etkileşime fırsat veren kamu diplomasisi araçları, ekonomik, kültürel, siyasi ortaklıkların ve barış ortamının oluşmasına zemin hazırlamaktadır. Dünyada cazibe merkezi olarak görülen, kendisini çok iyi ifade edebilen ve anlatan, güvenirlilik kazanmış, işbirliğine açık olan ülkeler, dış politikada ve yabancı kamuoyunun nazarında stratejik değerlerini artırarak uluslararası politikada kendilerine önemli bir yer bulmaktadırlar.

Kamu diplomasisinin tek bir tanımını yapmak sosyal bilimler literatüründeki diğer kavramlar gibi oldukça zordur. Kavramın tarihsel arka planına bakıldığında farklı kamu diplomasisi tanımlarını görmek mümkündür. “Kamu diplomasisi” kavramı, Amerikan orijinli bir kavramdır ve kuramda ve uygulamada bu ülkenin örneklerini yansıtmaktadır. Kamu diplomasisi, günümüzün küreselleşen dünyasının değişen uluslararası ilişkiler sisteminin gelişen diplomatik ilişkilerin ve iletişim biçimlerinin yeni halidir. Günümüzde başka halkların ve ulusların kalplerini kazanma ve zihinlerini etkileme gündeme gelmektedir. Devletlerin devletlerle olan iletişimi ise, onların menfaatlerinin korunmasına yetmemektedir. Bu da eş zamanlı olarak kamu diplomasisi çalışmalarının gerekliliğini ortaya koymaktadır.

2. “Kamu Diplomasisi” Kavramı ve Tanımı

Kamu diplomasisinin tek bir tanımını yapmak sosyal bilimler literatüründeki diğer kavramlar gibi oldukça zordur. Kavramın tarihsel arka planına bakıldığında farklı kamu diplomasisi tanımlarını görmek mümkündür. Bu konu biraz da kavramların hangi amaçla nerede kullanılacağı ile ilgili bir durumdur. Kamu diplomasisi kavramından önce diplomasi kavramının açıklanması, bu kavramının daha anlaşılır hale gelmesine zemin hazırlayacaktır.

¹⁷³Ateş, “Yunus Emre Enstitüsü ve Kültürel Diplomasi,” 22.



Birden çok tanımı bulunan kamu diplomasisi kavramı uygun yerlerde kullanılarak amacına daha uygun şekilde hizmet etmiş olacaktır.

“Diplomasi” kavramı, halk arasında genellikle “uluslararası politika” ya da “dış politika” ile aynı anlamda kullanılmaktadır. Fakat diplomasi, bu kavramların içeriğinden çok, bunların icra edilmesi ile alakalıdır. Farklı bir ifade ile diplomasi, “Bir iktidarın karar kıldığı konulardaki fikir ve düşüncelerini direkt olarak diğer ülkelerin karar mekanizmalarına ulaştırma sürecidir”.¹⁷⁴

Diplomasi kavramının bu iki anlamının dışında başka anlamlara gelen kavramlar da kullanılmaktadır. Bunlar “uluslararası diplomatik sorunlar”, “çağdaş diplomasi”, 20. yüzyıl diplomasisi”, “karşılaştırmalı diplomasi” ve “diplomasi bölümü” şeklinde kullanılır. Fakat diplomasi bu anlamda kullanılması pek yaygın bir uygulama değildir ve bu kavram yerine direkt olarak “uluslararası ilişkiler” kavramı tercih edilmektedir. Aynı zamanda diplomasi, hükümetlerin dış ilişkiler bakanlığında çalışan diplomatların yapmış olduğu bir meslek olarak görülmektedir. Diğer bir ifade ile diplomasi kavramına kurumsal bir anlam yüklenmektedir.¹⁷⁵

Diplomasi sürecinin içerisinde hükümetler, devlet başkanlıkları, dış ilişkiler bakanlıkları ve ilgili bakanlıklar bulunmaktadır. Bu tanımlamalar diplomasiyi, klasik görüş perspektifinde değerlendirmekte ve onu uluslararası politika aracı olarak diplomatlar tarafından icra edilen bir görev haline getirmektedir. Kamu diplomasisi kavramını su yüzüne çıkaran diplomasi kavramsallaşması ise bu yaklaşımdan daha fazlasına sahip bir bölgenin unsurudur.¹⁷⁶

Diplomasi, bir uluslararası aktör tarafından uluslararası alana, çevreye, yön vermek ve idare etmek üzere çıkarılan savaştan başka diğer mekanizmaların da var olmasıdır. Bugün bu aktör, bir ülke, çok uluslu bir ortaklık, hükümet dışı örgüt, milletlerarası bir örgüt, terörist organizasyon ya da dünya sahnesinden diğer başka bir organizasyon olabilir.

Cull’un eski kamu diplomasisi ve yeni kamu diplomasisi karşılaştırılmasında, teknolojik çerçevede öne çıkan iletişim araçları, yerel radyolar, gazeteler ve kablolu telefonlarken, yeni

¹⁷⁴ Mehmet Gönlübol, *Uluslararası Politika: İlkeler, Kavramlar, Kurumlar* (Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi, 1993), 112.

¹⁷⁵ Tayyar Arı, *Uluslararası İlişkiler ve Dış politika*, 8. Baskı (İstanbul: MKM Yayıncılık, 2009), 341.

¹⁷⁶ Aslı Yağmurlu, “Halkla İlişkiler Yöntemi Olarak Kamu Diplomasisi”, 10, <http://kamudiplomasisi.org/pdf/halkla-iliskiler-ve-kamu-diplomasisi.pdf> (07.10.2019).



kamu diplomasisi anlayışında anında haber yayını yapan, uydular, internet ve cep telefonları gibi materyaller ön plana çıkmaktadır. Medyatik çerçevede eski kamu diplomasisinde iç ve dış haber sahasında her şey açıkken, yeni kamu diplomasisi anlayışında olaylar daha bulanık bir hal almaktadır. Yaklaşımın kaynağı olarak eski kamu diplomasisinde politik menfaatler ve propaganda rol oynarken, yeni kamu diplomasisi anlayışında kurumsal markalaşma ve işbirliği yer almaktadır. Terminolojik olarak bakıldığında ise eski kamu diplomasisi anlayışında uluslararası imaj ve itibar önemliyken, yeni kamu diplomasi anlayışında yumuşak güç ve milli marka daha görünür hale gelmektedir. Her ikisinde de genel amaç uluslararası çevrenin yönetimidir.¹⁷⁷

Geleneksel diplomasi, hükümetlerden hükümete doğru gerçekleşen ilişkiler sonucu meydana gelmektedir. Kamu diplomasisi ise, hükümetlerin küresel kamuoyları ile iletişime geçmesini ve onların bu halkları bilgilendirme, etkileme ve ilgi çekemeye yönelik faaliyetlerini içermektedir.¹⁷⁸ Yumuşak gücün bir parçası olan kamu diplomasisi, bir ulusun hükümetinin bir diğer ülkenin kamuoyuna doğrudan mesaj iletme çabasıdır.¹⁷⁹

Ülkelerin sahip olduğu değerleri dünyaya daha iyi anlatabilmek kamu diplomasisinin esaslarına dayanmaktadır. “Yeni Dünya” olarak adlandırılan, uluslararası güç dengelerinin ve diplomasi yöntemlerinin değiştiği, eski dünyanın kurallarıyla, kalıplarıyla ve alışkanlıklarıyla hareket ederek başarının elde edilemeyeceği yeni bir dönem mevcuttur. Yeni Dünya dediğimiz bu dönemin yeni bir dili, üslubu ve yöntemi bulunmaktadır ve bu yöntemin adı da “kamu diplomasisi”dir.¹⁸⁰ Tüm bu değişim sebeplerinde küreselleşen dünya ve onun sonucunda küreselleşmenin getirmiş olduğu etkenler yatmaktadır.

Kamu diplomasisi, hedeflenen kamuoyunun veya başka ülke vatandaşlarının, belirlenmiş bir siyaseti, devleti, oyuncuyu ve politikayı onaylar duruma gelmesi yönünde

¹⁷⁷ Nicholas Cull, “*Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past*,” (Los Angeles: CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy Figueroa Press, 2009), 14.

¹⁷⁸ Nancy Snow, “Rethinking Public Diplomacy,” *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, Der. Nancy Snow and Philip Taylor (NY: Routledge, 2009), 6.

¹⁷⁹ Jan Melissen, “The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practice,” *The New Public Diplomacy, Soft Power in International Relations*, ed. Jan Melissen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 5.

¹⁸⁰ Abdullah Özkan, “Giriş Bölümü,” *Kamu Diplomasisi Enstitüsü Serisi: 1*, ed. Abdullah Özkan ve Tuğçe Ersoy Öztürk (İstanbul: TASAM Yayınları, 2012), 9.



yürütülen kamu faaliyetleridir. Aynı zamanda uzun vadeli olarak toplumların kanaatlerini değiştirmeye yönelik çabalaradır. Diğer bir deyişle kamu diplomasisi toplumları bilgilendirme, dönüştürme, zihinlerdeki soruları cevaplama, önyargıları ortadan kaldırma faaliyetleridir.¹⁸¹

Kamu diplomasisi, ülkelerin tehdit, çıkar, fırsat ve olası tehdit merkezli değerlendirmelerine karşı oluşturdukları ve başka devletlerin kamuoylarını etkileme amacıyla yürütmüş oldukları faaliyetler toplamıdır. Kamu diplomasisi, devletler ve onlar adına hareket eden kurumlar, aktörler vasıtasıyla yürütülmekte ve geleneksel diplomasiden farklı olarak başka devletlerin hükümetlerine değil de hükümet dışı aktörlerine ve halklarına karşı kullanılmaktadır.¹⁸²

Kamu diplomasisi geleneksel diplomasinin ötesindeki uluslararası ilişkilerin boyutlarını kapsar. Devletler tarafından dış ülkelerde gündem oluşturulması, belli grupların yabancı ülkedeki gruplar ile temasa geçmesi, uluslararası ilişkilerin anlatılması ve siyaset üstündeki tesiri, diplomatlar ve bu meslek ile uğraşan yabancılar arasında haberleşmenin sağlanması ve kültürler arasındaki etkileşim süreci olarak örnek verebiliriz. Kamu diplomasisi Uluslararası arenada kendini ispatlamış devletlerin güçlü bir iletişim fonksiyonu olarak kullandığı istikrarlı ve inandırıcı şekilde sarf ettiği bir güç gayretidir.¹⁸³

3. Kamu Diplomasisinin Arka Planı

Kamu diplomasisi, yeni bir kavram olarak, kendisine Uluslararası İlişkiler literatüründe yer bulmuş ve adından ülkemizde de son zamanlarda sıkça söz ettirir hale gelmiştir. Bu kavramın da diğer kavramlarda olduğu gibi, bilim adamları, akademisyenler, yazarlar; kısacası, konuyla ilgilenen kişiler tarafından ülkeden ülkeye değişiklik gösteren farklı şekilde tanımları yapılmıştır. Uluslararası İlişkilerin ve günümüz diplomasisinin neden böyle bir kavrama ihtiyaç duyduğunu ya da bu kavramın nasıl ortaya çıktığını farklı ülkelerdeki ve kendi ülkemizdeki

¹⁸¹ Beril Dedeoğlu, “Güç Kavramı, Kamu Diplomasisi ve Güvenlik,” Ekopolitik Uluslararası İlişkiler Masası Rapor No: 11-02, 2011. “Kamu Diplomasisi ve Akıllı Güç”. Hakan Aydın ve Bekir Aydoğan (Röportaj). 74-85. https://www.academia.edu/2519975/G%C3%BC%C3%A7_kavram%C4%B1_kamu_diplomasisi_ve_g%C3%Bcvenlik?auto=download (24.10.2019).

¹⁸² Erhan Doğan, “Kamu Diplomasisinin Sunduğu Fırsatlar ve Kısıtları Üzerine”, *Kamu Diplomasisi Enstitüsü Serisi: 1*, ed. Abdullah Özkan ve Tuğçe Ersoy Öztürk (İstanbul: TASAM Yayınları, 2012), 13.

¹⁸³ İbrahim Kalın, “Türk Dış Politikası ve Kamu Diplomasisi”, *Yükselen Değer Türkiye*, ed. Ali Resul Usul (İstanbul: MÜSİAD Yayınları, 2010), 3.



çalışmalara bakarak görmek mümkündür. Fakat kamu diplomasisinin bir kavram olarak ilk defa kullanımına bakıldığında Amerikan orjinli bir kavram olduğu görülmektedir. Kamu diplomasisi kavramı ilk kez, Tufts Üniversitesi Fletcher Hukuk ve Diplomasi Okulu Dekanı Edmund A. Gullion tarafından 1965 yılında kullanılmıştır ve bilgi ve fikirlerin uluslararası geçişi olarak tanımlanmıştır.¹⁸⁴

Kamu diplomasisi kavramının daha iyi kavranmasına ve daha da gelişmesine katkı sağlayan Joseph Nye: kamu diplomasisini devletlerin uluslararası siyasette istediği hedeflere ulaşmak için kültürel değerlerin, hükümet politikalarının ve alternatif iletişim kanallarının kullanılması ile diğer devletler nazarında hayranlık uyandıran, gündem oluşturan, özendiren, diplomatik çabaları da içine alan yumuşak güç olarak ele almıştır.¹⁸⁵

Uluslararası ilişkiler alanında yaşanan gelişmeler ve diplomasi kavramının içeriğinde gerçekleşen değişimler kamu diplomasisi kavramının ortaya çıkışına kapı aralamıştır. Yukarıda bahsedildiği üzere 1960'lı yıllarda ön plana çıkan kamu diplomasi kavramı, 11 Eylül ardından yaşanan olaylar tekrardan ve daha geniş bir biçimde ele alınmaya başlanmış ve gittikçe önemini artırmıştır. Şuan ki uluslararası ilişkiler sisteminde ve uluslararası çıkarların savunulmasında geleneksel diplomasi yöntemleri yeterince etkili olamamaktadır. Çünkü değişen uluslararası ortamın gerektirdiği yöntemler geleneksel diplomasiinin çok ilerisinde bir yol almaya başlamıştır. Artık uluslararası kamuoylarını ve gündemi etkileme becerisi önem kazanmakta; bu durum da kamu diplomasisini dış politikanın önemli bir kavramı ve boyutu haline getirmektedir.¹⁸⁶

Kamu diplomasisi, günümüzün küreselleşen dünyasının değişen uluslararası ilişkiler sisteminin gelişen diplomatik ilişkilerin ve iletişim biçimlerinin yeni halidir. Günümüzde başka halkların ve ulusların kalplerini kazanma ve zihinlerini etkileme gündeme gelmektedir.

¹⁸⁴ Aslı Sancar, *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Uluslararası Halkla İlişkiler*, 1.bs (İstanbul: Beta Yayıncılık, 2012), iii - 79.

¹⁸⁵ Joseph S. Nye, *Dünya Siyasetinde Başarının Yolu: Yumuşak Güç*, çev. Rayhan İnan Aydın (Ankara: Elips Kitabevi, 2005), 14-37.

¹⁸⁶ Yağmurlu, *Halkla İlişkiler Yöntemi Olarak Kamu Diplomasisi*, 10.



Devletlerin devletlerle olan iletişimi ise, onların menfaatlerinin korunmasına yetmemektedir. Bu da eş zamanlı olarak kamu diplomasisi çalışmalarının gerekliliğini ortaya koymaktadır.¹⁸⁷

Günümüzde ulusal çıkarların savunulması, uluslararası ilişkilerde farklı yöntemler kullanılarak yapılmaktadır. Daha önceden kullanılan klasik diplomasi yöntemleri artık dönemin gerisinde kalmaktadır. Devletlerin artık sadece diğer devletleri değil yabancı ülkelerde yaşayan insanları da hedefleyen politikalar üretmek ve uygulamak zorunda oldukları bir döneme girilmiştir. Bilgi, iletişim ve kültür günümüz diplomasisinin vazgeçilmez unsurları haline gelmişlerdir. Tüm bu gelişmeler ışığında iletişimin daha hızlı olması ve bilgiye daha kolay ve çabuk ulaşılması, yeniden yapılanan uluslararası sistemde, yabancı halkların etkilenmesi ve gündemi belirleme çalışmaları kamu diplomasisini uluslararası politikanın vazgeçilmez bir unsuru haline getirmiştir. Yabancı kamuoyunda olumlu bir etki uyandırmak için birçok devlet aktif olarak kamu diplomasisi çalışmaları yürütmektedir.¹⁸⁸ Artık görüldüğü gibi ülkeler Yeni Dünya düzenin getirmiş olduğu yeni araç ve yöntemleri kendi çıkarları doğrultusunda kullanma ihtiyacı hissetmekte ve ülkelerini hem bölgelerinde hem de dünyada cazip hale getirmek için kamu diplomasisi dilini kullanma yolunu seçmektedirler.

Kökenleri çok eski zamanlara, Mezopotamya, Eski Yunan ve Roma'ya kadar uzanan diplomasi alanında da benzer gelişmeler görülmüştür. Uzun yıllar etkisini sürdüren konvansiyonel diplomasi ve savaş diplomasisi, yerini başka diplomasi türlerine bırakmaya başlamıştır. Sağlık diplomasisi, futbol diplomasisi, sanat diplomasisi, kültür diplomasisi gibi farklı birçok diplomasi türü ortaya çıkmıştır. Kamu diplomasisi ise, bu diplomasi türlerinin hepsini bir çatı altında toplayan bir diplomasi türü olarak literatürdeki yerini almıştır.¹⁸⁹

Soğuk Savaş döneminde yıldızı parlayan bir kavram olarak kamu diplomasisinin ilk örnekleri, Birinci Dünya Savaşı yıllarına kadar uzanmaktadır. Bu kavrama bazı araştırmacılar “yumuşak güç” adını verirken, bazıları ise bu kavramı yumuşak gücün bir unsuru olarak ele

¹⁸⁷Sancar, *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Uluslararası Halkla İlişkiler*, Önsöz.

¹⁸⁸Emine Akçadağ, “Dünya’da ve Türkiye’de Kamu Diplomasisi”, (2010), 1. <http://www.kamudiplomasisi.org/pdf/emineakcadag.pdf> (12.10.2019).

¹⁸⁹ Ece İnan, “Kamu Diplomasisi ve Halkla İlişkiler Eksenini”, *Kamu Diplomasisi Enstitüsü Serisi: 1*, ed. Abdullah Özkan ve Tuğçe Ersoy Öztürk (İstanbul: TASAM Yayınları, 2012), 63.



almıştır. Yıllarca çok can ve mal kaybeden ve yorgun düşen ülkelerin, İkinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra uluslararası güvenliğin sağlanması için çeşitli anlaşmalara varmak istemeleri, kamu diplomasisinin öneminin artmasına yol açmıştır. Savaş zamanında elde edilemeyen birçok hedef, kamu diplomasisi sayesinde güç sahibi ülkelere hedefe ulaşmalarında büyük avantajlar sağlamıştır.¹⁹⁰

Soğuk Savaş döneminde yürütülen düşünce mücadelelerinin, kamu diplomasisinin uluslararası alanda önem kazanmasında önemli etkisi bulunmaktadır. Demokrasi ile Marksizm, Faşizm ile Komünizm arasında meydana gelen bu savaş Soğuk Savaş dönemini oldukça etkilemiştir. Komünizme karşı mücadele etme fikri, kamu diplomasisinin Amerika'da doğmasını sağlamıştır. Kamu diplomasisinin Amerika'nın dış politikasının merkezine yerleşmesinde Soğuk Savaş boyunca süren ideolojik bölünmeler etkili olmuştur. Soğuk savaş sonrası nükleer dengenin titizlikle korunduğu dönemde her hangi bir savaşın patlak verip dünyayı felakete sürükleyebilecek olması kalplerin ve akılların kazanılmasının önemini artırmıştır. Bu dönemde Amerika'nın birçok değeri (sineması, sanatı, müziği, markası, kültürü) "Demir Perde"yi aşarak Doğu Blok'unu etkilemeye başlamıştır.¹⁹¹

Amerika'nın ideolojik tutumuna karşı yaklaşımı, Soğuk Savaş döneminde insanların akıllarına ulaşılması gerektiği şeklindeki düşünce ile şekillendirmiş; bu yaklaşımını görsel ve işitsel araçları kullanarak gerçekleştirmiştir. Bu araçlar uzun yıllar boyunca Doğu Blok'u ülkelerini etkisini altına almış ve Demir Perde'nin içten içe yıkılmasına zemin hazırlamıştır. Joseph Nye'in deyişiyle, "*Sovyet devlet propagandası ve kültür programları, esneklikte ve çekicilikte, Amerika'nın ticari popüler kültürüne ayak uyduramamıştı. Televizyon ve sinema, Berlin Duvarını 1989 yılında yıkılmasından çok daha önce delip geçmişti. Duvar yıkılmadan önce ihlal eden Batı'nın popüler kültürüne ait imgelerin uzun yıllar boyunca iletilmesinde, çekiçler ve buldozerler hiçbir işe yaramıştı*".¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰Meltem Ünal Erzen, *Kamu Diplomasisi*, 1. bs (İstanbul: Derin Yayınları, 2012), 53.

¹⁹¹Akçadağ, *Dünya'da ve Türkiye'de Kamu Diplomasisi*, 5.

¹⁹²Nye, *Dünya Siyasetinde Başarının Yolu*, 54.



Kültür bir toplumu oluşturan en önemli unsurlardan biridir ve sadece bir toplumla sınırlı kalan bir kavram da değildir. Çünkü kültürü oluşturan en önemli öge insandır. Konunun içine insan girdiği için kültür evrensel bir boyut kazanmaktadır. Kültürün böyle bir boyut kazanabilmesi için, önyargıların kalkması, diyalogun artması ve insanların empati yapması gerekmektedir. Ancak bu şekilde olursa ülkeler kendilerini diğerlerine anlatma fırsatı bulabilirler. Diğer bir deyişle kamu diplomasisini, bir devletin başka bir devletin halkı ile kurmuş olduğu bir iletişim şekli olarak görmemiz mümkün görünmektedir. Kamu diplomasisi nadiren kendi dinleyici kitlesini arar. Genelde belirlemiş olduğu dinleyici kitlesi içerisinde, daha geniş topluluklarda etkili olabilecek kişileri yetiştirir. Bir bakıma kamu diplomasisi, yabancı ülkelerdeki milletlerin fikirlerine tesir etmek için her zaman kullanılan bir yöntem olarak görülmez.

Etkileşimin milletlerarası bir aktörün kimliği ile alakası olmasına da gerek yoktur, iletişim aktörün uluslararası arenada güçlü bir faktör olarak belirlediği bir düşüncenin özendirilmesi olarak da görülebilir. Her ne olursa olsun yabancı ülke halkları ile ilişki sürdürmede kullanılan yöntem aynıdır ve amaç uluslararası arenanın idare edilmesidir.¹⁹³ Önemli olan nokta uluslararası arenada ben de varım diyebilmek ve bu var oluşu pozitif yöne çekerek bu ortamda cazip hale gelmektir.

