

CHAPTER IV

SECURITIZATION PROJECT OF TURKEY

Si Vis pacem, para bellum, this Latin proverb probably very suitable to be used by a realist, and accurately draws what is happened in these recent days. The war that happened these days in Syria, even by ISIS or the militant considered as the way to get peacefulness in Syria. ISIS with its ideology considered its attack as the way to achieve strict Islamist Muslim society, while Syrian militant needs the war as the hope to get better life that implement democracy without dictator leader. The examples of both goals are definitely to achieve the peaceful life, although they have to fight into battlefield first. However, for liberalism idea, the essence of war that is use by realist is questionable in terms of its goal. Whether it is for achieving peace, or for getting and increasing the power. One thing that has to be concerned by a country is the securitization of a country itself. Barry Buzan in 1983 on his book which titled “People, State, and Fear” defined that security is not only about the concept of national security problem that have to be approached¹. Securitization is as known as a terms of military capability and defense, now can be used also as the tool to get and increase the power of a country. This securitization idea can be used as the tool for analyzing the involvement of Turkey to fight against ISIS by conducting military intervention in Syria.

¹ p1.

A. Securitization Idea

In international relations, there are three levels of security that have to be known. First, it is about the individual security. Barry Buzan also explains that individual security is the security for individual as the scope to focus to maintain the security. For example, health, wealth, and freedom². The second security level is states security. The focus of states security includes domestic security, which is in terms of military politic, and economic. It also focuses on the diplomatic relations with other country, called as external security. Then, the last analysis of security is in international level. World is anarchy, which