4. Sert Güç - Yumuşak Güç

Sözlükte “güç” “bir şeyi yapabilme potansiyeline sahip olmak” demektir. Yani “güç”, “birinin istediği sonuca ulaşabilmesi” anlamına gelmektedir. Başka bir tanımla, “istediğini gerçekleştirmek için başkalarının davranışlarını etkileme yeteneğine sahip olmak”tır.¹⁹⁴ Güç, geçmişte fetih ve askeri güç olarak algılanırken, günümüz uluslararası ilişkiler sisteminde güç kavramının içeriği artık sadece askeri güç olmaktan çıkmış, ekonomik, kültürel ve teknolojik güç olarak ya da hepsini kapsayan “yumuşak güç”e doğru evrilmiştir.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³Cull, *Public Diplomacy*, 12.

¹⁹⁴Nye, *Dünya Siyasetinde Başarının Yolu*, 11.

¹⁹⁵Erzen, *Kamu Diplomasisi*, VIII.



Soğuk savaş sonrasında değişen güvenlik anlayışı insan faktörünü ön plana çıkarmış ve ulusal ya da uluslararası güvenlik adına atılan her adım insan hayatına ve özgürlüğüne verebileceği zarar ya da fayda açısından incelenmeye başlanmıştır. Bu durum devletlerin güvenlik politikaları oluştururken askeri güce olduğu kadar yumuşak güce de ihtiyacı olduğunu göstermektedir.¹⁹⁶

“Yumuşak güç”, istediğini kaba kuvvete başvurmadan veya para kullanmadan kendi yanına çekme yoluyla yaptırma yeteneğidir. Yumuşak güç bir ülkenin sahip olduğu değerlerin cazibesine ve diğerlerinin isteklerini etkileme ve şekillendirme becerisine dayanmaktadır. Yani senin elde etmek istediğin sonuçları başkalarını da zorlamadan onların da senin yanında olarak aynı sonuçları istemelerini sağlar.¹⁹⁷ Bu anlamda, yalnızca askeri güç tehdidini ya da ekonomik yaptırımlar uygulayarak istediğimizi yaptırmak değil, dış politikada gündemi belirlemek ve diğer ülkeleri kendi yanına almak da önemlidir.

Yumuşak güç, başkalarını etkileme ve onların kalplerine ve akıllarına ulaşma becerisine dayanmaktadır. Buradaki temel güç unsurları inandırıcılık ve ikna etme kabiliyetidir. Bunlar aynı zamanda güç kullanımına hukuki zemin hazırlayan unsurlardır. Kamu diplomasisi ise günümüzde uluslararası politikanın sert/kaba güçten yumuşak güce geçişteki en etkili unsurlarından birisi; aynı zamanda da yumuşak gücün tanıtılması veya yaygınlaştırılmasıdır.¹⁹⁸

Yumuşak güç kullanarak ülkeler ve halklar arasında etkileşim ortamı sağlayan kamu diplomasisi araçları, hem ülkeler için hem de toplumlar için farklı alanlarda işbirliklerinin sağlanmasına ve yeni dostlukların kurulmasına imkân sunmaktadır. Dünyada cazibe merkezi olarak görülen, kendisini çok iyi ifade edebilen ve anlatan, güvenilirlik kazanmış, işbirliğine açık olan ülkeler, dış politikada ve yabancı kamuoyun nazarında stratejik değerlerini artırarak uluslararası politikada kendilerine önemli bir yer bulmaktadırlar.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁶Bezen Balamir Çoşkun, “Güvenlik Sorunları ve Kamu Diplomasisi”, *Kamu Diplomasisi Enstitüsü Serisi: 1, ed.* Abdullah Özkan ve Tuğçe Ersoy Öztürk (İstanbul: TASAM Yayınları, 2012), 51.

¹⁹⁷Nye, *Dünya Siyasetinde Başarının Yolu*, 15.

¹⁹⁸Akçadağ, *Dünya’da ve Türkiye’de Kamu Diplomasisi*, 3.

¹⁹⁹Özkan, *Giriş Bölümü*, 1.



Yumuşak güç tamamen askeri gücün ortadan kalkmasını ifade etmez. Zaten askeri güce sahip olan ülkelerin büyük ölçüde yumuşak güçleri vardır. Buradaki amaç karşı tarafın bu askeri gücün farkında olmasını sağlamak; fakat bu gücü hiç kullanmadan dış politikada ekonomiyi, insani ve kültürel faktörleri ön plana çıkarmaktır. Yumuşak gücün ve kamu diplomasisinin dış politikalar için çok önemli yapan uluslararası koşulların başında bu iki kavramın meşruiyet kazanması gelmektedir.²⁰⁰

Ülkeler arasında ilişkiler kurulurken bu ilişkilerin kurulmasını sağlayan liderler kendi kamuoyunun seslerine kulak vermektedirler. Bu sebeple yumuşak gücü kullanırken kendi halkı ikna olan bir konuda o ülke liderini ikna etmek daha kolay bir hale gelmektedir. Kamuoyunun istemediği bir dış ilişki günümüz uluslararası ilişkilerinde çok fazla kurulamamaktadır. Bu sebeple yumuşak güç hedef seçilen otorite ile daha rahat ilişki kurulmasına zemin hazırlamaktadır; çünkü kendi halkı da bunu istiyor demektir. Günümüzde küreselleşme dediğimiz şey, şeffaf bir süreç, gizli kapaklısı daha az, insanı insana yakınlaştıran bir ortamı gerektirmektedir. Bu yüzden yumuşak güç, insan temelli dış siyasette çok önemlidir.²⁰¹ Kamu diplomasisinin önemli bir özelliği de askeri ve ekonomik gücün uluslararası arenada yapamayacağını yumuşak güç kabiliyetini kullanarak gerçekleştirmesidir.²⁰²

Askeri güç ve ekonomik gücü farklı fikirleri değiştirmek için kullanılabilen sert güce örnek olarak göstermek mümkündür. Sert/kaba güç, inandırma şeklinde olabileceği gibi, korkutma şeklinde de olabilir. Fakat güç kullanmanın daha değişik yöntemleri vardır. Bir ülke dış politikasında beklediği sonuçları, diğer ülkeler gözünde bir süper güç haline gelmeyi hedeflediği içinde alabilir. Bu netice sonucunda dünya siyasetinde gündemi oluşturmak, diğer ülkeleri kendine hayran bırakmak, o ülkeleri askeri veya iktisadi silahlar kullanarak değiştirmeye zorlamak kadar önemli bir etkiye sahiptir. Yumuşak güç bu yöntemle uygulanan güç çeşidine en iyi örnektir. Yumuşak güç bir ülkenin istediği şeyi güç kullanmadan başka ülkelerin de

²⁰⁰Dedeoğlu, Güç Kavramı, Kamu Diplomasisi ve Güvenlik.

²⁰¹Dedeoğlu, Güç Kavramı, Kamu Diplomasisi ve Güvenlik

²⁰²Cull, *Public Diplomacy*, 15.



istemesini sağlamaktır. Yumuşak güç insanlara bir şey dayatmak yerine, onlarla işbirliği yapmayı amaçlar.²⁰³

Kamu diplomasisinde işbirliği yöntemini en iyi İskandinav ülkeleri kullanmaktadırlar. Bu ülkelerin kamu diplomasisi faaliyetleri, Dışişleri Bakanlığı tarafından organize edilmekte ve sivil toplum örgütleri kanalıyla yürütülmektedir. Bizzat sivil toplum kuruluşları vasıtasıyla sürdürülen faaliyetler bölge halkının sağlamış olduğu katkılar ile gerçekleştirilmektedir. Bu durum da İskandinavya ülkeleri tarafından iletilmek istenen mesajın belirlenen hedefe varmasının kolaylaştırmakta; uluslararası kamuoyunu pozitif şekilde etkilemelerini sağlamaktadır.²⁰⁴

Kaba gücün aksine yumuşak güç, askeri ve iktisadi parametrelerin dışında değişik etki ve cazibe alanlarını gösterir. İnce gücü besleyen birçok faktör vardır. Bunlar; genel olarak, sanat, kültür, medya, yükseköğretim, sivil toplum örgütleri, diplomasi gibi birçok platformu kapsamaktadır. Bir ülkenin sosyal sermayesinin boyutunu bu unsurların bileşiminden ortaya çıkan ince güç oluşturmaktadır. Kaba güç eski geleneksel diplomasi araçlarını kullanırken ince güç, sosyal, kültürel, teknolojik ve ekonomik temelli araçları kullanmaktadır. İnce güç bir ülkenin iktisadi ve askeri gücünün haricinde ürettiği diğer tüm değerleri içinde barındırır. Bu iki güç arasında güçleri ile ilgili herhangi bir oran ilişkisinin bulunması zorunlu değildir. Yani bir gücün var olması diğerinin var olacağına bir garantisi olduğu anlamına gelmemektedir.²⁰⁵

Yumuşak güç politik konuları diğer insanların isteklerini karşılayacak şekilde belirleme kabiliyetine dayanır. Seçenekleri belirleme yeteneği, çekici bir kültür, ideolojik fikirler ve kuruluşlar gibi soyut güç unsurları ile alakalıdır. “İstedğim şeyi yapmaya seni ikna edebilirim zor kullanmaya gerek kalmadan istediğimi elde etmiş olurum” yaklaşımını benimser. Yumuşak güç, iknadan ve insanları tartışarak harekete geçirmekten de farklıdır. Baştan çıkarma ya da hayran bırakma yeteneğidir. Baştan çıkarmak ise çoğu zaman karşıdakinin gönlünü itaatkârlığa sevk etmektir.²⁰⁶ Cezip etmek her zaman kaba kuvvet kullanmaktan daha etkili olmuştur ve

²⁰³Joseph S. Nye, *Amerikan Gücünün Paradoksu*, çev. Gürol Koca, (Ankara: Literatür Yayıncılık, 2003), 10-11.

²⁰⁴Çoşkun, *Güvenlik Sorunları ve Kamu Diplomasisi*, 59.

²⁰⁵Kalın, *Türk Dış Politikası ve Kamu Diplomasisi*, 54.

²⁰⁶Nye, *Amerikan Gücünün Paradoksu*, 11.



insan hakları, demokrasi ve bireysel imkânlar gibi sosyal değerler oldukça cazip edicidir. Yalnız kendini beğenmişlik yapıp, daha derin değerlerin asıl mesajı yok etmesine izin verilirse bu hayranlık yerini nefrete bırakabilir.²⁰⁷ Ülkeler sahip olduğu yumuşak gücü ne kadar çok alçak gönüllü olarak kullanırlarsa diğer ülkelerin hayranlığını kazanıp, o ülkenin vatandaşlarının gönlünü daha kolay fetih edebilirler.

Soğuk savaş döneminden sonra yumuşak gücün kullanımına ilişkin şartlarda önemli değişiklikler meydana gelmiştir. Fakat temelleri yumuşak güce dayanan kamu diplomasisi ülkeler için hep ön planda kalmıştır.²⁰⁸ Bu bağlamda kamu diplomasisi sistemsal bir şekilde yumuşak gücü iletme mekanizması olarak görülebilir. Fakat nasıl askeri güç ve sert güç aynı anlama gelmiyorsa, o da yumuşak güç ile aynı anlama gelmemektedir. Yumuşak gücü olmayıp kamu diplomasisine sahip olan uluslararası aktörlerin (Kuzey Kore) olması ya da yumuşak gücü ve çok düşük bir seviyede kamu diplomasisine sahip aktörlerin olması (İrlanda) mümkündür.²⁰⁹

Yumuşak güç bir ülkede birçok aktör ve kuruluşun katılımı ile ortaya çıkmaktadır, Bu katılım sanatçılardan, medya organlarından, şirketlerden, üniversitelerden, siyasi partilerden, sivil toplum kuruluşlarından, dini gruplardan vd. oluşan çok geniş bir alanı ifade etmektedir.²¹⁰ Buradan da kamu diplomasisini çok geniş bir alanı kapsadığını ve belki de şahısların, kurumların, kurumları ve derneklerin kendilerinin bile farkına varmadan kamu diplomasisinin bir aktörü konumuna geldiğini görürüz. Bu saydığımız aktörlerin birçoğu kendilerine bu görev atfedilmemesine rağmen otomatik olarak birer aktör haline gelmişlerdir. Bu durumun sebepleri arasında, kavramın yeni kullanılıyor olması ve devletlerin kamu diplomasisini yeni bir güç olarak kullanmaya başlaması yatmaktadır. Sonuç olarak kamu diplomasisinde kullanılan araçlar, yumuşak gücün alanına girmektedir. Buradan yola çıkarak, kamu diplomasisini esasını ülkelerin yumuşak güçlerini kullanmalarına dayandığı²¹¹ ileri sürülmektedir.

²⁰⁷Nye, *Dünya Siyasetinde Başarının Yolu*, 6.

²⁰⁸Akçadağ, *Dünya'da ve Türkiye'de Kamu Diplomasisi*, 3.

²⁰⁹Cull, *Public Diplomacy*, 15.

²¹⁰Akçadağ, *Dünya'da ve Türkiye'de Kamu Diplomasisi*, 3.

²¹¹Özkan, *Giriş Bölümü*, 1.



Kamu diplomasinin araçlarını bir araya getirerek bir iletişim ortamı oluşturabilen ülkeler dünya kamuoyunda dikkatleri üzerlerine çekerek ön plana çıkmaktadırlar. Kamu diplomasisinde yumuşak gücün kullanım alanına giren araçlar, diplomasiye yeni yol yöntemler kazandırmakta ve ülkelere, muhataplarını ikna etme çabasında geleneksel diplomasi yöntemlerinin dışında yeni etki alanları ortaya çıkarmaktadırlar.²¹²

5. Kamu Diplomasinin Özellikleri ve Unsurları

Soğuk Savaş bittikten sonra tüm dünyada yaşanan pozitif gelişmeler, kamu diplomasisine gerek kalmadığını ve ülkelerin ortak bir dünya görüşü kabullendiği yönündeydi. Ülkeler artık kamuoyu oluşturma faaliyetlerine ve imaj çalışmalarına gerek kalmadığını düşünmekteydiler.²¹³ “Tarihin Sonu”nun geldiği ileri sürülmekte, küresleşmenin yol açtığı Yeni Dünyanın yavaş yavaş “düzleştiği” ve dünya nüfusunun küresel seviyede çeşitli ortaklıklara doğru yol aldığı iddia edilmekteydi. Fakat 11 Eylül’de meydana gelen saldırılar bu değerlendirmeleri büyük seviyede değiştirdi ve uluslararası ortam, kamu diplomasisine geçmişten daha çok ihtiyacı olacağı bir zamana girmiş oldu.²¹⁴

21. yüzyılla yeniden sorgulanmaya başlayan diplomatik alışkanlıklar ve karar alma süreçleri gelişen teknoloji ile aynı doğrultuda daha değişik iletişim ve haber kaynaklarına ilgi göstermişlerdir. İnternetin ve mobil iletişim araçlarının etkili olduğu bu düzende, kamu diplomasinin kullandığı unsurlarda farklılaşmıştır. Bugün kamu diplomasisi etkinliklerinde kullanılan klasik medya araçlarının haricinde, internet ağı üzerinden sunulan sosyal paylaşım siteleri (*Facebook, Twitter, Bloglar, Popcastler*) ya da iletilen mobil telefonu mesajları ve hatta video oyunları da ciddi bir şekilde etkisini göstermiştir. Bu mesajları gönderen kişilerin gönderdikleri mesajın belirledikleri kişilere ulaşip ulaşmadığından emin olmaları, alınan bu kararların doğru hedefe ulaşmasını sağlamaktadır. Bu sayede doğru hedefe ulaşan mesajların

²¹²Hasan Kocabıyık, “Değişen Diplomasi ve Türkiye”, *Avrasya Etüdüleri*, (2019), 169.

²¹³Mert Gökırmak, “Küreselleşen Dünyada Diplomasi: Kamu Diplomasisi”, *Küreselleşen Dünyada Değişimin Farklı Yüzleri: Disiplinler arası Yaklaşım*, ed. Neslihan Sam ve Rıza Sam (Ezgi Kitabevi Yayınları, 2012), 2. Ayrıca Bk. https://tasam.org/Files/Icerik/File/kuresellesen_dunyada_diplomasi_kamu_diplomasisi_dafdcc1a-3162-4f25-821d-8ed41dd0a506.pdf. (07.10.2019).

²¹⁴Gökırmak, *Küreselleşen Dünyada Diplomasi*, 2.



etki gücü daha fazla olmaktadır. Hedef kitle konusunda ulaşılan isabet planlı bir “algılama yönetimi” uygulanmasını sağlamaktadır.²¹⁵

İnsanların eğitim seviyelerinin giderek artması ve dünyadan daha çok haberdar olmaları, propaganda ile ilgili konularda daha temkinli ve ilgili bir hale gelmelerine yol açmıştır. Güvenirlilik ciddi bir kaynak ve özellikle de önemli bir yumuşak güç kaynağı olmuştur. İtibar artık Yeni Dünya düzeninde eskisinden daha önemli bir hale gelmiştir. Ülkeler güvenirlilik kazanma ya da yok etme konusunda siyasi mücadeleler vermek ve sadece başka ülkelerle rekabet etmekle kalmayıp, bunun dışında birçok devlet dışı alternatifle (haber medyası, anonim şirketleri, sivil toplum örgütleri, uluslararası kuruluşlar ve bilimsel topluluklar) rekabet etmek zorunda kalmışlardır. Siyaset, rekabete dayanan bir güvenirlilik yarışması haline bürünmüştür.²¹⁶

Kamu diplomasinin rasyonelize edilerek küresel ölçekte ve derin bir biçimde yürütülmesi çok kolay olmamaktadır. Kamu diplomasisi faaliyetlerini uygulanabilmesi için büyük bir kaynağa ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır. Bunun yanında ideoloji, mesajın niteliği, mesajın dili ve bu mesajı iletmek için kullanılan yöntemler kamu diplomasisinin etkisinin niteliğini belirlemektedir.²¹⁷

Günümüzde kamuoyu, milli ve milletlerarası politikaların tespit edilmesinde gittikçe daha aktif bir hale gelmektedir. Basın aracılığıyla yakından izlenen bu politika süreçleri tüm dünyaya büyük bir hızla duyurulmakta ve dünya kamuoyunun her şeyden haberdar olması sağlanmaktadır.

Nye’a göre kamu diplomasisinde hedef kitleyi anlamak ve onu anladığını göstermek çok önemlidir. Güçlü bir kamu diplomasisi faaliyeti, kendini anlatmak kadar dinlemenin de önemli olduğu önemli bir yöntemdir. Değişim programları bu sebepten dolayı radyo ve televizyon yayını yapmaktan daha etkilidir. Eğer hedef istenilen sonuçların aynısının başkalarının da sahip olmasını sağlamak ise, mesajın hangi şekilde duyulduğu anlaşılmalı ve

²¹⁵Gökırmak, *Küreselleşen Dünyada Diplomasi*, 4.

²¹⁶Nye, *Dünya Siyasetinde Başarının Yolu*, 106-107.

²¹⁷Doğan, *Kamu Diplomasisinin Sunduğu Fırsatlar ve Kısıtları Üzerine*, 30.



buna göre uygun bir ortam oluşturulmalıdır.²¹⁸ Bu değişim programlarına, Avrupa Birliği (AB) eğitim programlarını örnek olarak göstermek mümkündür.

Konu daha da özel bir boyutta ele alınacak olursa, AB eğitim programlarından biri olan Erasmus+ programının bir alt faaliyeti olan Erasmus Yüksek Öğrenim Değişim Programı ile üniversite öğrencileri ve akademisyenler, farklı ortamlarda eğitim görmekte, değişik kültürleri tanıma fırsatı bulmakta, kendi kültürlerini anlatma ve tanıtmaya fırsatı elde etmekte; kısacası birer kültür elçisi olmaktadır.

Kamu diplomasisinde öne çıkan bir başka nokta ise, devlet kuruluşlarından ziyade özel kurumların, sivil toplum kuruluşlarının ve kişilerin ön planda olması, toplumların ulaşamayan kesimlerine ulaşım imkânı sunmasıdır. Kamu diplomasisi artık destekleyici bir faktör olmaktan çıkmakta, tek başına politika üretme ve yürütme şekline bürünmektedir. Kamu diplomasisi kapalı toplumlarda çok fazla başarılı olamamakta, fakat kamu diplomasisinin başarılı olabilmesini sağlayacak farklı yöntemler uygulanmaktadır. Bu çerçevede ele alınan kendi içine kapalı toplulukların, siyasal, ekonomik ve sosyal yapısı aniden ve alışılmamış şekilde yerle bir edilmekte ve daha sonra toptan bir yardım faaliyeti devreye sokulmaktadır. Kamu diplomasisi faaliyetleri bu tür toplumsal şaşkınlık süreçlerinde sıkça kullanılmaktadır. Toplumlar bu tarz şaşkınlık oluşturan süreçler, bazen bir ekonomik krizle, bazen de askeri bir işgalle başlatılabilmektedir. İlk başta pek diplomatik görünmeyen bu eylemler, daha sonra toplumların bilinçaltına yerleşen birer kamu diplomasisi faaliyetini almaktadır. “Kaba güç” ve “yumuşak güç” stratejilerinin uygulandığı bu yaklaşıma “akıllı güç” (*smart power*) adı verilmektedir.²¹⁹

6. Kamu Diplomasisinin Faaliyet Alanları ve Boyutları

Kamu diplomasisinin ana fikri, yabancı kamuoyu ile hükümetlerinin düşüncelerini etkileyebilmek adına direkt iletişim kurmak ve bir ülkenin politikaları, hareketleri, ekonomik ve politik düzenleri ile ilgili pozitif bir etki oluşturma amacıdır.²²⁰ Ülkelerin, yabancı

²¹⁸Nye, *Dünya Siyasetinde Başarının Yolu*, 111.

²¹⁹Gökırmak, *Küreselleşen Dünyada Diplomasi*, 7.

²²⁰Tuğçe Ersoy Öztürk, “Dış Politikada Etkin Unsurlar: Kamu Diplomasisi ve Türkiye’nin Kamu Diplomasisi Etkinliği”, 2-3. <http://www.kamudiplomasisi.org/pdf/tugceersoyozturk.pdf> (25.10.2019).



kamuoyları ile kendi halkları ve kuruluşları arasında iletişimi sürdürme çalışmaları da kamu diplomasisinin farklı bir amacına hizmet etmektedir.²²¹

Toplumsal değerler ve dinamiklerin değişmesi; siyasal, endüstriyel, sosyal ve teknolojik alanda gerçekleşen devrimler sonucu meydana gelmiştir. Yeni Dünya düzeninde ve değişen uluslararası ilişkiler sisteminde demokrasiyi bir zemine oturtma çabaları, kamu diplomasisinin uluslararası ilişkiler açısından kullanılmasını zorunlu hale getirmiştir.²²² Bu doğrultuda otoriter ülkelerde demokratik yönetimin otoriteyi ele alması, kamuoyunu etkilemek adına daha önemli bir konu olmuştur.²²³

Kamu diplomasisi, “propaganda faaliyetleri” ve “halkla ilişkiler çalışmaları” ile aynı anlama gelmemektedir. Propaganda; bir düşüncenin veya öğretinin sistemli bir şekilde savunulan düşüncenin, savunular tarafından farklı yöntemlerle halka benimsetilmesidir. Propagandanın aksine kamu diplomasisinde düşüncenin kaynağının nereden geldiği bellidir. Diğer yandan kamu diplomasisi, halkla ilişkilerden farklıdır. Halkla ilişkiler; bir kişi ya da kurumun amaçlarını halka iletmesidir. Dolayısıyla kamu diplomasisini, “propaganda” ve “halkla ilişkiler” olarak tanımlamak²²⁴ mümkün olmamaktadır. Kamu diplomasisini bir propaganda aracı olarak görmek yanlıştır. Çünkü basit propaganda güvenilirlikten yoksundur; eğer kamu diplomasisi olarak kullanılırsa, olumsuz sonuçlar doğurur.²²⁵ Propaganda zaman zaman doğrudur; her zaman zannedildiği gibi yanlış olmadığı durumlar da vardır. Gerçeklerden tamamen uzak herhangi bir dayanağı olmayan propagandanın inandırıcılığı ya hiç yoktur ya da çok azdır.²²⁶ Kamu diplomasisi propaganda kadar keskin değildir. Propaganda anlık durumlarda ve kriz durumlarında işe yarar ama ters tepme olasılığı da yüksektir.²²⁷

Kamu diplomasisini aynı zamanda bir halkla ilişkiler yöntemi olarak da görmek yanlıştır; sadece halkla ilişkilerden meydana gelmemektedir. Olumlu imaj oluşturmak, bilgi

²²¹Doğan, *Kamu Diplomasisinin Sunduğu Fırsatlar ve Kısıtları Üzerine*, 13.

²²²Erzen, *Kamu Diplomasisi*, 121.

²²³Nye, *Dünya Siyasetinde Başarının Yolu*, 105.

²²⁴Coşkun, *Güvenlik Sorunları ve Kamu Diplomasisi*, 52.

²²⁵Nye, *Dünya Siyasetinde Başarının Yolu*, 106-107.

²²⁶Gönlübol, *Uluslararası Politika*, 140.

²²⁷Dedeoğlu, *Güç Kavramı, Kamu Diplomasisi ve Güvenlik*.



akışı sağlamak kamu diplomasisinin elamanlarından, fakat aynı zamanda kamu diplomasisinin devletin uygulayacağı stratejiler için uygun ortam sağlaması gerekmektedir. Bu da kamu diplomasisinin uzun süreli ilişkiler kurmasına bağlıdır.

Kamu diplomasisinin üç boyutu vardır. Bunlar; günlük iletişimler, stratejik iletişimler ve uzun süreli ilişkiler geliştirmektir.²²⁸ *Günlük iletişimler*, yerel ve uluslararası politikaların hangi konumda olduğunu içeren ilk ve en yakın boyuttur. Bu boyutta haberlerin tutarlı ve bütünsel olması çok önemlidir. Basına bilgi verirken sadece yerel basına odaklanılmamalı verilen bilgilerin yurt dışında da yani yabancı kamuoyunda da nasıl algılanacağı hesaba katılmalıdır. Yabancı basın kamu diplomasisinin ilk boyutu için çok önemlidir. Kamu diplomasisinin bu boyutta hızlı olması gerekmektedir. Aniden ortaya çıkabilecek krizlerle başa çıkabilmek ve saldırılara karşılık vermek için yapılan suçlamaların ve yanıltıcı bilgilerin anında cevaplanması gerekmektedir.²²⁹

Stratejik iletişimler ise, bir reklam kampanyasına veya siyasi bir kampanyaya benzerlik gösterir ve bazı konuların geliştirilmesini içine almaktadır. Ülkelerin yabancı kamuoyunda algılanması konusunda belirlenen hedefler çerçevesinde devlet politikalarını geliştirmek için yapılan sembolik olayları ve iletişimlerini planlamaktadır.²³⁰ Ülkelerin algılanmasında olumlu bir imaj oluşturabilmek planlı bir sürece dayanmaktadır. Bu süreçte ülkenin imajına ters düşecek ve itibarını zedeleyecek saldırılara karşı tedbir alınması gerekmektedir. Bunun için sivil toplum kuruluşlarının ve akademisyenlerin vermiş olduğu mesajlar kuvvetlendirilir. Ülke hakkında olumlu ve kalıcı bir anlayış oluşturmak için, istikrarlı ve güvenilir bir ülke imajı oluşturmak gerekmektedir.²³¹

Kamu diplomasisinin üçüncü boyutu ise *uzun vadeli ilişkiler* gerçekleştirmektir. Bunun yolu ise öğrenci değişim programları, verilen hibeler, stajlar, seminerler, konferanslar ve medya kanalları bağlantısı ile önemli pozisyondaki kişilerle iletişim kurmaya dayanmaktadır.²³² Her

²²⁸Nye, *Dünya Siyasetinde Başarının Yolu*, 107.

²²⁹Nye, *Dünya Siyasetinde Başarının Yolu*, 108.

²³⁰Nye, *Dünya Siyasetinde Başarının Yolu*, 108.

²³¹Gökırmak, *Küreselleşen Dünyada Diplomasi*, 5.

²³²Nye, *Dünya Siyasetinde Başarının Yolu*, 108.



Yıl binlerce öğrenci ve akademisyen devletler tarafından sağlanan bursları kullanarak çeşitli ülkelere giderek kültürel programlara katılabilmekte ve uluslararası araştırma faaliyetlerinde bulunabilmektedirler. Hedeflenen kitleye ulaşabilmek için kültürel değişim programları ve ortak ülke programları düzenlenerek ortak değerlerin oluşturulması, kültürlerin tanıtılması ve sivil diyalogun geliştirilmesi büyük önem taşımaktadır.²³³ Bu gibi uygulamalardan yararlanan yetenekli insanlar gelecekte kendi ülkelerinde önemli mevkilere geldiklerinde kurmuş oldukları ilişki ağları çerçevesinde ve pozitif bakışları sayesinde eğitim almış oldukları ülkeye kendi ülkelerinin eğitim gördükleri ülke ile ilişkilerin kurulması gibi katkı sağlayabilirler.²³⁴ Bu durum yabancı kamuoyunu etkilemek konusunda uzun dönemde girişilecek faaliyetlerin bir göstergesidir. İlk başta kurulacak olan kişisel bir iletişimin bile yıllar sonra ülkeler arasında birbirlerini anlama noktasında etkisi olabilmektedir.

Kamu diplomasisinin ciddiyetle ele alınması, bir dış politika faaliyeti olarak görülmesi ve diğer hedefler ile uyumlu bir şekilde yürütülmesi ülkelere birçok fayda sağlamaktadır. Kamu diplomasisi hedeflenen çalışmalar yanında ayrıca oluşturulan stratejik bir plan kapsamında hedeflenmeyen siyasi alanlarda da başarı sağlanmasına imkân sunmaktadır. Aynı zamanda ülkeler arasındaki ticari ilişkilerin gelişmesine de aracılık etmektedir. Ama en önemlisi; hiçbir diplomatik ilişkinin başaramayacağı bağlar kurulmasına imkân vermesidir.

Kamu diplomasisi ülkelerin dış politikalarına bağlı olarak belirlenmeli, orta vadeli hedefler ve uzun vadeli amaçlar çerçevesinde geliştirilmelidir.²³⁵ Olumlu bir imaj pazarlamak ve bilgiyi iletme kamu diplomasisinin bir ögesidir; fakat bununla birlikte kamu diplomasisinin devlet politikaları için müsait bir ortam hazırlayabilmesi, uzun dönemli çalışmalar yapmasına ve buna göre ilişki kurmasına bağlıdır.²³⁶

7. Günümüzde Kamu Diplomasisi

Günümüzde kamu diplomasisi, ülkeler arasındaki ilişkilerin işbirliği şeklinde gerçekleştirilmesi için gerekli bir zemini oluşturur. Özellikle Soğuk Savaş sonrası dönemde iç

²³³Erzen, *Kamu Diplomasisi*, 130.

²³⁴Doğan, *Kamu Diplomasisinin Sunduğu Fırsatlar ve Kısıtları Üzerine*, 23.

²³⁵Melissen, *The New Public Diplomacy*, 15.

²³⁶Nye, *Dünya Siyasetinde Başarının Yolu*, 107.



politika-dış politika arasındaki çizginin kalkması, ortamın daha şeffaf bir hale gelmesi, zamanla ülkelerin kamuoylarını ikna etme gerekliliğini ortaya çıkarmıştır. Sadece dış aktörler değil artık iç aktörler de dış politikada söz sahibi olmaya başlamışlardır.²³⁷

Yeni küresel sistemde, devletler diplomasi alanında yalnız başlarına demokratik meşruiyetlerini ve sorumluluklarını yürütmekle beraber, artık hükümet dışı kuruluşlar, ulus ötesi ve yerel kuruluşlar ile çok uluslu şirketlerde uluslararası politikanın oluşturulmasına ve yürütülmesine etkili bir şekilde fayda sağlamaktadırlar.²³⁸ Artık uluslararası arenada devlet dışı aktörlerin rolü giderek artmış, bu da içinde bulunduğumuz bilgi çağına damgasını vurmuştur. Ülke içinde yapılan özel organizasyonlar giderek ülke sınırları dışına çıkmaya başlamıştır. Bu, meydana gelen yeni bir durum değildir; fakat içinde bulunduğumuz yeni küresel sistem ve bilgi devrimi bu gibi organizasyonların sayılarının artmasına neden olmuştur.²³⁹

Günümüzde hiçbir hükümet kamu diplomasisi yürütme görevini tek başına üstlenmez. Küresel dünya düzeninde ve buna bağlı olarak gelişim gösteren uluslararası ilişkiler sisteminde kamu diplomasisinin uygulanması için hükümet dışındaki sivil toplum kuruluşlarına, vakıflara, derneklere, akademiye, özel sektöre, sendikalara ve vatandaşlara önemli görevler düşmektedir. Kamu diplomasisinin faaliyetlerinin gerçekleşmesinde hükümet kendi dışındaki bu kuruluşlar ile arasındaki koordinasyonu sağlamak ve aralarında bir iş birliği oluşturmakla yükümlüdür. Çünkü kamuoyuna yönelik diplomasi çok geniş bir alanı ve toplumun birçok katmanını kapsamaktadır.²⁴⁰

Eskiden savaşlar cephede kazanılmaktaydı ve zafer için tank, tüfek gerekirdi. Fakat günümüzde durum değişmiştir; artık savaşlar iletişim, etkileşim, imaj, algı ve ikna gibi araçlar ile yapılmakta ve gücü ortaya koyabilmek için ülkelerin kendilerini anlatmaları tanıtmaları

²³⁷Ertan Efeğil, “Kamu Diplomasisine ilişkin Görüşler ve Türk Dış Politikasının Durumu; Ak Parti ve MHP Söylemlerinin Karşılaştırılması”, *Kamu Diplomasisi Enstitüsü Serisi: 1*, ed. Abdullah Özkan ve Tuğçe Ersoy Öztürk (İstanbul: TASAM Yayınları, 2012), 69.

²³⁸Hüner Tuncer, *Diplomasinin Evrimi, Gizli Diplomasiden Küresel Diplomasiye*, (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınlar, 2009), 134.

²³⁹Nye, *Amerikan Gücünün Paradoksu*, 92.

²⁴⁰Tuncer, *Diplomasinin Evrimi*, 148.



gerekmektedir. Artık izlenen politikalar doğrultusunda kamuoyunu ikna etmek ve onları desteğini almak zorunlu bir hale gelmektedir.²⁴¹

Yeni küresel sistemde, diplomatik kurumlarda ve günümüz uluslararası ilişkiler sisteminde şanlı bir değişim ve dönüşüm yaşamaktadır. Bu değişim ve dönüşüm kamu diplomasisinin baskın konuları²⁴² arasında yer almaktadır.

Bir başka husus, günümüz kamu diplomasisinde yabancı kamuoyunu yakından tanımının önemli olmasıdır. Dinleme, yabancı kamuoyu hakkında bilgiler toplama ve bu bilgiler doğrultusunda dış politika da uygun adımlar atmaktır. En başta yabancı kamuoyunu dinlemek (vatandaşların hal ve hareketlerini, reaksiyonlarını ve düşünce şekillerini onların kültürlerinden, değer yargılarından ve dünya görüşlerinden farklı düşünülmeceğinden, güçlü ve etkili bir dinleme için o topluluğu bir araya getiren bütün bu hususiyetlerin iyi anlaşılması önem arz etmektedir), doğru anlamak ve bu yönde etkili politikalar ortaya çıkarmak gerekmektedir.²⁴³

Kamu diplomasisinin ülkemizdeki yapısına bakıldığında, Türkiye'nin dış politika önceliklerini uygulamaya yönelik küresel ve bölgesel alt yapıya sahip bir ülke konumunda olduğu bilinmektedir. Türkiye, Avrupa ve Asya gibi kıtalarda toprakları bulunan bir devlet olarak, tarihinin getirmiş olduğu miras göz önüne alındığında, yumuşak güç açısından çok avantajlı bir ülke konumunda olduğu görülür. Fakat Türk dış politikasında var olan kırmızıçizgiler doğrultusunda ortaya çıkan problemlerin çözümü ve Soğuk Savaş sonrası ortaya çıkan Yeni Dünya düzeninin getirdiği yeni diplomasi anlayışı için, kamu diplomasisi çalışmalarına ülkemizde de ihtiyaç²⁴⁴ hâsıl olmaktadır.

Özkan, Türkiye için kamu diplomasisini, bölgesinde etkinliğini arttırmak, komşu ülkelerin gönüllerini fethetmek, sevilen, sayılan, sözü dinlenen, güvenilen bir ülke olması konusunda doğru adres olarak göstermekte ve Türkiye uluslararası politika etkili olmayı dikkate

²⁴¹Özkan, *Giriş Bölümü*, 10.

²⁴²Mengü Çakar ve Gonca Yıldırım, "Halkla İlişkilerin Kamu Diplomasisinde Etkin Kullanımı", *Kamu Diplomasisi Enstitüsü Serisi: 1*, ed. Abdullah Özkan ve Tuğçe Ersoy Öztürk (İstanbul: TASAM Yayınları, 2012), 71.

²⁴³Akçadağ, *Dünya'da ve Türkiye'de Kamu Diplomasisi*, 6.

²⁴⁴Sancar, *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Uluslararası Halkla İlişkiler*, 247.



alınmayı hedefliyorsa kamu diplomasisi faaliyetlerini kullanmasını²⁴⁵ ifade etmektedir. Kamu diplomasisi, Türkiye'nin oluşturması gereken en alt seviyede askeri güce gereksinim duyulan sempatik bir güçtür. Çünkü bunun maliyeti azdır. Tehditkâr olmayan, ülkeyi ve insanları dünya medeniyetinin bir parçası haline getirmeye yarayan ve kimsenin kendini koruma kabiliyetinden şüphe etmeyeceği bir güç oluşturmak, Türkiye'yi bu hedeflerine ulaştırabilecektir.²⁴⁶

Türkiye'de kamu diplomasisi faaliyetleri daha eski zamanlarda çok geri bir noktada bulunurken, son yıllarda bölgesinde ve dünyada yükselen bir güç olarak Türkiye'nin değer kazanması, kamu diplomasisi alanında yapılan faaliyetlerin artmasını sağlamış ve Türkiye'yi gittikçe küresele açılan bir ülke konumuna getirmiştir. Türkiye, hakkındaki yanlış algılamaları yıkmanın, olumlu bir imaj oluşturmanın ve toplumlararası diyalog kurmanın yolunun kamu diplomasisinden geçtiğinin farkına varmıştır. Türkiye'nin bu hedeflerine ulaşabilmesi için stratejik tüm değerlerini kullanması gerekmektedir. Bu şekilde hareket ederek hem milli menfaatlerini korumuş olacak, hem de yeni iş birlikleri gerçekleştirecektir.²⁴⁷

Bugün hem akademik çevrelerin hem de devletlerin içinde yaşadığımız dünyayı daha yaşanabilir ve güvenilir bir hale getirmek için sert güç politikalarını bırakıp yumuşak güç politikalarını uygulama gerekliliği doğmuştur. Bir dış politika aracı olan kamu diplomasisinin uluslararası ilişkiler sisteminde gereği ve önemi giderek artmakla birlikte, barışın silahlarla değil insanların gönüllerini fethederek akıllarına hitap ederek kazanılacağına önemi daha anlaşılır hale gelmiştir.²⁴⁸

Sonuç olarak günümüz diplomasisi aktörleri, sadece sayıları bakımından artış göstermekle beraber, aynı zamanda farklılıkları da artış göstermiştir. Artık siyasetçiler, lobiler, basın ve hükümet dışındaki farklı kurumlar, günümüz diplomasisinin başrol oyuncularına olmuşturlardır. Özellikle belirtmek gerekirse bunlar arasında hükümet dışı kuruluşların uluslararası ilişkilerin yürütülmesindeki payı büyük ölçüde artmıştır. Uluslararası ilişkiler

²⁴⁵Özkan, Giriş Bölümü, 2.

²⁴⁶Doğan, *Kamu Diplomasisinin Sunduğu Fırsatlar ve Kısıtları Üzerine*, 3.

²⁴⁷İnan, *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Halkla İlişkiler Eksenine*, 67-68.

²⁴⁸Çakar ve Yıldırım, *Halkla İlişkilerin Kamu Diplomasisinde Etkin Kullanımı*, 97.



sadece devletlerarasında gerçekleşen ilişkilerin dışına çıkmış; kamuoyları arasında sürdürülen bir faaliyete dönüşmüştür.²⁴⁹

8. Sonuç

Karşımızda değişen bir dünya, çok boyutluluk kazanan bir uluslararası ilişkiler sistemi ve bu durumun ortaya çıkarmış olduğu ülkeler arasında stratejik güç rekabeti bulunmaktadır. Aynı zamanda sistemin ve rekabet alanlarının değişmesi, bu alanda rol oynayan aktörlerin de farklı kimlikler kazanmasını sağlamıştır. Ortaya çıkan bu yeni uluslararası düzende bu kadar çok değişikliğin meydana gelmiş olması, tabii ki ülkelerin dış politikalarını da önemli ölçüde etkilemiştir. Bu değişikliklere paralel olarak artık devletler de geçmişte uyguladıkları geleneksel politikalardan vazgeçerek günün koşullarına ve sistemin gerekliliklerine göre politika üretmeye başlamışlardır.

Uluslararası ilişkilerin kurulmasında ve bu ilişkilerin yürütülmesinde önemli bir araç olan diplomasi de kendini bu değişim rüzgârına kaptırmış ve farklı biçimde uygulanarak, ülkeler arasında ilişkileri değişik boyutlara taşımaya başlamıştır. Kısacası değişen sistemler, güçler, dengeler ve aktörler, geleneksel diplomasi anlayışının da değişmesine neden olmuştur. Tüm bu değişimlerin altında birçok sebep yer almaktadır.

Küreselleşen dünya, gelişen teknoloji ve ortaya çıkan yeni stratejik iletişim araçları bu değişimin temelinde yatmaktadır. Bu değişimden nasibini alan geleneksel diplomasi anlayışı artık tek başına devletlerin birbirleri ile olan ilişkilerine ve dış politikada yürütmüş oldukları politikalarına cevap verememektedir. Çünkü yeni uluslararası sistemde ilişkiler sadece devletler arasında yürütülmekten çıkmış devreye birçok ve yeni aktör girmiştir. Bu aktörlerin en önemlileri ise ülkelerin kamuoylarıdır.

Devletler, ulusal ve uluslararası menfaatlerini korumak için yabancı devletlerle kurdukları ilişkilerde o ülkelerin kamuoylarını da dikkate almak zorundadırlar. Meydana gelen bu yeni ilişki biçimleri devletleri farklı diplomasi araçları kullanmaya yöneltmektedir. Çünkü ülkeler yeni küresel sisteme ayak uydurmanın ancak bu şekilde sağlanacağını önemini

²⁴⁹Tuncer, *Diplomasinin Evrimi*, 144-145.



kavramışlardır. Bu önemin farkına varan ülkeler, geleneksel diplomasi anlayışının yanında yeni uluslararası sistemin gerekliliklerine cevap verebilecek olan kamu diplomasisi faaliyetleri uygulama yolunu seçmişlerdir.

Kamu diplomasisinin temelinde karşılıklı iletişim, ikna etme, inandırma, ifade etme, kendini anlatma gibi unsurlar yer almaktadır. Devletler bu unsurları kullanarak kendilerini dünya kamuoyunda etkili, sözü geçen ve başarılı bir ülke konumuna getirmek için çaba sarf etmektedirler. Kamu diplomasisini bir araç olarak kullanan ülkeler ortadaki ilişki biçimlerini doğru analiz ederek hem bölgelerinde hem de dünyada bir cazibe merkezi olmayı amaçlamaktadırlar. Kamu diplomasisi, bu devletler için çok önemli bir silahtır ve toplumları etkilemenin etkili yollarından biridir.

Kamu diplomasisi kavramının, diğer kavramlar da olduğu gibi, bilim adamları, akademisyenler, yazarlar; kısacası konuyla ilgilenen kişiler tarafından ülkeden ülkeye de değişiklik gösteren farklı şekilde tanımlamaları yapılmıştır. Yeni Dünya denilen, uluslararası güç dengelerinin, diplomasi yöntemlerinin değiştiği, eski dünyanın kurallarıyla, kalıplarıyla ve alışkanlıklarıyla hareket ederek başarının elde edilemeyeceğinin anlaşıldığı bu yeni dönemde, dış politikada devletlerarası ilişkilerin öneminin giderek azalması, kamuoyu algılamasının önemini artırmaktadır. İşte kamu diplomasisinin gücü ve önemi bu noktada ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Kamu diplomasisinin ciddiyetle ele alınması, bir dış politika faaliyeti olarak görülmesi ve diğer hedefler ile bağlantılı bir şekilde uygulanması, ülkelere amaçları doğrultusunda birçok fayda sağlayacaktır. Kamu diplomasisini kullanan ülkeler, diğer ülkeler ile ilişkilerini daha barışçıl yollarla sürdürmekte hatta o ülkelerin de devletlerini aşarak doğrudan onların halklarına kendilerini tanıtmaya, anlatmaya ve yanlış izlenimleri yok etmeye gibi fırsatlar sunacaktır. Ünelere bu şekilde doğrudan etkide bulunmak, o ülkelerin, kendi istedikleri şekilde politika uygulamalarını da sağlayacaktır.

Kamu Diplomasisi, uluslararası arenada etkili diplomasi çabaları sergileyen, yurttan sulh, cihanda sulh politikasını benimseyen, demokrasiye uygun çalışmalar gösteren Türkiye'nin uygulamaya koyması gereken çok önemli bir faaliyettir. Türkiye sahip olmuş olduğu



geçmişiyile, değerleriyle, kültürüyle, giderek kalkınan ve güçlenen ekonomisiyle, bölgesinde ve uluslararası arenada sözü geçen siyaseti ile “ince güç” (*Soft Power*) yönünden son derece kapasiteli bir ülke konumundadır. Önemli olan bu gücü küreselleşen dünyada, uluslararası dinamiklerin her gün değiştiği bir ortamda doğru ve etkili kullanmaktır. Bu sebeple Türkiye, kamu diplomasisi mevzusunu milli menfaatleri doğrultusunda çok önemli bir mesele olarak ele almalı, geleceğe yönelik stratejilerinde ve dış politika önceliklerinde ciddi anlamda kullanmalıdır.

İnsanların giderek bilinçlenmesi, dünyadan daha çok haberdar olup bilgilenmesi ve buna bağlı olarak da artan eğitim seviyesi, Türkiye’de özgün ve dinamik ilişki ağları ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Bu ilişki ağları sayesinde Türkiye’nin seyri, değişim süreklilik ekseninde modernleşmeye doğru yol almaktadır. Bu durum da Türkiye’nin yabancı kamuoylarının ilgi alanlarına girmek için somut adımlar atarak uluslararası arenada farkındalık oluşturmalıdır.

Kaynakça

- Akçadağ, Emine. “Dünya’da ve Türkiye’de Kamu Diplomasisi”, (2010): 1-6.
<http://www.kamudiplomasisi.org/pdf/emineakcadag.pdf> (12.10.2019).
- Arı, Tayyar. *Uluslararası İlişkiler ve Dış Politika*. 8. bs. İstanbul: MKM Yayıncılık, 2009.
- Ateş, Şeref. “Yunus Emre Enstitüsü ve Kültürel Diplomasi”. *Kültürel Diplomaside Sınırların Dışında Düşünmek*, editörler Şeref Ateş, Şaban Köktürk ve Melih Barut, 18-25. İstanbul: Yunus Emre Enstitüsü Kültürel Diplomasi Akademisi Yayınları, 2016.
- Cull, Nicholas. *Public Diplomacy: Lessons From The Past*. Los Angeles: CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy Figueroa Press, 2009.
- Çakar, Mengü ve Yıldırım, Gonca. “Halkla İlişkilerin Kamu Diplomasisinde Etkin Kullanımı”. *Kamu Diplomasisi Enstitüsü serisi: 1*, editörler Abdullah Özkan ve Tuğçe Ersoy Öztürk, 71-97. İstanbul: TASAM Yayınları, 2012.
- Çoşkun, Bezen, Balamir. “Güvenlik Sorunları ve Kamu Diplomasisi”. *Kamu Diplomasisi Enstitüsü serisi: 1*, editörler Abdullah Özkan ve Tuğçe Ersoy Öztürk, 51-59. İstanbul: TASAM Yayınları, 2012.
- Dedeoğlu, Beril. “Güç Kavramı, Kamu Diplomasisi ve Güvenlik”. Ekopolitik Uluslararası İlişkiler Masası – Rapor No: 11-02, Haziran 2011. “Kamu Diplomasisi ve Akıllı Güç”. Hakan Aydın ve Bekir Aydoğan (Röportaj). 74-85.
https://www.academia.edu/2519975/G%C3%BC%C3%A7_kavram%C4%B1_kamu_diplomasisi_ve_g%C3%BCvenlik?auto=download (24.10.2019).



- Doğan, Erhan. “Kamu Diplomasinin Sunduğu Fırsatlar ve Kısıtları Üzerine”. *Kamu Diplomasisi Enstitüsü serisi: 1*, editörler Abdullah Özkan ve Tuğçe Ersoy Öztürk, 13-30. İstanbul: TASAM Yayınları, 2012.
- Efegil, Ertan. “Kamu Diplomasisine ilişkin Görüşler ve Türk Dış Politikasının Durumu; Ak Parti ve MHP Söylemlerinin Karşılaştırılması”. *Kamu Diplomasisi Enstitüsü serisi: 1*, editörler Abdullah Özkan ve Tuğçe Ersoy Öztürk. İstanbul: TASAM Yayınları, 2012.
- Erzen, Meltem Ünal. *Kamu Diplomasisi*. 1. bs. İstanbul: Derin Yayınları, 2012.
- Gökırmak, Mert. “Küreselleşen Dünyada Diplomasisi: Kamu Diplomasisi”. *Küreselleşen Dünyada Değişimin Farklı Yüzleri: Disiplinler arası Yaklaşım*, editörler Neslihan Sam ve Rıza Sam. Ezgi Kitabevi Yayınları, 2012. Ayrıca Bk. 07.10.2019 https://tasam.org/Files/Icerik/File/kuresellesen_dunyada_diplomasi_kamu_diplomasisi__dafdcc1a-3162-4f25-821d-8ed41dd0a506.pdf.
- Gönlübol, Mehmet. *Uluslararası Politika: İlkeler, Kavramlar, Kurumlar*. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi, 1993.
- İnan, Ece. “Kamu Diplomasisi ve Halkla İlişkiler Eksenini”. *Kamu Diplomasisi Enstitüsü serisi: 1*, editörler Abdullah Özkan ve Tuğçe Ersoy Öztürk. İstanbul: TASAM Yayınları, 2012.
- Kalın, İbrahim. “Türk Dış Politikası ve Kamu Diplomasisi”. *Yükselen Değer Türkiye*, editor Ali Resul Usul, 3-54. İstanbul: MÜSİAD Yayınları, 2010.
- Kocabıyık, Hasan. “Değişen Diplomasisi ve Türkiye”. *Avrasya Etüdüleri*, (2019): 163-196.
- Melissen, J. “The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practice”. *The New Public Diplomacy, Soft Power in International Relations*, editor by Jan Melissen. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- NYE, Joseph S. *Amerikan Gücünün Paradoksu*. Çeviren: Gürol Koca. Ankara: Literatür Yayıncılık, 2003.
- Nye, Joseph S. *Dünya Siyasetinde Başarının Yolu: Yumuşak Güç*. Çeviren: Rayhan İnan Aydın. Ankara: Elips Kitabevi, 2005
- Özkan, Abdullah. *Giriş Bölümü. Kamu Diplomasisi Enstitüsü serisi: 1*, editörler Abdullah Özkan ve Tuğçe Ersoy Öztürk, 1-10. İstanbul: TASAM Yayınları, 2012.
- Öztürk, Tuğçe Ersoy. “Dış politikada Etkin Unsurlar: Kamu Diplomasisi ve Türkiye'nin Kamu Diplomasisi Etkinliği”. <http://www.kamudiplomasisi.org/pdf/tugceersoyozturk.pdf> (25.10.2019).
- Sancar, Aslı. *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Uluslararası Halkla İlişkiler*. 1. bs. İstanbul: Beta Yayıncılık, 2012.
- Snow, Nancy. “Rethinking Public Diplomacy”. *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*. Derleyen: Nancy Snow and Philip Taylor. NY: Routledge, 2009
- Tuncer, Hüner. *Diplomasinin Evrimi, Gizli Diplomasiden Küresel Diplomasisyeye*. İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınlar, 2009
- Yağmurlu, Aslı. “Halkla İlişkiler Yöntemi Olarak Kamu Diplomasisi”, 10-38. <http://kamudiplomasisi.org/pdf/halkla-iliskiler-ve-kamu-diplomasisi.pdf> (07.10.2019).



President Rodrigo Duterte and the Birth of Radical Democracy in the Philippines

Christopher Ryan MABOLOC*

Abstract

In this paper, I examine the radical approach to politics of President Rodrigo Duterte. I will trace the roots of this radicalism to the colonial history of the Philippines in which the Spanish colonizers instituted an elitist democratic system that engendered a deep social divide that has made the people of Mindanao felt betrayed by the capital. This politics of exclusion also gave rise to terrorism in the Southern Part of the country, the latest incident of which was the crisis in Marawi that has left the city devastated to the ground. Political analysts have always criticized the president's War on Drugs as anti-poor. However, Duterte has remained prominent due to his radical means toward governance. Previous administrations have been accused as lacking any political will. Duterte, on the other hand, has symbolized the strong will of a leader who possesses the charisma necessary to institute structural change.

Key Words: Colonialism, Elite democracy, Radical politics, Rodrigo Duterte, War on Drugs

Başkan Rodrigo Duterte ve Filipinlerde Radikal Demokrasinin Doğuşu

Özet**

Bu makalede, Başkan Rodrigo Duterte'nin siyaset radikal yaklaşımı incelenmektedir. Bu radikalizmin kökleri, İspanyol sömürgeciler tarafından kurulan seçkin bir demokratik sistem nedeniyle Mindanao halkını başkent tarafından ihanete uğramış hissettiren ve derin bir sosyal bölünme yaratan içeren Filipinler'in sömürge tarihinde aranmaktadır.

Bu dışlanma politikası, ülkenin güney kesiminde terörizme de yol açmıştır. Bunun son örneği şehri yok eden Marawi'deki kriz olmuştur. Siyasi analistler Başkanın Uyuşturucu Savaşı'nı yoksul karşıtı olarak görüp eleştirmişlerdir. Önceki yönetimler ise siyasal irade göstermekte yetersiz kalmakla suçlanmışlardır. Duterte ise, yapısal değişimi başlatmak için gerekli karizmaya sahip güçlü bir lideri sembolize etmiş ve yönetimde uyguladığı radikal yöntemlerle hep ön planda kalmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Seçkin Demokrasi, Sömürgecilik, Radikal Siyaset, Rodrigo Duterte, Uyuşturucu Savaşı

* Associate Professor, Ateneo de Davao University, Davao City, Philippines, ryanmaboloc75@yahoo.com, ORCID ID: 0000-0001-7057-4032.

** Turkish translation has been added by IJPS

Received: 09.01.2020

Accepted: 07.05.2020



1. Introduction

On the same day the Maute Group raised the ISIS flag in Marawi, a picture of the incident spread online and immediately became viral. The image, of course, caused alarm on the part of the public. Many thought that the country is under attack and that the whole of Marawi has been burned to the ground. The investigation of the military will reveal later that the Maute Group had months to prepare before the siege, and have stocked up on ammunition and supplies which has made it difficult for the AFP to neutralize them. A video was circulated that shows the group planning the siege in Marawi with Abu Sayyaf leader Ismilon Hapilon. The terrorist, who also carries a bounty of five million dollars in his head, was quiet during the whole course of the discussions. His face was stoic and there was an irreverent type of eerie silence in his aura that served as a premonition of bad things to come. All of these, captured in one video, and spread all over to millions of people by means of social media.

The two brothers, Omar and Abdullah, attended school at the local Protestant-run Dansalan College, which they burned during the siege. The brothers, documents reveal, were radicalized, after going to the Middle East. They were contract workers, but found the time to study Islamic theology. The Mautes are descendants of a Maranao clan, a local Muslim tribe, in Butig, Lanao Del Sur. Reports also indicate that the terrorist organization had a propensity for a “Taliban-style” justice system, espousing a puritanical notion of community that is absolutely antagonistic to non-Muslims. Inspired by the Islamic State (ISIS), the Maute Group brought with them an extreme and dangerous ideology, as demonstrated by their attack of the town of Butig that caused its ruin and the dislocation of local residents.

Since the time of President Quezon, politics in the Philippines has not been insulated from the submissive requirements of a patronage system that dates back to the Spanish period. Reynaldo Ileto says that Philippine politics is a patron-client affair.²⁵⁰ Vicente Rafael explains that the “patron-client relationship stretches back to the Spanish conquest of the New World.”²⁵¹ The Spanish regime exploited the Filipino not only by way of tributes and forced labor, but by

²⁵⁰ Reynaldo Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution*, (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila Press, 1979), 9.

²⁵¹ Vicente Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism*, (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila Press, 1988), 147.



elevating the privileged class of mestizos called *principales*, the precursor to our modern day *politico*. During the Spanish era, the “bureaucrats who were then appointed to implement the new laws more often than not abused them.”²⁵²

According to the Filipino historian Renato Constantino, “the fact that the Americans were able to count among their supporters the many high ranking leaders of the revolution proved very useful to them, the collaboration of the ilustrados provided the Americans with a justification for the colonization of the Philippines.”²⁵³ The elite among Filipinos who benefited from foreign rule are the ones who have hastened the subjugation of the islands. This pattern exists to this day where the reality is that the young and educated are employed by the oligarchy, thereby perpetuating the extractive economic development that has broadened the income gap between the rich and poor. In fact, the point of the matter is that it is the abuse of authority that has perpetuated this gap, one that goes back to the Spanish period. Rafael writes that the Filipinos then who were in positions of authority “hold over the lands in question is signaled by the Spanish word “poder,” which means “complete authority.”²⁵⁴

The American colonizers saw to it that the Filipinos will have that kind of government that will hasten the domination of the latter. What emerged later on is a system that remained largely feudal without any foundation on the ground for the equal representation of people in government. The participation in the government by Filipinos was limited to the influential few and intelligent *ilustrados* who had interests for self-aggrandizement. The will to live on the part of the masses has been thwarted by the kind of patronage practiced during the Commonwealth. This patronage system is not a modern day phenomenon. It can be traced back to the administration of Spanish authorities which can be simply summed up as the politics of exclusion. The power dynamics that caused the weakness of the political culture in the country exists to this day. Paul Hutchcroft and Joel Rocamora write:

The logic of Philippine politics became driven to a very considerable extent by the politics of patronage: dividing the spoils among the elite and expanding the

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ Renato Constantino, *The Philippines: A Past Revisited*, (Manila: Tala Publications, 1975), 236.

²⁵⁴ Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism*, 164.



*quantity of spoils available to the elite as a whole. Local elite patrons used a variety of means – kinship, personal ties, and the offering of jobs, services and other favors – to build a clientele composed of those from the lower social classes which constituted a large vote bank.*²⁵⁵

The political reality in the Philippines is that public officials often belong to a higher class. They are seen as being in cahoots with rent-seeking businessmen who manipulate and extract from the blood and sweat of the poor Filipino. The problems of Filipinos cannot be solved because those whom the people have entrusted the power to govern have become a huge part of the problem. Structural injustices in our institutions systematically exploit and continually take advantage of the powerless. Where a state is dysfunctional and poorly governed, the element of favoritism, kinship, and personality-based politics will define the kind of relationship citizens will have with their public officials. The consequence is that ordinary people are deprived of the benefits of progress. In this regard, any linear and state-centric approach to nation-building will simply reinforce the latent and obvious injustices that the people have been subjected to. Any political reform that starts from the top will be meaningless given that most of those who are in positions of power are deeply entrenched in their old bad habits. For this reason, the radical ways of leading a country becomes desirable.

It is already settled that democratic institutions are established for the common interests of every citizen. State formation is intended to equitably share the material resources of the country. Yet, traditional politicians and transactional leaders actually do not want to rectify the corruption in the system because they profit from it. Thus, reform must begin from the bottom – the people themselves. But solidarity would be difficult to achieve since the sentiment of the poor is that they cannot trust their leaders most of whom are scions of the past oppressors of the Filipino people. The ruling elite in the capital, from the point of view of the poor, cannot become the touted as their saviors since the poor are the victims of the unjust socio-economic order brought about by those who rule them. If the political leaders that Filipinos have are

²⁵⁵ Paul Hotchcroft and Joel Rocamora, “Strong Demands and Weak Institutions: The Origins and Evolution of Democratic Deficits in the Philippines,” *Journal of East Asian Studies* 3, no. 2 (2003): 266.



nothing but those who come from ruling class, then the feeling from below is that the country will have failed to truly democratize its leadership.

The truth is that deep structural injustices have resulted to the economic divide in Philippine society. This type of antagonism is a consequence of the reality of political exclusion that deprives a sector the actual opportunity to become part of the decision-making processes on policies in the state. It is not an overstatement to say that massive corruption does not only point to the acute weakness of the electoral culture. It also reveals the sheer failure of institutions to safeguard the rights and freedoms of people. The disintegration of Philippine society into a “we” and “they” for results to the impoverishment of the lives that people have. But more than that, there is real class prejudice existing the country. Most professionals so often mock the poor for their perceived lack of discipline and those who live in urban centers undermine the intellectual aptitude of provincial graduates. The poor are viewed as parasites, dependent on their government. In fact, many wrongly believe that only the educated class in the metropolis possess the real power of reason because it is said that the *probinsyano* have nothing but their endless complaints about their being victims of government neglect. This type of political prejudice is nothing short of oppressive. It is brought about the ill and evil effects of post-colonialism which has defined the Filipino people’s way of life and the manner by which they see themselves.

2. Nation-States and Radical Politics

The politics in the Third World, including the Philippines, is about the vision of establishing that just or egalitarian society. There is, in this respect, a concern for the rights of the disadvantaged who have been perpetually oppressed. The reason for any attempt at radical reform, of course, is that particular inequalities, especially in the economic and social status of people, are unjustified. This has bred Duterte’s leftist attitude. The politics involving the “left” was conceived during the *French Revolution*, referring to the seating arrangement in the *Estates General*, which those who sat on the left were favorable to the establishment of the republic



and support for secular values. Leftists, who are often branded as radical, advocated changes and reforms, and soon thereafter, it became a label for a Marxist type of revolution. This is important since Duterte has considered himself a progressive. He has endured having embraced this principle, even with all the political divergence, breaking points, and splits in the country after the EDSA revolt.

Radical democracy, according to the Belgian political philosopher Chantal Mouffe, is about the reality of contestation and the openness to antagonism.²⁵⁶ The meaning of every struggle, in this way, cannot be uniform. Democracy is diverse. It can be said that the Philippines as a nation has that collective interest in its progress and peace, but Filipinos remain divided in their heart and soul in terms of how this might be achieved. As such, conflict and antagonism will always play a particular role in the type of governance in a country. The notion of a homogeneous society is to be discarded, although social institutions are functional but not utopian in terms of goal. Being a functioning democracy, in fact, is the malady bedeviling the Filipino nation. Yet, Filipinos did not create this problem. The root of this particular truth, appears to be historical rather than cultural. Rafael explains:

*This privilege implied that the kind, as the patron of the Church, was an exemplary Christian. His position as patron resulted from his prior submission to another patron, God. The enforcement of his rule was a function of his obedience to God's rules, the exercise of his privileges, and his recognition of his obligations to the Father.*²⁵⁷

History and context, in this respect, is crucial in understanding how a society works. There cannot be a singular concept of freedom or even independence. The meaning of being one nation, in fact, cannot proceed from the rationalizations in the public sphere. It is something that is founded in the history of common folks and the way they view this history. Mouffe, thus, clarifies that in a radical democracy, the logic of identity of the state dissipates. There is no longer one universal approach, although this also means the exclusion of those who do not belong to the state. For instance, the usual monologue on a universal concept of human rights

²⁵⁶ Chantal Mouffe, "Liberalism and Modern Democracy," in *Democracy and Possessive Individualism*, ed. Joseph Carens, (New York: SUNY Press, 1995), 178.

²⁵⁷ Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism*, 147-48.



appears to be weakened by Duterte's uncompromising insistence of the state's justified use of violence against its enemies in order to protect the interest of the public.

The bone of contention is that the Western conceptions of human rights neglect the strong claims of community. People often find themselves possessing an identity by virtue of their set of common beliefs or convictions, shared understandings, culture, and values. The politics of the common good, in fact, may run counter to the concept of individual freedom. This is so because modern liberalism has disregarded how the particularity of cultures may come to affect the people's political life. The life of citizens cannot be abstracted nor separated from the dimension of their communitarian soul. Nation-building as the unfolding of history in political movements is something that the atomism of liberals has never really paid attention to.

Radical democracy, indeed, maintains that the political cannot and should not be limited to any rational discourse because to do so is to tie politics to the narrow limits of rationality. A rational consensus for Mouffe ignores the value of passion in the political. The role of political philosophy, she argues, is not to decide the meaning of liberal concepts, but it is to give the interpretations to these concepts.²⁵⁸ The normal way of doing things will not work in a society like the Philippines where the lives of people appear abnormal. For this reason, the clamor for a strong leader who is politically decisive, or even one who by-passes systems, becomes clear. Any politician who will not do what is needed because one is restrained by policies or the law for that matter is considered a weakling. Filipinos, in this respect, are not really against shortcuts if the same can bring actual results and immediate benefits, especially for one's personal ends. The masses often look up to the politician like some kind of a demi-god who will solve their problems.

Graham Taylor thinks that "the nation state played a central role in the maintenance of fixed and of stable political cultures and stable identities around universal and essentialist categories."²⁵⁹ Policies, for instance, mean something to people who are governed by reason

²⁵⁸ Mouffe, "Liberalism and Modern Democracy," 190.

²⁵⁹ Graham Taylor, "The End of the Nation State: The Disarticulation of Power and Identity," in *The New Political Sociology*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 55.



and thinking. But in the end, it is what the politician does in a very personal way that ultimately appeals to the masses. In poor societies like the Philippines, nation-building does not follow that path so patterned after successful economies because there remains the stigma of colonial oppression which influences the ill feelings and attitude of new leaders and their people against their former masters, and who, in their consciousness, cannot be truly trusted given decades or even centuries of exploitation and abuse.

Duterte has so effectively decentered and disarticulated political power in the country by reaching out to the sentiments of the people. He is out there to tear apart the old tradition where government authority is conveniently found at the center. This is the kind of new radicalism that Filipinos right now find themselves in. And with it, what comes next are a daily dosage of vitriolic speeches, live news about summary killings, political maneuverings and mudslinging, or a plethora of harsh criticisms and angry pronouncements, all of which make manifest the separation between politics and the normative rules of morality. But we need to examine the roots of Duterte's radical approach to leadership. We have to analyze the context with which such a means toward absolute control may be made possible. Filipino society is at that point in history in which the polarization that is unfolding has reached unprecedented proportions, if one were to judge the same from online provocations and disagreements. Where will this new order lead Filipinos? And is this the kind of change that we so desire as a people?

3. Political versus Moral Discourse

The type of democracy Filipinos practice is aptly characterized by strong demands and weak institutions.²⁶⁰ In sum, according to Hotchcroft and Rocamora, all politics in the country is defined by its patronage system.²⁶¹ Political patrons, financed by the oligarchy, often coerce poor voters to put into office their protégés. Coercion may not be necessarily by force or violence, but through subtle goods which deprive voters of an intelligent choice. In turn, political patrons influence those who are elected to return the favor. They all enlarge their power

²⁶⁰ Hotchcroft and Rocamora, "Strong Demands and Weak Institutions," 262.

²⁶¹ Ibid.



to influence policies by putting into positions of authority the person who will protect their business interests. The poor electorate, on the other hand, have become the expendable collaterals, and are never a meaningful participant in the political exercise. The above, indeed, is the standard explanation as to why the Philippines has suffered for a very long time and suggests why Filipinos are still dominated by an elite ruling class that is actually a stranger to the reality of the lives of people in the margins.

Perhaps, most Filipino politicians are conscious of their duty and commitment to the people. However, their offices are compromised by the fact that they have to enforce state policies against benefactors who finance one's ascent to power. The problem of extreme poverty, while inherently economic, is to a large extent political. Since politics is about the use of power, then the way power makes itself felt in the economic and social dimensions must be studied. From a democratic point of view, government authority must give preference to the disadvantaged. But since Filipinos do not have a real democracy, power, it can be said, has been misused and abused to benefit a chosen few. The exclusion of the voices from the margins, the perpetuation of a neo-colonial regime, and the reality of a semi-feudal socio-economic order all demand for drastic political reform that must be initiated by a leader who is not afraid to bring change at the expense of his own political capital.

The rise of Duterte to power is often attributed to the disenchantment of the Filipino masses. The ruling elite in Philippine society have failed the masses for years. The actual problem with the Filipino brand of democracy is that it has been reduced into the pursuit of personal interests. Bereft of any ethical content, social policy in the country has become a radical instrument for exclusion. Politics in the archipelagic nation has been mostly pure rhetorical, but characteristically empty in substance. Duterte knows that the real challenge of the present administration is to fully exonerate itself from the same political malady that dogged its predecessors. While it has been suggested by some statistical data that the socio-economic conditions of Filipinos may have improved during the second Aquino regime, still various



problems have taken the center stage, all of which erased from the minds of the people the purported gains of the former administration.

Duterte knows that political discourse is different from moral discourse. He too understands that politics is not about negotiations and agreement, but power and the effective use of persuasion. It can be said that the emphasis on the affective sentiments of the people in pursuing the solutions to social problems, or his use of very vulgar and non-conventional language in communicating to national and international stakeholders, and the maverick approach in terms managing foreign relations, are just some of the obvious instances where the President attempts to break away from tradition. Right now, in this post-colonial approach, the opposing poles in our political landscape will remain in chaos as one competes over the other for supremacy and relevance. However, what is quite clear is that the present administration has actually succeeded in obliterating the opposition, taking away from it any form of relevance, as indicated by the high trust ratings that the President still maintains.

But it can be argued that Duterte has succeeded where Aquino failed, not in terms of policy or political will, but in the then-mayor's strategy of appealing to the sentiments of the masses. It is Duterte's way of communicating with them, often with deeply the felt passion that has won him the people's trust. By focusing on the affective sentiments of the masses, Duterte has effectively portrayed himself as that caring father figure. Duterte is the image of a firm and principled parent who must protect his children from danger. This danger, of course, obviously refers to criminality on the streets. While people might not have rejected their belief in universal values, their attitude towards politics is that it must be able to serve the poor masses, who are often the victims of the oppressive regime of the country's old ruling class. Aquino and Roxas, in this regard, have simply become the antagonists in Duterte's mythic journey to Malacanang. Duterte, in this respect, is the anti-thesis to the old guards – the political elite in the capital and its economic oligarchs.

The criticisms against Duterte are borne out of the way he addresses public issues and the way he handles the problems of the country. He deals with them like the way a mayor does. He



speaks not from the point of view of policy but on the basis of his connection with the people. In this way, he can be perceived to be less circumspect and notorious in terms of his responses that for political analysts, would require in-depth brainstorming and discussions. The judgment, in this respect, that the president is against human rights or that he does not respect others, is simply due to his critics' infatuation with elitist democracy. In fact, despite the enormous resources poured in the campaign and the massive political capital of Aquino, his patron, the administration candidate Roxas still lost the election due to the confluence of factors that include his lack of charisma and his inefficient handling of the Yolanda disaster relief operations.

In fact, the President is also playing well the card of cultural and political hegemony to his advantage. This is not to suggest that he has the wrong political motives in doing so. But what is obvious is that he has been able to consolidate all his power in order to protect himself from any political threat from those who may have actual plans to challenge his position at the top. First, he has done so by forming a super coalition in Congress and next, by visiting all the major military camps and establishments in the country. This can only mean one thing – Duterte is a politician who knows how to please his people, but at the same time, he is also that master strategist in terms of maintaining his grip into power.

The liberal position on political issues require dialogue and a consensus in order to address issues in a broader context. Duterte does not seem to believe this. As a pragmatist, he knows that he must serve those who voted for him. With this, the prejudices of Filipinos against each other do not just come from political demarcation lines – they are deeply rooted in the hegemonic regional divide. For most Filipinos, Manila evokes images of high rise structures, elite schools, of flyovers and very horrendous traffic, while Mindanao where Duterte comes from, is often associated with the Moro rebellion, the rural life and indeed, massive poverty. In this way, politics has only become that existential burden in the never-ending search for happiness of a people. Duterte is a cunning politician. He knows what the common people wants and he also dances to the tune of what angers them.



4. The Other Story behind Duterte's War on Drugs

Two people on a motorcycle, which is often described as riding in tandem, emerged from the dark. In an alley where four young were having a drink, an assailant armed with a 9mm Beretta approaches one of the boys and shoots him in the head. The young man is down and the attacker escapes. In a poor community somewhere in the City of Caloocan, the police were to serve the court issued warrant of arrest. Suddenly, there was an exchange of fire. After the smoke is clear, five young men lay dead on the ground. "Nanlaban," which can be loosely translated as "fought back," is often the standard explanation given to the media by authorities. The term has found itself in the mainstream consciousness of Filipinos, often the subject of parodies on TV and online.

Duterte, who was then a prosecutor, was appointed to the position of Vice Mayor after his mother Soledad refused the invitation of Cory to the same post shortly after the latter had assumed power in Malacanang. In 1988, Duterte first won the mayoralty race against Zafiro Respicio. He inherited a Davao that was ripe with insurgency, with Sparrow Units of the guerilla New People's Army (NPA) targeting both civilians and the uniformed personnel of the Integrated National Police in the urban center of the city, notably in Agdao, which was then famously known as "Nicaragdao." The mayor's no-nonsense style changed the political climate in the city by instituting discipline and public order.

Alysson Jaggar writes "the word terrorism was introduced only in late eighteenth century France when Robespierre initiated a Reign of Terror that was meant to deter counter-revolutionary critics. Between 1793 and 1794, thousands of French citizens were executed, mainly by the newly invented guillotine."²⁶² The former broadcaster Juan Porras Pala, himself a victim of assassination, often described the Duterte regime in Davao as a "reign of terror." This is significant since Duterte himself admits that a leader must be a terror to the few who are a threat to the majority. It is worth nothing that terror in its original use had a political context. In fact, the vile threats of Duterte, and the sentiment of civil society on his War on Drugs,

²⁶² Allyson Jaggar, "What is Terrorism, Why is it Wrong? And Could it ever be Morally Permissible?", In *Journal of Social Philosophy* 36, no. 2 (2005): 202.



manifest the feeling of fear and insecurity on the part of some although the majority who views the president as trustworthy think that Duterte is doing what is right, even if it is at the expense of human rights.

“I will kill you,” which Duterte is fond of saying, evokes very threatening images, the like of which will make the poor Filipino think first before doing anything that is against the law. The masses, who seldom read, are a visual people, and they only have the TV and the radio as their primary source of information. Their lack of moral and intellectual sophistication imply that they are used to shouting matches and to foul language in their well-knit villages, which also means that Duterte’s manner of speaking becomes effective because of this social dynamics. But this catchphrase also encapsulates Duterte’s philosophy in preserving the common good. Intimidation, in this respect, is one of the instruments that the president believes will deliver public order.

Every single day, people are a witness to the “theater of execution” on the streets, but they have remained apathetic to the malevolence of such a dark spectacle. Murder now assumes a moral role – the protection of the public. In fact, the people will ignore the evil around them because they are actually benefiting from it. They find no reason to confront it. Many among us who are silent and useless are a party to a terrible crime. People are guilty of abandoning the ideals of democracy, which is anchored in the rule of law. The killing of the powerless in the streets sometimes will make one believe that people are living in a world that no longer knows what is truly human. Still, people will continue to discriminate against these victims, who are labelled as “salot ng lipunan” or a menace to society.

Most of the victims of the summary executions belong to poor families. But the majority of the Philippine population support and think that they will continue to benefit from Duterte’s War on Drugs. While there are surveys which suggest that many are not in favor of extra-judicial killing, a vast majority however, will find it hard to distinguish between the legal enforcement aspect of police work and the use of violence. Since Duterte assumed the presidency, the official count on the number of lives lost in relation to the War on Drugs now



stands at more than 13,000. But it is worth nothing that there has not been a universal uproar against the summary executions. Gaspar says that those from the clergy who oppose the war on drug seemed like “voices in the wilderness.”²⁶³ In a country such as the Philippines where the vast majority would rather remain in the safety of their private homes, such is not really unexpected.

But as Karl Gaspar asks, have Filipinos “coalesced together as a people with a common vision of what should be the ethical and moral framework of the republic?”²⁶⁴ Interestingly, it is not only the people from Mindanao who showed their uncompromising support for Duterte’s War on Drugs. Those who belong to classes A, B, and C, who comprise the higher class, the rich, and educated in Philippine society, elected the then-mayor to the highest position of the land. The appeal of Duterte goes beyond his charismatic person. Max Weber has particularly exposed the emergence of leaders who will defy the legal-rational aspect of democratic governance by means of the sheer appeal of their personality. But in the case of Duterte, the latent benefit that the rich segment of the population gets from his vitriolic style and harsh policy against criminality and drugs determine both the level of approval people have.

5. Political Struggles in the Philippines (1898-1986)

As what was stated at the outset, Manila-centric voices have longed ruled the Philippines, thereby suppressing the differing opinion of those who dwell in the peripheries, especially on those matters pertaining to Mindanao. For Filipinos, Manila has become the ideological center in the manner by which the Philippines comes to be understood. And for this reason, Muslim Mindanao has remained in the peripheries. This results to a double type of injustice – historical and economic. This is what Mouffe means by an “agonizing pluralism.”²⁶⁵ For it is the victors, not the vanquished, who write the history of a nation. Even a great revolution is defined by a

²⁶³ Karl Gaspar, “An Attempt at Dissecting the Presidency of Rodrigo Duterte”, In *Social Ethics Society Journal of Applied Philosophy* 4, no. 3 (2018): 6.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 19

²⁶⁵ Mouffe, “Liberalism and Modern Democracy,” 189.



special class of people, who will then exclude and simply consider as bandits anybody who does not belong to this meta-narrative. This hides, for instance, the true struggle of the people.

Duterte sees his rule as the political struggle of the masses. But there is a perceived bias with the very way his critics and the Western media portray the former mayor. This prejudice can be traced to the politics practiced in the country in its post-colonial period. After Spain ceded the territory to the Americans in 1898 just for 20 million dollars, most Ilustrado politicians, who are characterized as those who have attained high education, dominated the political scene and defined how the affairs of the state must be conducted. These landed and high profile politicians included such personalities as Pedro Paterno, Manuel Quezon, Sergio Osmena Sr., and Manuel Roxas. The caliber and breeding of these leaders served as the standard for the national leadership. During the revolution against Spain, the movement known as *La Solidaridad*, which also counts Jose Rizal, Marcelo Del Pilar, and Miguel Lopez Jaena, as its famous members, became the most prominent representation of Ilustrados in Philippine society. Those names have been erected in the pedestal of Philippine history, worshipped as intellectuals, and idolized by the country's youth.

In the contemporary period, the office of the president is alien to the personalized approach of local politics that the likes of Duterte has been accustomed to. President Ramon Magsaysay, the man of the masses, brought Malacanang to the Filipinos, but he died while in office. The emphasis on laws and policy reforms, for instance, make a public figure an impersonal representation of the national office. On the other hand, the kind of politics practiced in most towns and in the rural regions bring out the elements of communal solidarity and the strength of family ties between the politician and his constituents. Duterte, it can be said, follows the same pattern and offers the same kind of leadership. More so, his appeal to the masses is due to his message that his government is the continuation of the old struggle against imperialist interests or the hegemonic relation between empire and slaves that has persisted to this day.

Since the time of the dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos, the weaknesses of the Philippine state are obvious, given its inability to deliver basic services to the people, initiate the equitable



distribution of wealth, and promote the cause of peace. In fact, Philippine democracy is one that is marked by the weakness of its institutions due to an age-old patronage system.²⁶⁶ Contemporary Filipino society, it is also observed, lack discipline and its decrepit government offices are like shadows in the dark that have forestalled the advance of young people who continue to look for some meaning and relevance amidst all the poverty and the injustices suffered by the poor. It is for this reason that a charismatic leader such as Duterte can easily win the sentiments of the masses, who are fed up by the ineptitude of the elitist brand of governance during the past Aquino regime.

But it can be argued that what the state needs is not an iron-fisted president but functional institutions and the respect for the rule of law. The political culture in the country has remained so immature. For this reason, there is plausibility in the idea that the president is a product of the same old tradition of politics in the country. Local politicians, given the patronage system practiced at their level, control the masses through very subtle ways. This enables the politician to project a certain level of invincibility. Yet, it should be the case that in any modern democracy, no person should be above the law, including the president.

Filipinos must solve their age-old political dilemma. The nation is torn between the idea of liberal democracy and the need for discipline and radicalism. It is not a question as to whether or not they should gamble their future on a man like Duterte. Rather, it that cruel choice between strengthening their public institutions or letting the present regime fall into the ravine by means of its radical ways. President Duterte holds as his most important virtue what the two former Aquino regimes did not possess – political will. The task at hand, therefore, is to capitalize on this virtue in order to effect social transformation in the country. It is crucial for Filipinos to have the right attitude and make the mature discernment if it must pursue a truly democratic path.

The rise of Duterte into power is nothing accidental. It is a consequence of the failures of elite democracy that has for a very long time enjoyed the benefits of progress but has alienated

²⁶⁶ Hotchcroft and Rocamora, “Strong Demands and Weak Institutions,” 259.



the masses. The Aquino regime served under the pretext of moral change, but the same cabals in the halls of Congress maintained the grip into power. Local dynasts remained unchecked and those who had the trust of the former president continued in their abusive ways and vested interests. In fact, public office in the country can be summed up in one word – self-serving.

But if we are to return to where we started, the reality of terror in our times might require a country to take that cruel measure in order to protect the interests of the public. The lack of a political will on the part of a leader has dangerous consequences. It is for this reason that there is some form of virtue in the manifest will-power of the president. Terrorists have become more sophisticated in the ways and planning. Indeed, a society who does not have a strong leader might collapse and fall into the hands of terror organizations who can easily take advantage of the obvious weakness of nation-states. The threat of terror is real. In this sense, people must trust themselves and strengthen their solidarity if they are to win against those who seek to wreak havoc in the lives of innocent human beings.

The above position does not and cannot exonerate Duterte from the alleged human rights violations his regime might have committed due to his hardline stance against criminals. What this thesis is trying to point out is that, given the realities of our times, the survival of nation-states can only depend on those leaders who possess the resolve to reform the basic structure of society even if the same individual will have spent all of his political capital. Anything less would catapult any given country into chaos, and its public order shattered. In this regard, Duterte's promise of change should be viewed from the optimistic perspective that his radical approach to leadership will truly bring about reforms in the country's weak institutions and their mode of governance.

Conclusion

The rise of Rodrigo Duterte is often attributed to the sheer failure of Ilustrado politics in the country. The promise of change during the second Aquino regime and the mere restoration of elite democracy by the Cory government has resulted to the disillusionment of the Filipino



masses. Due to the obvious disappointment felt by the majority and the frustrations of those in the capital, state and politics in the Philippines have laid the very foundation for a radical type of leadership. This very background paved the way to the vitriolic speeches of the current president and the virulent social media campaigns of his propagandists. While his War on Drugs have clearly manifested some sort of disrespect for the rule of law and the open denial of human rights, the Filipino people appear to trust the president because they actually benefit from his ruthless campaign against criminality.

But the social and political conflict in the Philippines will not soon go away. This is because of the entrenchment of the Filipino people in a colonial nostalgia that has morally divided Filipinos for so long. Philippine history is a history of hegemony. Indeed, while the president's unsmiling radicalism is not the greatest threat to the freedom of the Filipino people, he is proud to have been a divisive figure. The lack of unity among Filipinos, hence, is the real problem. Duterte's language of dissent and the way he takes advantage of the affective sentimentality of the people cannot hide the fact that Filipinos as people, are a victim of a colonial logic and that Duterte has found the ripe occasion to exploit this.

The Philippines is not a mature democracy. The reason for this, as shown by the preceding explanations, is that we have not fully achieved that unified vision as a nation. It is important that each and every Filipino will be given the opportunity to flourish and live the good life. The quality of one's standard of living is reflective of the respect people have for each other. Human freedom, in this regard, can only be achieved in the ability of persons to achieve the life they so desire. The problems of the Filipino people are structural in nature. Our lack of economic progress means that there is a need to reform our political institutions. More than the need for a single man to carry the burden for the whole country, the right thing to do is transform Philippine society by strengthening its democratic processes.

The weakness of our basic institutions manifests our lack of unity of people. Institutional decisions and strategic directions are based on the choices made by those in authority to whom the electorate entrust political power. As such, it matters how people choose their leaders and those who will formulate policies that will affect their life-situations. Filipinos must be empowered to exercise their political will in electing good and competent leaders. It is beyond



question that the development of modern nations draws from the fundamental principles of democratic governance and dialogue. Political maturity and economic progress are interrelated.

Filipinos should resort back to the normative standard of reasonableness that characterizes the meaning of democracy. Radicalism is not a license to commit any moral wrong. The idea of a radical democracy cannot be used to bypass or destroy political relations nor seek to dissolve social institutions. To do so is some form of autocracy, and to use force in so doing is tyranny. To be an authentic democracy means that the people are mature enough to distinguish right from wrong. It is the moral worth of persons that determines for all how to live in a civilized world. The sacrifice of our democratic ideals is unacceptable because it can only mean the irreparable loss of our basic liberties.

References

- Constantino, Renato. *The Philippines: A Past Revisited*. Manila: Tala Publications, 1975.
- Gaspar, Karl. "An Attempt at Dissecting the Presidency of Rodrigo Duterte." In *Social Ethics Society Journal of Applied Philosophy* 4, no. 3 (2018): 1-30.
- Hotchcroft, Paul and Rocamora, Joel. "Strong Demands and Weak Institutions: The Origins and Evolution of Democratic Deficits in the Philippines." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 3, no. 2 (2003): 259-292.
- Ileto, Reynaldo. *Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila Press, 1979.
- Jaggar, Allyson. "What is Terrorism, why is it Wrong? And Could it ever be Morally Permissible?." In *Journal of Social Philosophy* 36, no. 2 (2005): 202-217.
- Mouffe, Chantal. "Liberalism and Modern Democracy." in *Democracy and Possessive Individualism*. ed. Joseph Carens. New York: SUNY Press, 1995.
- Rafael, Vicente. *Contracting Colonialism*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila Press, 1988.
- Taylor, Graham. "The End of the Nation State: The Disarticulation of Power and Identity." In *The New Political Sociology*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.



Evaluation of Developments in Afghanistan in the Context of Foreign Policy and Security Issues

Hasan ACAR*
Mustafa PEKCANDANOĞLU**

Abstract

The need for security is among the basic needs that arise with the existence of human beings. With the socialization of mankind, this need has become one of the important problem areas of the states. At this point, the security of the world which come across some regions more vulnerable than others. One of these geographies is undoubtedly Afghanistan. Afghanistan has long been a sensitive country to domestic and foreign political developments. The political instability that emerged with the intervention of the Soviet Union in 1979 was deepened with the disintegration of the union. The activities carried out by the Taliban administration, which emerged as an element of power during this instability process, caused the United Nations and the United States to impose some sanctions on Afghanistan. As a result of the “Operation Enduring Freedom” carried out by the USA in Afghanistan in 2001, the Taliban administration had to leave the country. Hamid Karzai was elected President at the end of the same year and was appointed as the head of the Afghan interim administration. At the end of 2014, the activities carried out by NATO under the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) were changed into the Resolute Support Mission. Ashraf Ghani, who was elected President in 2018, announced that he was ready to negotiate with the Taliban. As the United States played a mediator role in these negotiations, a temporary peace was established by creating conditions that would allow American soldiers to leave Afghanistan as of February 2020. This article aims to discuss the position of Afghanistan, which plays a critical role in the security of the Middle East, within the scope of domestic and foreign political developments.

Key Words: *Security Policies, Afghanistan Foreign Policy, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), International Policy, International Security Assistance Force (ISAF).*

* Ph.D., Gendarmerie and Coast Guard Academy, hasanacar.uludag@gmail.com, ORCID ID: 0000-0001-2345-6789.

** Marmara University, Faculty of Business Administration, mustafapekcandanoglu@marun.edu.tr, ORCID ID: 0000-0002-1776-6673.

Arrival: 02.05.2020

Accepted: 07.05.2020



Dış Politika ve Güvenlik Sorunları Bağlamında Afganistan'daki Gelişmelerin Değerlendirilmesi

Özet

Güvenlik ihtiyacı, insanoğlunun varlığıyla birlikte ortaya çıkan en temel ihtiyaçlar arasındadır. İnsanın toplumsallaşması ile birlikte bu ihtiyaç, devletlerin önemli sorun alanlarından biri haline gelmiştir. Bu noktada, dünya üzerinde güvenliği diğerlerine göre daha kırılgan bazı coğrafyalar karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bu coğrafyalardan biri kuşkusuz Afganistan'dır. Afganistan, uzun bir süredir iç ve dış politik gelişmelere karşı hassas bir ülke haline gelmiştir. Sovyetler Birliği'nin 1979 yılındaki müdahalesiyle ortaya çıkan politik istikrarsızlık, birliğin dağılmasıyla birlikte derinleşmiştir. Söz konusu istikrarsızlık sürecinde, bir güç unsuru olarak ortaya çıkan Taliban yönetiminin yürüttüğü faaliyetler, Birleşmiş Milletler ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin Afganistan'a bir takım yaptırımlar uygulamasına neden olmuştur. 2001 yılında ABD'nin Afganistan'da icra ettiği "Sürekli Özgürlük Operasyonu" sonucunda, Taliban yönetimi ülkeyi terk etmek zorunda kalmıştır. Hamid Karzai, aynı yılın sonlarında Cumhurbaşkanı seçilmiş ve Afgan geçici yönetiminin başına getirilmiştir. 2014 yılının sonunda, NATO'nun Uluslararası Güvenlik Destek Gücü (ISAF) kapsamında yürüttüğü faaliyetler, Kararlı Destek Misyonu'na çevrilmiştir. 2018 yılında Cumhurbaşkanı seçilen Eşref Gani, Taliban ile müzakereye hazır olduğunu ilan etmiştir. ABD'nin söz konusu müzakerelerde arabulucu rolü oynamasıyla, 2020 Şubat ayından itibaren Amerikan askerlerinin Afganistan'ı terk etmesini sağlayacak koşulların oluşturularak, geçici bir barış tesis edilmesi sağlanmıştır. Bu makale, Ortadoğu'nun güvenliğinde kritik bir rol oynayan Afganistan'ın, iç ve dış politik gelişmeler kapsamındaki konumunu tartışma amacı taşımaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Güvenlik Politikaları, Afganistan Dış Politikası, Kuzey Atlantik Antlaşması Örgütü (NATO), Uluslararası Politika, Uluslararası Güvenlik Destek Gücü (ISAF).

1. Introduction

Afghanistan has a strategic location adjacent to China in the east, Iran in the west, Pakistan in the south and Central Asian Republics in the north. Afghanistan has been a crossing point where many roads intersect throughout history. Afghanistan is also an ethnically rich country which hosted Pashtuns, Tajiks, Uzbeks, Khazars and many other ethnic groups. This valuable position and different ethnic groups can be seen as the main reasons for the instability of Afghanistan. Because the power that wants to rule in this region must have Afghanistan.

Domination established in Afghanistan has been very important for the control of the region. In addition, the countries that wanted to dominate the region used the ethnic diversity



of Afghanistan. It has been easy to occupy Afghanistan for foreign countries. As Afghanistan is a state made up of tribes, the defense has become regional. For this reason, it has been difficult to be present in Afghanistan for a long time.

Looking at the history of Afghanistan, even the strongest states of their time could not exist for a long time. The different groups that ignored this powerful fighting potential of the Afghanistan nation caused a deep instability due to the power war with each other. This unstable environment still continues today. On the one hand, there is the Afghanistan government, which is standing with the support of the US-led coalition, and on the other is the Taliban. The USA, which aims to rebuild Afghanistan and bring democracy, could not fully fulfill its wish. Today, the unstable environment continues. Also, violence in Afghanistan has increased in recent years.

At the point reached today, the USA is looking for a way to make an agreement with the Taliban. Whether the agreement will be made and the situation in Afghanistan after the agreement creates great uncertainty. This article aims to discuss the position of Afghanistan, which plays a critical role in the security of the Middle East, within the scope of domestic and foreign political developments.

The purpose of this article is to review Afghanistan's geography in a historical process and to evaluate Afghanistan in the context of foreign policy, security problems and policies pursued in their solution. The article discusses what causes the persistent instability problem in Afghanistan. In this context, with the influence of the countries of the region on Afghanistan, an answer is sought to the US presence in Afghanistan. Finally, the current situation in Afghanistan has been discussed within the scope of security and foreign policy developments.

2. Method of the Study and Questions for Answers

In this article, the historical process will be used as a method to express the security and foreign policy problems of Afghanistan. In this context, the history of Afghanistan was briefly mentioned and foreign political developments were designed in parallel with this historical



process. It was evaluated that the most important development in Afghanistan's political instability was the occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union.

The situation of authoritarianism that emerged in the region with the disintegration of the Soviet Union contributed to the existence of the Taliban administration. With the control of the Taliban, international organizations, especially the USA, have worked on ensuring stability in the region. However, it is not possible to say that political stability and security have been achieved in the present period. In order to make this evaluation, answers to some questions were sought in the article.

The article seeks answers to the following questions:

- a. How has the power focuses changed in the Afghanistan geography in the historical process?
- b. How does Afghanistan's relations in foreign policy continue?
- c. What are the reasons for the security problems that occur in Afghanistan?
- d. What are the policies pursued by the USA and international organizations trying to exist in Afghanistan?
- e. How did these policies affect Afghanistan's foreign policy and security problems?

3. A Brief Overview of Afghanistan History

Afghanistan was founded in 1747 by Ahmed Han Dürrani, a Pashtun tribe. Ahmed Han Dürrani received the support of Nadir Shah. Gathering the chieftains of the Pashtun tribe, he was elected as the "king" by the "Loya Jirga" assembly. In 1760, Ahmed Shah expanded his territory to Delhi and the Arabian Sea with his campaigns. After Ahmed Shah died in 1772, the country could not be stabilized for many years. In this period, the Central-Asian geography witnessed the struggles of the imperialist states. As a result of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), the British Empire captured France, the colony of France. He wanted to strengthen his domination in the region. On the other hand, Russia has taken steps to move south in line with



its policy of landing in the warm seas. Iran, another actor in the region, wanted to protect and expand its territory. The geography of Afghanistan is in the middle of all these struggles.

After a long period of instability, Dost Mohammad Khan came to the throne in 1826. He tried to gather the tribes together. Friendly Mohammed followed a policy of balance between Russia and Britain. The British, who were dissatisfied with this situation, occupied Afghanistan in 1839. The British also captured other cities, including Kabul. The British were exposed to popular resistance and had to withdraw from Afghanistan. While the British left Afghanistan, almost all of the 16,000 forces were sworded. As a result of this war, which took place in the history as the First Anglo-Afghan War, Dost Mohammad re-entered the throne.²⁶⁷

After the second half of the 19th century, Russia strengthened its influence on Afghanistan. The British started the Second Anglo-Afghan War uncomfortable with this situation. Although the British occupied a large part of Afghanistan, they left the country. As a result of this war, the British started to be influential in Afghanistan's foreign and defense policies.²⁶⁸

After the war, Abdurrahman Khan passed the throne in 1880. Abdur Rahman Khan followed a pro-peace policy. In his 21-year rule, he tried to consolidate the tribes to the central government. Abdur Rahman Khan has implemented many reforms. In this process, the Durand Borderline agreement was signed between the British and Abdur Rahman Khan. According to the agreement, one-third of the Pashtun population remained in Afghanistan, and two-thirds remained within the borders of today's Pakistan. This agreement has caused deep problems that continue to this day. Abdur Rahman Khan died in 1901. His wooden son Habibullah Khan passed. Habibullah Khan continued to follow his father's peaceful policies. Habibullah Khan kept his country neutral during the First World War. Habibullah Khan died in 1919. His son, Amanullah Khan, was succeeded by his son.²⁶⁹ Amanullah Khan followed policies different

²⁶⁷ Joseph J. Collins, *Understanding War in Afghanistan*, (Washington D.C.: National Defense University Press, 2011), 15.

²⁶⁸ See more at: Henry Bathurst Hanna, *The Second Afghan War, 1878-79-80: Its Causes, Its Conduct and Its Consequences*, (Creative Media Partners, LLC, 2019).

²⁶⁹ Tim Hollifield, "History of Afghanistan", Defense Intelligence Agency U.S., Report, (Washington D.C.: Directorate for Human Capital, 2013).



from those followed by his father and grandfather. Amanullah Han wanted Afghanistan to be completely independent. Amanullah Khan emphasized the independence of Afghanistan to the British. The British, who did not recognize Afghanistan's independence at first, could not achieve the result they wanted in the Third Anglo-Afghan War. As a result, they signed the Rawalpindi Agreement with Afghanistan in 1919 and accepted Afghanistan as an independent country. After King Amanullah Khan gained independence, he wanted to make western-style reforms in his country. In 1929, the people, who displayed a strict attitude towards western values, started a great rebellion.²⁷⁰

Tajik leader Habibullah Kalakani led the revolt. Amanullah Khan could not resist anymore and left the country. Habibullah Kalakani ruled the country in chaos for 9 months. In addition, it removed the reforms by Amanullah Khan. The cousin of Amanullah Khan, Nadir Shah, took the throne back in 1929 after his struggle. Instead of Nadir Shah, who died in 1933, his son Zahir Shah came to the throne. Zahir Shah ruled for a long time between 1933 and 1978. Because of Zahir Shah's young age, his uncles had an influence over his power until 1953.²⁷¹ By the 1960s, almost half of the Afghanistan budget consisted of foreign aid from the US and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).²⁷²

During this period, the USSR had a great influence over Afghanistan. Some officers in the Afghan army have become an important positions. In 1973, ex-Prime Minister Mohammed Daoud Khan withdrew Zahir Shah with the support of some officers. Although Daoud Khan came to power with the support of these groups, he did not implement the policies they wanted. Daoud Khan implemented balance policies between the US and the USSR in its early years. He later established closer relations with the United States. The groups, who were uncomfortable with this situation, overthrew Daoud Khan with a coup in 1978. A government supported by the USSR was established in Afghanistan. The new government wanted to make ambitious reforms. But the Afghan people have not adopted these reforms that do not match their values.

²⁷⁰ See more at: Louis Dupree, *Afghanistan*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980).

²⁷¹ Collins, *Understanding War in Afghanistan*, 19.

²⁷² See more at: Barnett R. Rubin, *The Fragmentation of Afghanistan, State Formation and Collapse in the International System*, (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1996).



The Afghanistan government pressured opposition groups and made mass arrests. As a result of these events, the people started a big rebellion. Taking advantage of this confusion, the USSR made a military intervention in Afghanistan in November 1979. Mujahideen groups have formed in the country against this occupation. The mujahids were supported by the USA, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and China. India supported the USSR-backed Afghanistan Government. This war had a global impact not only regionally. Military intervention could not yield a definitive result in Afghanistan. The USSR, which had a hard time in 1979, could not continue this war with heavy costs anymore. The USSR withdrew completely from Afghanistan on February 15, 1979. After the USSR withdrew, it continued to support the Necibullah Government in Afghanistan. In addition, the USA continued to support mujahideen. The civil war between the government of the USSR-backed Necibullah Government and the Mujahideen happened between 1989 and 1992. After the collapse of the USSR in 1991, the Necibullah Government weakened.²⁷³

In 1992, a temporary government was established in Afghanistan with the help of the UN. Burhanuddin Rabbani was chaired by this government and Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, supported by the Pakistan government, became prime minister.²⁷⁴

Although a temporary government was established in Afghanistan, stability could not be achieved. The atmosphere of war and unrest continued in the country. Local war barons continued to dominate their territories. This situation caused the Temporary Government of Afghanistan to lose power. There has been a group that turned this situation into an opportunity in Afghanistan. The "Taliban" movement, which means students in the Pashto language, has started to get stronger since the 1990s. The Taliban was founded with the support of the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) and ISI (Inter-Services Intelligence).²⁷⁵

²⁷³ See more at: Jonathan Goodhand and Mark Sedra, *Bargains for Peace? Aid Conditionalities and Reconstruction in Afghanistan*, (The Hague: Clingendael Institute: 2006).

²⁷⁴ Collins, *Understanding War in Afghanistan*, 35.

²⁷⁵ Lindsay Maizland and Zachary Laub, "The Taliban in Afghanistan", *Council on Foreign Relations*, 2020, <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/taliban-afghanistan> (02.05.2020).



The Taliban was founded by the Afghan Mujahideen to fight the Soviet invasion. The war between the Mujahideen both broke their own forces and caused the public to react against the Mujahideen. This chaotic situation turned into an opportunity. The Taliban entered the city of Kandahar in November 1994.²⁷⁶

Then they took over the big cities one after another. The Taliban took over the city center of Kabul in 1996. The Taliban, which also dominated the capital, has taken over the entire country with this incident. As a result of this situation, the Taliban started to be taken into consideration more in the international public. After the Taliban captured Kandahar in 1994, the Clinton administration in the USA contacted the Taliban.²⁷⁷

The Taliban faced reactions due to its management style. The Taliban wanted to prohibit the values of the western world and devastated values other than their own ideology. This strict attitude caused damage to the Taliban Government in terms of international relations. Al Qaeda leader Osama Bin Laden moved from Sudan to Afghanistan in 1996. In 1998, Al Qaeda carried out a bomb attack on the foreign representatives of the USA in Kenya and Tanzania. In addition to the strict and repressive policies implemented by the Taliban, the US administration has disturbed its close relations with Al Qaeda. Despite the calls made by the USA, Taliban Leader Molla Ömer Al-Qaeda did not return the terrorists. By 2001, the Bush administration put pressure on the Taliban administration economically and politically. Moreover, it supported this structure, which is located in the north of Afghanistan, consisting of Uzbeks, Tajiks, Hazaralar and Pashtuns dissatisfied with the Taliban administration.²⁷⁸

On September 11, 2001, four-passenger aircraft were hijacked by hackers in the USA. These planes damaged the strategic points in the USA. The first two attacks were made to the New York World Trade Center. The third plane was landed on the US Department of Defense Pentagon and the building was damaged. The last plane wanted to target the White House due to the US capital Washington. But the plane crashed to the south of the state of Pennsylvania.

²⁷⁶ Maizland and Laub, "The Taliban in Afghanistan".

²⁷⁷ Kenneth Katzman and Clayton Thomas, "Afghanistan: Post-Taliban Governance, Security, and U.S. Policy", Report, (Congressional Research Service, RL30588, 2017).

²⁷⁸ Katzman and Thomas, "Afghanistan: Post-Taliban Governance, Security, and U.S. Policy".



With the attack, over 2600 people were at the World Trade Center; 125 people in the Pentagon; 256 people and 19 hackers died in the aircraft.²⁷⁹

The US then carried out an airstrike against Afghanistan with the operation "Operation Enduring Freedom". The US and the United Nations Taliban were asked to return Osama Bin Laden weeks before the operation started. Canada, Australia, Germany and France have pledged to assist this operation in the future. The coalition forces launched the ground operation on 12 November 2001 after bombing the Taliban targets with the air operation. Coalition forces have made rapid progress. Taliban forces had to withdraw from the capital of Kabul towards the end of December. He also lost the city of Kandahar, where the Taliban was the strongest city. Along with the successes in military operations, works were also carried out for the construction of Afghanistan's future. In Bonn, Germany, the UN invited large groups of Afghanistan, representing the people, to the conference. Ex-King Mohammed Zahir Shah also attended this conference. The United Nations Security Council decided to establish a temporary government in Afghanistan with the decision numbered 1383 dated 5 December 2001. Hamid Karzai chaired this interim government.²⁸⁰

Immediately after this agreement, ISAF (International Security Assistance Force) was established in December 2001 with the United Nations Security Council decision numbered 1386. In addition to providing training and security to the army and police, ISAF also undertakes tasks such as rebuilding damaged schools and hospitals, installing water and power lines, improving infrastructure and supporting local government structures.²⁸¹

NATO took over and commands to command ISAF in 2003. Afghanistan has become more stable as a result of these efforts. During this period, Hamid Karzai won the elections in 2004 and became the head of state. This election marked the beginning of the new democratic process in Afghanistan. Hamid Karzai asked ISAF to continue to increase its presence in

²⁷⁹ See more at: The 9/11 Commission Report, "Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist attacks upon the United States", (New York and London: WW Norton and Company, 2004).

²⁸⁰ Council Foreign Relations, "The U.S. War in Afghanistan 1999-2020", Timeline, 2001, <https://www.cfr.org/timeline/us-war-afghanistan> (02.05.2020).

²⁸¹ BBC News, "Uluslararası Güvenlik Destek Gücü: ISAF", August 12, 2009, https://www.bbc.com/turkce/ozeldosyalar/2009/08/090812_afghanistan_isaf (02.05.2020).



Afghanistan. The countries under ISAF are mostly NATO countries. The steps taken by the United States on Afghanistan have been binding on the Afghanistan strategy for other countries. The USA had difficulty in maintaining this situation in the long term after its deterrent intervention against the Taliban in the first operations. For this reason, the number of soldiers sent by the USA to Afghanistan increased in certain periods. 17,000 US troops were transferred to the region by the President Obama administration in 2009 and 32,000 US troops in 2010.²⁸²

In addition, the capacity of the Afghanistan army and police was tried to be increased during the Obama era. With the increase of military capacity, 20 of the 30 top executives of Al-Qaeda were killed in 2011. Al-Qaeda leader Osama Bin Laden was also killed in Pakistan in 2011. Although Obama increased his military capacity, he wanted to weaken the Taliban in the country and then withdraw his troops from here. By June 2013, Afghanistan has taken over the security forces.²⁸³ The U.S. withdrew plenty of its troops from Afghanistan in 2014. Meanwhile, Ashraf Ghani won the presidential elections in 2014 and started his post. As of the end of 2014, ISAF has completed its duty and since 2015, NATO's new mandate has been designated as 'Resolute Support Mission/RSM'.²⁸⁴

Elected as the President of the USA in 2016, Donald Trump's election promises were to withdraw American soldiers from Afghanistan. But Trump later stated that a quick withdrawal from Afghanistan would create a lack of authority there. Trump's aim was to withdraw from Afghanistan, but he argued that this should be systematic and timely.²⁸⁵ Taliban started negotiations with the USA in February 2019. An agreement was signed in February 2020. According to the agreement, the USA will withdraw some of its troops from Afghanistan, and the Taliban will not allow terrorist elements in return. Despite this agreement, some conflicts have occurred between the US and the Taliban.

²⁸² BBC News, "Obama to Send 30,000 More US Troops to Afghanistan", December 02, 2009, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8388939.stm> (02.05.2020).

²⁸³ Council Foreign Relations, "The U.S. War in Afghanistan 1999-2020".

²⁸⁴ Merve Seren, "Trump Afganistan'da Neyi Hedefliyor?" *SETA*, August 25, 2017, <https://www.setav.org/trump-afganistanda-neyi-hedefliyor/> (02.05.2020).

²⁸⁵ Council Foreign Relations, "The U.S. War in Afghanistan 1999-2020".



4. Afghanistan and Foreign Political Developments

Due to the ethnic diversity and geopolitical position of the population of Afghanistan, it has a complex foreign policy outlook. First of all, Pakistan has been one of the most important countries in terms of Afghanistan's foreign relations. The economies of the two countries have been tightly linked. In addition, the two countries had deep historical and cultural relations. Since Pakistan is a seashore, it has been an important trade route for Afghanistan. However, the Durand Line has been a problem between the two countries. With this border drawn, one-third of Pashtuns remained in Afghanistan and two thirds in Pakistan. Pakistan sees itself as the heir of the Durand Line, determined in the colonial period. Afghanistan does not know this line and claims that it is on the other side of the border. This limit has also been the source of many problems in the region. Pakistan constantly intervened in Afghanistan to protect its interests here. Pakistan's support for the Taliban has been one of the main problems between the two countries. The Taliban occupies a position in the southern region of Afghanistan, which borders with Pakistan, and in the Pashtunistan region in Pakistan, across the border.²⁸⁶ Besides, another problem is the water problem. With the infrastructure and energy investments made by Afghanistan, the amount of water going to Pakistan decreased. Considering the drought in the region, it is seen that this issue will be more important in the following years. Bilateral relations between India, another country in the region, and Afghanistan have been on the rise in recent years. The trade volume between India and Afghanistan was around \$ 1 billion in 2017.²⁸⁷

In this process, India has made some investments in Afghanistan. In addition, bureaucratic visits between the two countries continued intensely. India's Afghanistan policy has not continued only through trade. India wanted to get the support of Afghanistan, an Islamic country, in the Kashmir problem that India had with Pakistan. Considered historically, during the Soviet occupation, India was included in the block opposite Pakistan. India wanted to break Pakistan's pressure by establishing good relations with the legitimate government of Afghanistan. India and Afghanistan signed a strategic partnership agreement. This situation was

²⁸⁶ See more at: Abdullah Yegin, "Afganistan Siyasetini Anlama Kılavuzu", Rapor, (İstanbul: SETA, 2015).

²⁸⁷ Embassy of India Kabul Bilateral Brief, <https://eoi.gov.in/kabul/?pdf0354?000> (02.05.2020).



also against the India-Pakistan competition. The U.S. wants India to pursue a more effective policy on Afghanistan. Russia, which is located beyond the northern Asian neighbors of Afghanistan, has established Afghanistan policy both regionally and globally. Russia was uncomfortable with a long-term NATO presence in the region. Russia saw the bases established by the USA in Afghanistan as a danger for itself. In addition, Russia wanted NATO forces to remain in Afghanistan until it stabilizes. Russian President Vladimir Putin stated in a statement that NATO forces should remain until stabilization in Afghanistan and said: "*Afghanistan has difficulty in maintaining its own security, let alone NATO to fight there for us!*"²⁸⁸

In 2012, Vladimir Putin allowed the establishment of a NATO base in the city of Ulyanovsk, on the banks of the Volga River, for shipment to the operation in Afghanistan. With the completion of the ISAF mission in December 2014, Russian Prime Minister Medvedev decided to close the NATO base with a decision signed on May 18, 2015.

Another actor in the region was the People's Republic of China (PRC). China is not only a regional actor but also a country on the rise due to its global position. Chinese Afghanistan relations should be considered not only regionally but globally. When we look at the relations between the two countries, it is seen that China has global efforts through Afghanistan. First of all, the relations between China and Afghanistan were shaped by the Cold War conflict. Since the beginning of the 21st century, this relationship has been getting stronger.²⁸⁹ The ideological divergence between China and the USSR has been one of the most important developments shaping China's Afghanistan policy in the military intervention of the USSR in Afghanistan. China supported the mujahideen, the Islamist resistance groups in Afghanistan, which are against the Soviet Union.²⁹⁰

Another neighbor of Afghanistan is Iran, which is on the western border. Some regions within the borders of Afghanistan today were once within the territory of Iran. Iran has deep

²⁸⁸ Euronews, "Putin: "Nato Afganistan'da bizim yerimize savaşıyor", August 2, 2012, [https://tr.euronews.com/2012/08/02/putin-nato-afganistanda-bizim-yerimize-savasiyor-\(02.05.2020\)](https://tr.euronews.com/2012/08/02/putin-nato-afganistanda-bizim-yerimize-savasiyor-(02.05.2020)).

²⁸⁹ Kubilayhan Erman, "Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti Dış Politikasında Afganistan", *Karadeniz Uluslararası Bilimsel Dergi* 42 (2019): 169-170.

²⁹⁰ See more at: Y. Volkov, K. Gevorkyan, M. Mikhailenko, A. M. Polonsky and A. Svetozarov, *The Truth about Afghanistan: Documents, Facts, and Eyewitness Reports*, (Moscow: Novosti Press, 1980).



historical, cultural, economic and deep relations with Afghanistan. Dari (Dari Persian), one of the two official languages of Afghanistan, is a language very similar to the official language of Persian-Iran.²⁹¹ Iran has become one of Afghanistan's largest trading partners. After the Iranian Islamic Revolution in 1979, the Iranian administration adopted a policy on spreading and supporting the Shia Islam ideologically. Persian nationalism policy was added to this in the following years. In addition to protecting its regional interests in Iran, Iran has established policies that we can consider as soft power. Within the scope of these policies, it has carried out educational, cultural and media activities especially in places where the Shia Islam population is widespread. There are other nations belonging to the Shia Islam in Afghanistan.

Iran opposed the USSR's invasion of Afghanistan in line with the policies it adopted after the Islamic Revolution. However, he did not want to disrupt his relations with the USSR due to his bad relations with the USA. For this reason, Iran did not directly intervene but especially supported the mujahideen groups over the Shia Islam population. With this support, Iran aimed to establish a government in Afghanistan where it will establish good relations after the war. Taliban forces distorted Iran's plans. Taliban is a Sunni-dominated group. For this reason, the relations between the Taliban and Iran have been troubled. So many Taliban killed Iranian diplomats and massacred the Shia Islam population. For this reason, the soldiers accumulated on the Iranian border. But then Iran took a step back due to the balances in the region and especially the policies of the US-Saudi Arabia. Iran has supported the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan against the Taliban. The Northern Alliance is generally made up of Tajiks, but Uzbeks also took place. After the overthrow of the Taliban, Iran persuaded its groups to support the new President Karzai. With this role, Iran has taken steps for the stability of the central government. Iran followed a policy prioritizing stability in Afghanistan. Despite Iran's efforts, the US, under the Bush administration, followed hostile policies against Iran. Besides the Shia Islam and Persian nationalism policies in the region, Iran has also taken steps to establish good relations in the future of Afghanistan. As the USA begins to withdraw from

²⁹¹ Bernard Lewis, *Ortadoğu İki Bin Yıllık Ortadoğu Tarihi*, (Ankara: Arkadaş, 2005), 286.



Afghanistan, it predicts that the Taliban will be effective in Afghanistan again. For this reason, Iran also has political negotiations with the Taliban.²⁹²

It is also claimed that, despite Iran's absolute refusal, it supported the Taliban forces with weapons. Another policy of Iran in Afghanistan was established to break the Saudi Arabian influence in the region. The reason for Iran's closer ties with the Taliban than in the past can be evaluated as it aims to weaken the US in the US-Taliban negotiations. With these steps Iran has taken, it has adopted a policy that aims to be effective in the future as it is today.

5. Afghanistan and Security Issues

The prolonged period of instability in Afghanistan has caused security problems. The main security problems of Afghanistan have been Al-Qaeda, drug trade, the inadequacy of the Afghan National Army and the competition of the countries in the region. Al-Qaeda Terrorist Organization has been largely cleared from Afghanistan, along with US-led coalition countries. After the US operations, Al-Qaeda terrorist units fled to the tribal area in Pakistan. The Pakistani army carried out operations in the tribal area for al-Qaeda militants. Pakistan has cooperated with the USA in these operations. Pakistan has secured control in the tribal area and deployed 200,000 troops for the security of the region.²⁹³ As a result of the struggle against Al-Qaeda, many senior executives, including Osama Bin Laden, the leader of the organization, were killed. However, this organization, which is supported by the Taliban, continues to exist in Afghanistan.

In addition, there is a danger of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) in the region. However, the Afghan Ambassador on this issue stressed that the ISIS hazard here is a separation within the Taliban. Some groups dissatisfied with the Taliban administration in the Taliban left the Taliban by opening the ISIS flag.²⁹⁴ The USA has organized air operations against ISIS

²⁹² See more at: Emma Graham-Harrison, "Afghan Taliban Send Delegation to Iran," *The Guardian*, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/03/afghan-taliban-send-delegation-iran> (02.05.2020).

²⁹³ See more at: Masood Ur Rehman Khattak and Summar Iqbal Babar, "A Critical Analysis of the Security Situation in Afghanistan: A Way Forward", *Central Asia Journal* 82 (2018).

²⁹⁴ "Geçiş Sürecinde Afganistan, Afganistan ve Ötesi için Yansımalar", Panel, *SETA*, October 10, 2019, <https://www.setav.org/etkinlikler/panel-gecis-surecinde-afganistan-afganistan-ve-otesi-icin-yansimalar/>



elements. The USA did not have a nuclear bomb on these elements, but after a nuclear bomb, the most effective bomb was the 'mother of bombs' (MOAB) ²⁹⁵, which was the city of Nangarhar on the Pakistan border. Today, with the operations carried out on ISIS elements, this organization suffered a great loss of power.

Another security problem in Afghanistan was drug trade. Afghanistan is the largest opium producer in the world. Drug production in Afghanistan has caused a global problem. Drugs in Afghanistan open up to the world in three ways. The first line opens to the world through Pakistan, the second line through Iran, and the third line through the Central Asian Countries. This situation, which is a big problem for Afghanistan, also poses a problem for the states on this line. The illegal Afghan drug economy is approximately \$ 604 million, and the value of the Afghan drug in the international market is over \$ 61 billion. Drug traffic has caused health and social problems all over the world. In addition to being an important source of income for Afghan farmers, Afyon production has become an important source of income for terrorist organizations, mafia and crime networks. Another dilemma in the drug issue is that the Taliban, which has a big dominance in Afghanistan today, has made a significant income from drug sales. The Taliban earns between \$ 300 and \$ 500 million a year from the drug trade.²⁹⁶

The drug problem in Afghanistan continued to grow due to political will ineffectiveness, political corruption and inadequate cooperation with the countries in the region. Another security problem of Afghanistan is that the countries of the region see Afghanistan as an area where they can excel against each other. An example of this is the India-Pakistan conflict. The main problem between India and Pakistan is caused by the Kashmir region border problem. Kashmir is a region with strategically important and rich resources that both countries claim. India wants to get the support of Muslim countries against Pakistan on the Kashmir issue. For this reason, India wanted to establish good relations with Afghanistan. Another reason is that

(02.05.2020).

²⁹⁵ Barış Terun, "Nükleer Özellik Taşımayan Fakat Atıldığında Ortılığı Toz Duman Eden 'Bombaların Annesi': MOAB", *Webtekno*, 2017, <https://www.webtekno.com/nukleer-ozellik-tasimayan-bombalarin-annesi-ortaligi-kavurdu-h27861.html> (02.05.2020).

²⁹⁶ Khattak and Babar, "A Critical Analysis of the Security Situation in Afghanistan".



Afghanistan has a geopolitical location and rich underground resources. Pakistan likewise wanted to strengthen its influence in Afghanistan. Providing the connection of Afghanistan with the sea, Pakistan has become an important trade line for Afghanistan. Pakistan has been in close cooperation with China to further increase its role in the region. The India-Pakistan conflict caused great damage to Afghanistan and the region. Another security problem for Afghanistan is that the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) has been ineffective in combating elements that threaten Afghan security. Rapid action has been taken for ANSF training, which has caused poor training for soldiers. In addition, many people joined the ANSF among the Taliban forces and caused damage to the army. From time to time, some of the soldiers in the ANSF went to the Taliban side. This situation caused damages materially and morally. The USA has spent 68 billion dollars for ANSF, but the desired development has not been achieved.²⁹⁷ The number of soldiers targeted for ANSF has not been reached.

6. Policies Followed in the Solution of Afghanistan's Security Problems

It has been 19 years since the USA's "Operation Enduring Freedom" operation launched with the UK. However, when we look at the point reached in Afghanistan, there has not been a significant change today. Because the Taliban, which was dismissed from the post-military intervention, had an important dominance in Afghanistan at the present point.

Afghanistan has been a difficult country to understand with its complex structure. ISAF has determined a program in five basic areas in Afghanistan. However, the determined targets could not be met. For example, the US, which assumes the task of establishing and developing the army in Afghanistan, has created an army that is inadequate in terms of both quantity and quality. Germany took part in the establishment of the police force in Afghanistan. Germany was insufficient in the number of targeted police. For this reason, the USA, which took this task under its responsibility, increased the number of police, but it was incomplete in the training of

²⁹⁷ John F. Sopko, "Assessing the Capabilities and Effectiveness of the Afghan National Defense and Security Forces", *Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR)*, February 12, 2016, <https://www.sigar.mil/pdf/testimony/SIGAR-16-17-TY.pdf> (02.05.2020).



the police. Italy, which was commissioned to make the Afghanistan Constitution, carried out its duty with an understanding based on western values.

A constitution, which contains the traditional and religious sensibilities of Afghanistan, could not be created. The legal structure prepared has created a conflict between the Afghan Government and the Afghan people. The UK has been commissioned for drug trafficking, one of the most important problems in Afghanistan. The approach to the drug problem, which is an important source of income for the Afghan people, has led to a deepening of the crisis rather than solving the problem. The United Kingdom tried to solve this problem by burning the fields that are planted in opium. The Afghans, who could not obtain an alternative income by cutting the income from drug (afyon) production, found the solution by the Taliban. In this way, which was taken with the aim of defeating the Taliban, it actually helped the Taliban. The final assignment was for Japan with the mission of disarming the public.

6.1. US Policies

US President Bush stated that their presence in Afghanistan is to help the Afghan people, to bring democracy and it does not matter how long it takes.²⁹⁸ This task undertaken means the reconstruction of Afghanistan beyond a military operation. The USA continued to stay in Afghanistan after the Taliban administration was overthrown and tried to establish a new order. However, the fact that the Taliban was expelled from Kabul did not destroy the Taliban. The Taliban started to grow stronger over time. In addition, the new administration in Afghanistan remained ineffective despite all the support. The Afghanistan Government is economically dependent on foreign as well as its political and military shortcomings. 20% of Afghanistan's national income is provided by foreign aid.²⁹⁹ In addition, the conflicts that Afghan politicians entered with each other created negative effects for Afghanistan. These conflicts were felt more effectively especially during the election periods.

²⁹⁸ See more at: Steven Simon, "Review: Can the Right War Be Won? Defining American Interests in Afghanistan", *Foreign Affairs* 88, no. 4 (2009).

²⁹⁹ Barnett R. Rubin, "An Ailing America Must Not Abandon Afghanistan", *Foreignpolicy*, March 26, 2020, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/03/26/afghanistan-aid-taliban-ailing-america-must-not-abandon/> (02.05.2020).



Problems such as corruption and nepotism have made Afghanistan politically unstable. US President Donald Trump said: "Our support is not unlimited. Americans want to see real reforms, real progress and real results." Thus, it was stated that the support given to the Afghan people is not continuous.³⁰⁰ He also announced that after the controversial election, there was no agreement between the current Afghanistan President Ashraf Ghani and his rival, Abdullah Abdullah, who demanded his presidency, US Foreign Minister Mike Pompeo reduced the aid of Afghanistan to \$1 billion. Pompeo expressed this situation in his statement as; "This leadership failure poses a direct threat to US national interests."³⁰¹

This management shows how serious the situation is in Afghanistan. Looking at these developments, the effort to build a new Afghanistan targeted by President Bush in Afghanistan has been fruitless. The Obama administration, which took over after President Bush, stated that this goal was unrealistic.³⁰²

Although Obama criticized Afghanistan policy during the election process, he increased the number of American soldiers in Afghanistan at the first stage. The number of soldiers, which was 69,000 in 2009, the date when Obama started his duty, reached its peak in 2010 and reached 96,900. The increase in the number of soldiers also increased the cost of the war in Afghanistan. The policy pursued by Obama in Afghanistan was to weaken the Taliban in such a way that the Afghan National Security Forces could fight and then transfer the security responsibility there to the Government of Afghanistan. In the context of this policy, the Obama administration has gradually reduced the number of soldiers in Afghanistan. In 2016, when Obama's mandate expired, the number of American soldiers in Afghanistan dropped to 9,800.³⁰³ The Obama administration has been subjected to criticism that American troops in Afghanistan were withdrawn with the wrong timing. The Taliban got stronger by finding space with the

³⁰⁰ Jonathan Marcus, "Trump'in Afganistan stratejisi ne anlama geliyor?" *BBC News*, August 22, 2017, <https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler-dunya-41010290> (02.05.2020).

³⁰¹ Rubin, "An Ailing America Must Not Abandon Afghanistan".

³⁰² Simon, "Review: Can the Right War Be Won?"

³⁰³ Kimberly Amadeo, "Afghanistan War Cost, Timeline, and Economic Impact, the Ongoing Costs of the Afghanistan War", *The Balance*, April 08, 2020, <https://www.thebalance.com/cost-of-afghanistan-war-timeline-economic-impact-4122493> (02.05.2020).



withdrawal of American soldiers. According to some analysis, the Taliban has become stronger than ever. Today, the reality of the Taliban has been accepted in Afghanistan. The Trump administration has started negotiations with Afghanistan. But today, the US-Taliban negotiations have created a complex picture. There is a power struggle within both the Afghanistan Government and the Taliban. This power weakness has had a negative impact on the negotiations.

With the recent elections in Afghanistan, an uncertain atmosphere prevailed in the country. In the results announced only five months after the elections, Ashraf Ghani became the president again. However, his closest rival, Abdullah Abdullah, did not accept the election results. In addition, Abdul Rashid Dostum, who is a supporter of Abdullah Abdullah, stated that they would establish a parallel government by claiming that cheating was done in the elections. On the other hand, the Taliban includes many different groups. Whether all groups of the Taliban will act jointly after an agreement with the Taliban is reached is uncertain. Another problem has been the reluctance of the Taliban about reconciliation with the Afghanistan government. It is possible to state that an environment of peace and stability cannot be achieved in a process in which not all groups in Afghanistan are included.

6.2. Policies of International Organizations

Within the scope of the Bonn Agreement, ISAF (International Security Assistance Force) was established on December 20, 2001, with the United Nations Security Council resolution numbered 1386. The main task of ISAF is to support security and development in Afghanistan, thus providing an environment of public order and stability that will facilitate the strengthening of the new administration.³⁰⁴

In August 2003, NATO took ISAF command at the decision of the United Nations. Forming the national security and defense forces of Afghanistan over the next decade has been an important part of the ISAF mission. ISAF, initially operating in Kabul and its vicinity expanded its field of duty in 2003. ISAF has started to operate in all provinces of Afghanistan

³⁰⁴ BBC News, "Uluslararası Güvenlik Destek Gücü: ISAF".



since 2006. In line with the UN Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration program, around 100,000 mujahedin and officers were disarmed and many were not allowed to serve in the Afghan security forces again. This meant that the Afghanistan security system was set up from scratch. The lack of experience in the past caused security problems today. As of the end of February 2016, 3515 coalition members and tens of thousands of Afghan security forces and civilians died. In December 2014, when ISAF completed its mission by gradually transferring the country's security to Afghan officials, Afghanistan gained 352,000 troops and police force. However, this quantity, which is high in quantity, is incomplete in terms of quality. Looking at the Taliban's dominance today, it is seen that the soldiers are inadequate.³⁰⁵

ISAF has been replaced by the "Resolute Support Mission (RSM)", which will no longer take on a war mission as of 2015.³⁰⁶

As of February 2020, RSM exists with 16,551 soldiers from 38 different countries. In this process, many international aid organizations operated in Afghanistan. However, due to the unstable environment in Afghanistan, studies continue with many difficulties.

Conclusion

Afghanistan has been geography with constant wars since its establishment. It was first caught up in the power struggle "Great Game" between Britain and Russia. Despite gaining independence in the following years, instability has not ended. This time, there was a period of coups in Afghanistan. Amanullah Khan, who has a modern understanding of western style, has been subjected to a coup. Afghanistan continued to experience problems in the "Cold War" years after the Second World War. This time, the disasters that will continue to date have started for Afghanistan, which is in the middle of the struggle between the USA and USSR. Firstly, the

³⁰⁵ Mohammad Shafiq Hamdam, "Afganistan'ın Yanında Olmak: Stratejik Seçim", *NATO Review*, May 4, 2016, <https://www.nato.int/docu/review/tr/articles/2016/05/04/afganistan-in-yaninda-olmak-stratejik-secim/index.html> (02.05.2020).

³⁰⁶ Merve Seren, "NATO'nun Afganistan Gerçeğiyle Yüzleşme Zamanı", *SETA*, April 29, 2017, <https://www.setav.org/natonun-afganistan-gercegiyle-yuzlesme-zamani/> (02.05.2020).



USSR made a military intervention in Afghanistan. People organized against the occupation of the USSR formed mujahideen groups.

After the end of the occupation of the USSR, this time mujahedin groups fought against each other. Using this situation, the Taliban took control of Afghanistan. The Taliban administration acted with the radical Islam ideology. This management style adopted by the Taliban caused great reactions both domestically and abroad. Also, the Al-Qaeda terrorist organization, which has fought against western values, has found space in Afghanistan. Despite all the warnings, the Taliban administration did not make a sound to this situation. It even took a stance that supports Al-Qaeda.

After the September 11 Attacks by Al-Qaeda, the US-United Kingdom intervened in Afghanistan with a joint operation. Later, under the name ISAF, a coalition force, mostly composed of NATO member countries, started to work in Afghanistan. The Taliban was soon removed from management. It is aimed to establish a democratic administration with the support of ISAF. A new government was formed with the elections. Since Afghanistan has never had a serious democracy experience, the new order has faced huge problems. Afghanistan has faced many problems such as corruption, nepotism, ethnicity discrimination and allegations of fraud in elections. Besides, there are many different sub-identities in Afghanistan. The struggle of these different nations, which do not want to compromise with each other, still continues today.

Some countries that wanted to reach their goals through Afghanistan continued to support this negative situation. They have done this with the aim of creating an Afghanistan government, where they will be more suitable for them. Afghanistan is an important country with its strategic location and rich underground resources. This situation in Afghanistan has put the country in a deadlock in terms of administration. In addition, the US-led ISAF has failed to establish a structure that meets these sensitivities of Afghanistan. The USA wanted to solve the security problem in Afghanistan by increasing the number of troops and by increasing the



number of troops of the ANSF (Afghan National Security Forces). These forces, which are inadequate in terms of education, were not effective enough.

Foreign forces in Afghanistan have made mistakes in this process that have driven Afghan people away from them. The Taliban regained its strength due to the mistakes made and the US attaching greater importance to the invasion of Iraq. It has been met by the American public that the war that has been going on for years creates huge costs. The USA has accepted the reality of the Taliban in Afghanistan. By making a deal with the Taliban, it wanted to withdraw from Afghanistan completely by pulling out very few soldiers compared to the past. However, negotiations continued in a very sensitive environment. Because it has been difficult to balance both the Afghanistan Government and the Taliban. It remains unclear how negotiations will end. It seems likely that instability will continue after the US withdraws in the region where there are precise balances. Finally, it is not possible to say that political stability and security have been achieved in the present period.

References

- Amadeo, Kimberly. "Afghanistan War Cost, Timeline, and Economic Impact, the Ongoing Costs of the Afghanistan War". *The Balance*. April 08, 2020, <https://www.thebalance.com/cost-of-afghanistan-war-timeline-economic-impact-4122493> (02.05.2020).
- BBC News. "Uluslararası Güvenlik Destek Gücü: ISAF" August 12, 2009. https://www.bbc.com/turkce/ozeldosyalar/2009/08/090812_afghanistan_isaf (02.05.2020).
- BBC News. "Obama to Send 30,000 More US Troops to Afghanistan" December 02, 2009. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8388939.stm> (02.05.2020).
- Collins, Joseph J. *Understanding War in Afghanistan*. Washington D.C.: National Defense University Press, 2011.
- Council Foreign Relations. "The U.S. War in Afghanistan 1999-2020", *Timeline*, 2001, <https://www.cfr.org/timeline/us-war-afghanistan> (02.05.2020).
- Dupree, Louis. *Afghanistan*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980.
- Embassy of India Kabul Bilateral Brief, <https://eoi.gov.in/kabul/?pdf0354?000> (02.05.2020).
- Emma Graham-Harrison. "Afghan Taliban Send Delegation to Iran". *The Guardian*, 2013. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/03/afghan-taliban-send-delegation-iran> (02.05.2020).



- Erman, Kubilayhan. “Çin Halk Cumhuriyeti Dış Politikasında Afganistan”. *Karadeniz Uluslararası Bilimsel Dergi* 42, (2019): 154-176.
- Ewans, Martin. *Afghanistan: A Short History of Its People and Politics*. New York: Harper Perennial, 2002.
- Euronews, “Putin: "Nato Afganistan'da Bizim Yerimize Savaşıyor" August 2, 2012 [https://tr.euronews.com/2012/08/02/putin-nato-afganistanda-bizim-yerimize-savasiyor-\(02.05.2020\)](https://tr.euronews.com/2012/08/02/putin-nato-afganistanda-bizim-yerimize-savasiyor-(02.05.2020)).
- Geçiş Sürecinde Afganistan, Afganistan ve Ötesi için Yansımalar. Panel. *SETA*, October 10, 2019. <https://www.setav.org/etkinlikler/panel-gecis-surecinde-afganistan-afganistan-ve-otesi-icin-yansimalar/> (02.05.2020).
- Goodhand, Jonathan and Sedra, Mark. *Bargains for Peace? Aid Conditionalities and Reconstruction in Afghanistan*. The Hague: Clingendael Institute, 2006.
- Hamdam, Mohammad Shafiq. “Afganistan'ın Yanında Olmak: Stratejik Seçim”. *NATO Review*, May 4, 2016, <https://www.nato.int/docu/review/tr/articles/2016/05/04/afganistan-in-yaninda-olmak-stratejik-secim/index.html> (02.05.2020).
- Hanna, Henry Bathurst. *The Second Afghan War 1878-79-80: Its Causes, Its Conduct and Its Consequences*. Creative Media Partners, LLC, 2019.
- History.com editors, “U.S.-led Attack on Afghanistan Begins” *A&E Television Networks*, 2010. <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/u-s-led-attack-on-afghanistan-begins> (02.05.2020).
- Hollifield, Tim. “History of Afghanistan”. *Defense Intelligence Agency U.S., Report*. Washington D.C.: Directorate for Human Capital, 2013.
- Katzman, Kenneth and Thomas, Clayton. “Afghanistan: Post-Taliban Governance, Security, and U.S. Policy”, Report. Congressional Research Service, RL30588, 2017.
- Khattak, Masood Ur Rehman and Babar, Summar Iqbal. “A Critical Analysis of the Security Situation in Afghanistan: A Way Forward”. *Central Asia Journal* 82, (2018): 67-88.
- Lewis, Bernard. *Ortadoğu İki Bin Yıllık Ortadoğu Tarihi*. Ankara: Arkadaş, 2005.
- Library of Congress - Federal Research Division. “Country Profile: Afghanistan”, *Country Studies*, 2008, <https://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/cs/profiles/Afghanistan.pdf> (02.05.2020).
- Maizland, Lindsay and Laub, Zachary. “The Taliban in Afghanistan” *Council on Foreign Relations*, 2020. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/taliban-afghanistan> (02.05.2020).
- Marcus, Jonathan. “Trump'in Afganistan Stratejisi Ne Anlama Geliyor?”. *BBC News*. August 22, 2017, <https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler-dunya-41010290> (02.05.2020).
- Rubin, Barnett R. *The Fragmentation of Afghanistan, State Formation and Collapse in the International System*. Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1996.
- Rubin, Barnett R. “An Ailing America Must Not Abandon Afghanistan”. *Foreignpolicy*. March 26, 2020, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/03/26/afghanistan-aid-taliban-ailing-america-must-not-abandon/> (02.05.2020).



- Seren, Merve. “NATO’nun Afganistan Gerçeğiyle Yüzleşme Zamanı”. *SETA*. April 29, 2017, <https://www.setav.org/natonun-afganistan-gercegiyle-yuzlesme-zamani/> (02.05.2020).
- Seren, Merve. “Trump Afganistan’da Neyi Hedefliyor?”. *SETA*, August 25, 2017. <https://www.setav.org/trump-afganistanda-neyi-hedefliyor/> (02.05.2020).
- Simon, Steven. “Review: Can the Right War Be Won? Defining American Interests in Afghanistan”. *Foreign Affairs* 88, no. 4 (2009): 130-137.
- Son dakika haberi: Afganistan'da seçim sonuçları açıklandı. *Hürriyet*. February 18, 2020, <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/son-dakika-haberi-afganistanda-secim-sonuclari-aciklandi-41450152> (02.05.2020).
- Sopko, John F. “Assessing the Capabilities and Effectiveness of the Afghan National Defense and Security Forces”. *Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR)*. February 12, 2016, <https://www.sigar.mil/pdf/testimony/SIGAR-16-17-TY.pdf> (02.05.2020).
- Terun, Barış. “Nükleer Özellik Taşımayan Fakat Atıldığında Ortalığı Toz Duman Eden 'Bombaların Annesi': MOAB”, *Webtekno*. 2017, <https://www.webtekno.com/nukleer-ozellik-tasimayan-bombalarin-annesi-ortaligi-kavurdu-h27861.html> (02.05.2020).
- The 9/11 Commission Report. “Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist attacks upon the United States”. New York and London: WW Norton and Company, 2004.
- Volkov, Y. Gevorkyan, K. Mikhailenko, M. Polonsky, A. M. and Svetozarov, A. *The Truth about Afghanistan: Documents, Facts, and Eyewitness Reports*. Moscow: Novosti Press, 1980.
- Weinbaum, Marvin G. “Afghanistan and Its Neighbors an Ever Dangerous Neighborhood”. Special Report 162. United States Institute of Peace, 2006.
- Yegin, Abdullah. “Afganistan Siyasetini Anlama Kılavuzu”. İstanbul: SETA, 2015.



KİTAP İNCELEMESİ (BOOK REVIEW)

Komünizmden Sonra İslam: Orta Asya'da Din ve Politika, Adeep Khalid, Aslıhan Tekyıldız (çev) Sitare Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 2011,222 sayfa
ISBN:978-605-121-014-8

Elanur AKDAĞ*

Adeep Khalid tarafından yazılan *Komünizmden Sonra İslam: Orta Asya'da Din ve Politika* isimli kitap günümüzde Orta Asya cumhuriyetlerinde yürütülen din ve politika ilişkisini anlamak adına önemli bir kaynak olarak görülebilir. Cumhuriyetlerde yürürlükte olan politikaları anlamak kolay olmayabilir ancak Sovyetler Birliği'nde gerçekleştirilen uygulamaları incelemek, din ve siyaset ilişkisini kavramak adına önem arz eden bir kitap olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Orta Asya'da din ve siyaset alanına ilgi duyan akademisyenler için son zamanlarda yapılan önemli bir çalışma olan kitap, referans olarak kullanılacak bir kaynak olma özelliği taşımaktadır.

Orta Asya'da yaşanan İslam'ı değerlendirmek için sadece günümüze bakmak yeterli olmayıp Sovyet dönemini de göz önünde bulundurmak gerekmektedir. Yazar, Orta Asya'da yaşanan İslamiyet'i doğru anlamayı hedefleyen bakış açısı sunma iddiasıyla bu kitabı kaleme aldığını ifade etmektedir

Politik akımlar & ideolojiler ve siyaset-politik kategorilerinde eserleri bulunan Khalid Asya çalışmaları ve tarih profesörü olarak Carleton Üniversitesinde görev yapmaktadır.

Bu kitapta yetmiş yıllık Sovyet döneminde İslamiyet'te ciddi deformasyonlar yaşanmış olması ancak İslam tarihi süreci göz önüne alındığında önemli bir zaman dilimine denk gelmediği ifade edilmiştir. Tarihsel süreçte büyük bir zaman dilimi olmasa da Orta Asyalılar için İslamiyet'te yaşanan değişiklikler açısından bu dönem önem arz etmektedir. Dolayısıyla

* İnönü Üniversitesi, Uluslararası İlişkiler Anabilim Dalı Doktora Öğrencisi. ela.akda@outlook.com, ORCID ID:0000-0002-3011-5824

Geliş tarihi: 09.01.2020

Kabul edilmiş tarihi:27.04.2020



kitapta, Orta Asya’da İslam yaşam biçiminde meydana gelen farklılıklar ve Sovyet döneminin yeniden yapılanma faaliyetleri sonucunda dini yaşam üzerinde olumlu ya da olumsuz sonuçların incelemesi amaçlanmaktadır. Kitap, giriş ve ilgili başlıklardan oluşan yedi bölümden oluşmaktadır. Giriş bölümünde Orta Asya’nın günümüzde yaşanan İslami yaşam şekline, rejimlerin İslamiyet’e bakış açılarına ve İslam tarihine ver verilmiştir. Bu kapsamda yetmiş yıllık Sovyet iktidarı Orta Asyalılara kendine özgü bir İslam ve Müslüman olma anlayışı vermiştir. Komünizm sonrası İslam’ın kendine has özellikleri oluşmuştur. Komünizm sonrası İslam’da önemli ölçüde canlanma yaşanmış, Sovyetler Birliği dışında yaşayan diğer Müslümanlarla özellikle de Orta Asyalı Müslümanlarla bağlantı kurulmaya başlanmıştır. Orta Asya’nın yetmiş yıllık iktidarında din konusunda önemli dönüşümler yaşanmışsa da bu süreç uzun İslam tarihine bakıldığında kısa bir süre olduğu göze çarpmaktadır. Bu süreçte İslam çeşitli saldırılara uğramıştır; bilgi aktarma yolları yok edilmiş, İslam kamu dışına çıkarılmış ve camiler kapatılmıştır (ss.13-14). Giriş bölümünde Orta Asya’da yaşanan dönüşümü anlamak için İslam üzerine odaklanmıştır. Politik ve kültürel spektrumdan gelen görüşe göre; İslam diğer dinlere göre farklı bir bakış açısına sahip olup; bu görüşe göre Müslümanların politik ve sosyal davranışlarını İslam’ın kutsal kitabına bakılarak kavranabileceği, bunun mantıklı göstergesinin ise İslam adına gerçekleştirilen El-Kaide ve Hamas eylemleri olduğu belirtilmiştir. Bir diğer görüş ise ılımlı ve savunmacı yazarların, “Müslüman olsun ya da olmasın İslam’ın, militanlarının İslami öğretileri “yanlış” yorumlamaları yüzünden gasp edilmiş, yozlaştırılmış veya saptırılmış olan gerçek bir barış dini olduğunu öne sürdüğü belirtilmiştir.” 11 Eylül 2011’den sonra İslam kamusal alanda iyi ve kötü İslam arasında ayırım yapıldığını görebiliriz: İslam’ın iki yüzü vardır; biri hoşgörülü diğeri hoşgörüsüz ve saldırgandır. İyi veya kötü sıfatlandırma Amerika’nın jeopolitik hedeflerine uyumluluğuna bağlı olup dış politika hedeflerine uyum sağlayanlar iyi, sağlamayanlar ise kötü olarak tanımlanmıştır. Huntington’un medeniyetler çatışması teorisine göre tanımlanan medeniyetlerden birisi İslam’dır ve Batı’yla çatışmaya girmesi olasılığı yüksek olan medeniyettir (ss.16-17). İyi veya kötü İslam sıfatlandırılmasının yanında İslam’ın kendi içinde çeşitli (Sünni-Şii) oluşundan bahsedilmiş ve



bu bağlamda İslam'dan homojen olarak bahsedilmesinin bu geleneğin temel dinamiğini görmezden gelineceğine vurgu yapılmıştır. Müslüman dünyasının moderniteye karşı duyarsız olmadığı ve moderniteye uyum sağlama çabalarının İslami kaynaklara ulaşım sağladığı ve eski öğrenim biçimlerini geride bıraktığı ifade edilmiştir. Bu durum İslam'ın koruyucu otoritelerinin gücünü zayıflatmış ve moderniteye uyup uymaması konusunda tartışmaları alevlendirmiştir. Bu sürece akademisyenler tarafından İslam'ın “nesnelleştirilmesi” ismi verilmiştir (ss.24). Bu bilgiler ışığında okuyucuya bir alt yapı oluşturularak ve konunun doğru değerlendirmesine yardımcı olunması amaçlanmıştır.

Birinci bölüm “Orta Asya’da İslam” başlığıyla ele alınmıştır. Bir saray tarihçisi tarafından Türklerin soy ağacını ele alan ve buna göre Orta Asya'nın her zaman diliminde Müslüman olduğu ve İslam yerleştirildiği, yani İslam Orta Asya Türkleri için soy mirasının vazgeçilmez parçası olarak gösterildiği bir metinden bahsedilmektedir. Bu bakış açısıyla yerel kimliklerin İslami terimlerle ifade edildiğini anlatılmaya çalışılmıştır. Asya merkezinde İslam'ın nasıl yerleştirildiği, ancak yerelleştirilen İslam'ın aslında ağırlığı olmayan ve kendini Müslüman olarak tanımlayan toplumlarda kişilerin gerçek Müslüman olmadığı ifade edilmiştir (ss.37). İslam'ın yerleştirildiğinin ifade edilmesinin ardından Orta Asya'ya İslam'ın tarihsel gelişiminden bahsedilmiş, bu süreç içerisinde Moğolların saldırısıyla İslami yaşamın kesintiye uğradığını fakat Timur İmparatorluğu kültürünün İslami çerçevede olması İslam'ın tekrar bölgede hâkim olmasına olanak sağladığı belirtilmiştir (ss.42). Timur İmparatorluğundan sonra İslami eğitim Orta Asya bölgesinde devam etmiş ve güçlenmiştir. Bu zaman diliminde Taşkent Semerkant ve Buhara gibi şehirlerde medreseler kurulmuş İslami Sufizm gelişmiştir. Sadece bölgenin tarihine bakılarak genelleme yapmanın yanlış olacağını bu nedenle bu bölümde bölgenin Sovyet öncesi dönemine ışık tutulmuştur.

İkinci bölüm “İmparatorluk ve Modernite'nin Meydan Okuması” başlığında ele alınmıştır. Çarlık Rusya'sı Türkistan ilini hâkimiyet altına almıştır. Rus İmparatorluğunun tek bir Müslüman politikası olmaması, İslam ve Müslümanlarla ilişkisinin zamana ve mekâna göre değişkenlik gösterdiği ifade edilmiştir. II. Katerina döneminde Müslümanlara karşı dini hoşgörü resmi politika olarak benimsenmiştir. Katerina'nın politikaları 1917 yılına kadar sürmüştür. Rusya'ya



Aydınlanma Çağı'nda fanatizm kavramı gelmiş ve 19. yüzyılda fanatizm korkusu yaşamıştır. Bu kapsamda da Rusya İslam politikalarına yön vermiştir Rusya'nın Türkistan politikalarında yönetici-General Kaufman'nın imzası bulunmaktadır. Bu politikalarında İslam yok sayılarak İslam'ın etkisini azaltmak amacıyla devlet desteği azaltılmış ve dini rütbeler devlet tarafından yok sayılmıştır (ss.51-52). Buhara'da ulema söz sahibi olup İslam'ın kalesi olması nedeniyle Sovyet Rusya'sı fanatizm ortaya çıkarmamak için Buhara'yı tamamen fethetmemiştir. Rus işgalinden etkilenmeyen Buhara İslami eğitim merkezi olmuştur (ss.53-54). Modernite kapsamında da "Ceditizm" hareketinden bahsedilmektedir. Ceditizm'de en önemli kavram ilerleme, gelişme, yükseliş ve büyüme anlamında içeren "terakki"dir. Reformist olan Ceditler çağdaş bilginin elde edilmesini İslam'ın kendisinin emrettiğini öne sürdüğü ifade edilmiştir (ss.56). Ceditlerin geleneksel İslam anlayışını katı şekilde eleştirmeleri ulemanın büyük çoğunluğunun tepkisine neden olmuştur (ss.61).

Üçüncü bölüm "Sovyetlerin İslam'a Karşı Saldırısı" başlığında ele alınmıştır. Bolşevikler, çarlık rejiminin izin verdiği yerel farklılıklara karşın yerelliğe çok az yer veren evrensel görüşü benimsemiştir. 1905 yılında kurulan "Devlet Duma'sı" adlı meclis ile 1917 yılında Rusya dünyanın en özgür ülkesi olmuştur. Bolşeviklerin evrensel bakış açısına rağmen devrimden sonra Orta Asya'da halk toplantıları ve her çeşit kültürel ve politik organizasyonlar ve dini faaliyetlerin gerçekleşmesine izin verilmiştir İlk Müslüman Türkistan Kongresi de bu dönemde gerçekleşmiştir (ss.66). Türkistan Müslümanları arasında aynı görevi yapan iki farklı organizasyon kurulmuş, Ceditler "İslami Şura'yı kurarken, tutucu muhalifler "Ulema Cemiyeti" etrafında toplanmışlardır (ss.67). Müslümanlar arasında yaşanan bu farklılık giriş bölümünde bahsedilen İslamiyetin homojen bir din olmadığına kanıt niteliğindedir. 1917 yılı ve devamında yaşanan kıtlıktan sonra düzeni sağlamak, yiyecek stoklarını yabancılardan korumak amacıyla Basmacı isyanı yaşanmıştır ancak bu isyanın liderleri millet veya İslam toplumu adına harekete geçtiklerini ifade etmiştir (ss.70). İsyanın ardından 1920'lerin başında Bolşevikler yerel nüfusun güvenini kazanmak için özellikle din konusunun taviz vermiştir. 1922 yılında kadı ve biy³⁰⁷ mahkemelerinin canlanmasına ve

³⁰⁷ Halk arasından seçilmiş idari, bürokratik ve yargı yetkisine sahip boy lideri.



daha radikal bir karar olan Türkistan'ın farklı yerlerine şeriat mahkemelerin kurulmasına izin verilmiştir Çarlık döneminde başlayan Ceditizm Sovyet döneminde de devam etmiştir. 1923 başlarında açılan şeriat meclisleri Ceditlerin 1917 yılında İslami hukuk yönetimini kurumlaştırmak ve teşkilatlandırmak amacını taşımaktadır (ss.75-76). Devrimden sonra birçok din karşıtı propaganda yapılmıştır. Bunlardan biri ateist propagandası ile İslam'ın değerler toplumsal alandan zorla çıkarıldı ve bir konumunu bir daha sağlayamadı (ss.85). Nazilerin Sovyetleri işgal etmesi halk ile rejim arasında kısmen barış sağlamıştır. Bu savaş sürecinde din konusunda ödün verilerek bu konuda esneklik yaşanmıştır Ancak 1959'den sonra din konusunda ki sert tavır ve savaş öncesi katı uygulamalar geri gelmiştir (ss.92-93). Yazar, Sovyet rejiminin tam anlamıyla İslam'ı tahrir ettiği ve bu dönemin sadece Cengiz Han dönemiyle karşılaştırılabilir olduğunu ifade ederek (ss.95) Sovyet döneminin İslami yaşam şeklini ne derece etkilediğini anlatmaya çalışmıştır.

Dördüncü bölüm "Milli Miras Olarak İslam" başlığında ele alınmıştır. Orta Asya toplumları, Sovyet yönetiminin son otuz yılını göreceli istikrarında şekil aldığı ifade edilmiştir. İslami ibadetleri doğrudan politik anlamı bulunmamakla birlikte Orta Asyalıların büyük çoğunluğu için Müslüman olmak ve Sovyet olmak birbirlerine zıt anlam taşımamaktadır. Bu bölümün amacı mantığa aykırı görünen bu ifadeleri açıklamaktır. Sovyetlerin yönetim şekli, ekonomisi ve Orta Asya üzerindeki etkileri üzerinde durulmuştur. Politik gücün yerleştirilmesiyle Orta Asya'daki etnik-millî kimlikler olgunlaştırılmıştır. Bir kesim Sovyetleri "millet katili" olarak tanımlarken diğer bir kesim ise Sovyetleri Rus olmayan cumhuriyetlerde millî kimliğin gelişmesinde büyük rolü olduğuna inanmaktadır (ss.108). Sovyetlerde yaşanan şartlar Orta Asyalıların İslam ile ilişkisini belirlemiştir. Müslüman olmak bir kimlik etiketi haline almış, bazı İslami ibadetler yapılmaya devam etmiş, bazıları yaygınlaşmış ama hepsi millî kültürün parçası olarak görülmüştür (ss.113). İslam ile alakası olmayan ama Müslümanların kutladığı birçok gelenek Müslüman bayramı olduğu ifade edilirken (ss.118) gelenekler ile İslamiyet'in iç içe girdiği ifade edilmiştir. Dini ibadetler rejim için politik tehdit oluşturmasa da partinin aydın ve akılcı bir toplum yaratma hedeflerine engel olarak düşünülmektedir. (ss.120). İslami eğitim toplumsal hayatın merkezinin dışında tutulup belli belirsiz varlığını sürdürmüştür. Dini kontrol altına almak için kurulan SADUM devletin hoşuna gitmeyen olaylara müdahale edip fetva vermekle görevliydi. Bu görevde SADUM'u modernist



görüşleri benimsemeye itmiştir (ss.125). 1930'lu yıllarda ulemanın büyük bir kısmı yok edilmiş, hayata kalmayı başaranların bir kısmı SADUM'a katılırken bir kısmı ise gizlice seçilmiş öğrencilere ders vermeye başlamıştır. İkinci grubun amacı; İslami bilgiyi düşman ortamdan korumak olmuştur (ss.127).

Beşinci bölüm "İslamın Yeniden Canlanması" başlığında ele alınmıştır. Batılılar İslam'ın komünizmin panzehri olduğunu ve Sovyetlerde yaşayan Müslümanların bir iç tehdit olduğu düşünülmektedir (ss.132). İslam'ın Orta Asya'da yeniden canlanması milli bir olay olup bölge ülkelerinde farklı şekillerde vuku bulmuştur. Tacikistan ve Özbekistan'da İslam'a dönüş Maveünnehir şehirlerinde kazanılan başarılarla yeniden ilgi duyulmasıyla gerçekleşirken Kazakistan ve Kırgızistan'da yerel kültürü ele geçirmeye çalışan Ruslara karşı yerel kimlik kazanılması şeklinde anlam bulmuştur (ss.135). Ancak ülkelerin İslamiyet'e karşı tavırları kamudan uzaklaştırılma çerçevesinde şekil almıştır. Yazar Orta Asyalıların kendilerini Müslüman olarak görmedikleri anlamından ziyade İslam'ı kendi yaşam biçimlerinin ayrılmaz parçası olarak gördükleri bir kavram olan "dini minimalim"den bahsetmiştir (ss.137). Bu bölümde bölge ülkeleri özcü dinsel anlayışı benimsemeleri ancak Orta Asya'da aktif faaliyet gösteren dini örgütlerin varlığı ülkeleri İslam ile ilgili bir toplumsal olaya karşı şüpheyle yaklaşmalarına neden olmuştur (ss.146). Bu çelişkili durumlara rağmen dinin yeniden canlanması doğrudan İslam'ın politikleşmesi anlamına gelmediği ifade edilmiştir(ss.150).

Altıncı bölüm "Muhafif İslam" başlığında değerlendirilmiştir. Bu bölümde bölgede muhafif olarak tanımlanan gruplardan bahsedilmiştir. İlk olarak "Adolat" grubu ele alınmıştır. Birçok gözlemciye göre Adolat grubunun ortaya çıkışı İslam'ın politikleşmesinin, Gorbaçov yıllarında başlayan İslami canlanmasının sonucu olduğunu belirtmektedir (ss.155). Bölgedeki muhafif hareketlerin ortaya çıkma sebebi yerel şartlara karşı koyma amacı taşımak olup Sovyetler Birliği'nin dağılması sonucunda oluşan politik düzene karşı çıkan, yaşanan eşitsizlik ve baskıdan duyulan rahatsızlıktır (ss.157). Afganistan'da yaşanan savaşta İslam radikalleşse de Orta Asya'daki İslam'ın politikleşmesi 1970'li yıllarda yeraltı eğitim çevresinde yani hücrelerde verilen eğitimlerle başlamıştır (ss.159). Perestroyka zamanında Ceditçiler ile gelenekçi muhafifleri arasında bölünme halka yansımış ve camilerde imamlığı kimin yapacağı, hangi ibadetlerin yapılacağı konusunda



tartışmalar yaşanmıştır. Adalet de yaşanan bu düzensizliğe karşı olan örgütlerden biri olduğu ifade edilmektedir (ss.161). İslami Rönesans Partisi (İRP)'nin, Özbekistan İslam Hareketi (ÖİH) ve Hizbut Tahrir (HT)'in nasıl kurulduğuna ve amaçlarından yer verilerek karşılaştırılma yapılmıştır. ÖİH ile HT karşılaştırılmasında şöyle bahsedilmektedir; “ÖİH kendini dini bir hareket olarak sunmaya çalışırken HT kendini din adamlarıyla ilgisi olmayan bir politik grup olarak ilan etmektedir.” (ss.174). Bu bölümde İRP, ÖİH ve HT'nin uluslararası bağlantıları olmuştur, ama hepsinin kökenin yerel politik düzene karşı oluşan yerel meseleler bulunmaktadır. Tek bir planı olan küresel bir İslami hareketin yerleştirilmesi olmadığı ifade edilmiştir (ss.178).

Yedinci bölüm “Terör Karşıtı Politika” başlığında ele alınmıştır. Soğuk Savaş'ın bitmesinin ardından dini aşırıcılığa veya kökten dincilik muhalefet olmak ile eş anlamlı olup evrensel dil olmuştur. 11 Eylül olaylarından sonra bu söylem güçlenmiş ve kökten dincilik terörizm olarak anılmaya başlamıştır. Bu bölümde genel olarak Özbekistan üzerinde odaklanılsa da diğer Orta Asya ülkelerine de yer verilmiştir. Dini radikalizmin Orta Asya ülkelerinde terör çerçevesinde değerlendirilse de Özbekistan'da bu bakış açısı çok ciddi boyutlara taşınmış ve buna mukabil politikalar yürütülmüştür. Özbekistan'ın tanımladığı gerçek İslam; ılımlı, politik açıdan zararsız ve Özbek halkının mizacıyla uyumludur. Bu tanımın dışında kalanların hepsi ayrılıkçı, radikal ve tehlikeli olarak belirtilmiştir. Din özgürlüğü ve dini örgütler Yasası'nın amacı herkesin dinini yaşamada eşit olmasını garantiye alması olarak gözüktüğü temelinde dini örgütleri kontrol altına almak bulunmaktadır. Özbekistan'da radikalizme karşı önlemler 1997-1998 yılında başlamış 1999-2001 yılları arasında zirveye ulaşmıştır. Bu önlemler küvette tehdit arz eden kişilerin canlı canlı haşlanma gibi insanlık dışı uygulamalara varana kadar abartılmıştır. Özbekistan'ın bu uygulamalarına Batı'nın sessiz kalmasının ardında Orta Asya bölgesinin bölgedeki istikrar sağlayıcı olarak görüldüğü ifade edilmiştir. Kazakistan'da dini radikalizm Özbekistan'da algılandığı gibi ciddi bir sorun olarak görülmemiş, yine de din özgürlüğü ve dini derneklerin faaliyetlerine izin veren kanun maddesi anayasada yer almıştır. Türkmenistan'da Saparmurat Niyazov İslam ile ilgili politikalarını megaloman tavırlarla dini otoriteyi kendisine mal etmeye çalışmış kendisini milenyumda gönderilen peygamber olarak ilan etmiştir. Orta Asya ülkelerinin İslamiyet'e genel bakış açısı değerlendirdiğinde hiçbir Müslüman ülkede olmayan derecede devlet ve İslam arasında



mesafe olduğunu ve rejimlerin bunu laikliği savunma ile ilişkilendirilerek İslam'ın çözülmesi gereken bir problem olarak görüldüğü ifade edilmiştir. Yazar bu bakış açısının büyük ölçüde sempati kazandığını, ancak dini radikalizmin, rejimlerin abarttığı kadar ciddi boyutta olmadığını ancak ülkelerin otoriter politikalarını gerekçelendirmek için kullanıldığını ifade etmiştir. Radikal İslam, rejimler için düşük düzeyde bir tehlike oluştursa da rejimlerin politik olmayan Müslümanlar için oluşturduğu tehlikenin daha fazla olduğuna vurgu yapılmıştır.

Sonuç bölümünde “Andican ve Ötesi” başlığı ele alınmıştır. Orta Asya’da istikrarsızlığa yol açacak birçok konu bulunduğu ve dini radikalizm listenin sonlarında yer aldığı belirtilmiştir. Bu kapsamda da Andican olayına yer verilmiş ve Özbekistan hükümetinin tavırlarından bahsedilerek devlet başkanı İslam Kerimov’un ülkede yaşanan sorunların üzerini örtüp, olayları dini radikalizm temelinde ifade etmesi halkın yaşadığı memnuniyetsizliği bastırmıştır. İslami tartışmaların, İslam’ın yapısından kaynaklanmadığını, teknoloji kullanılarak Müslümanların politik baskılar ve zor koşullar altında yaşandığı vurgulanmıştır. Orta Asya’da yaşayan Müslümanlar toplumsal olarak verdikleri mücadelede İslam’a başvuracaklarını ancak bunu tarihsel ve politik şartların belirleyeceği ifade edilmiştir. Orta Asya’nın dışındaki gözlemcilerin ise politik çıkarlar için yanlış bilgilerin kullanıldığını fark etmesi ve gerçek Müslümanların faaliyetlerinin ayırt edebilmeleri önemlidir (ss.217).

Adeep Khalid tarafından ele alınan Komünizmden Sonra İslam: Orta Asya’da Din ve Politika isimli kitap Orta Asya’da yaşanan dini yapı ve uygulanan din karşıtı politikaları anlamak adına bölgede yaşanan dini yaşamı Sovyet döneminden itibaren ele alarak Sovyet döneminin Orta Asya’daki cumhuriyetler üzerindeki olumlu ve olumsuz sonuçlarının analiz edilmesine yardımcı olmaktadır.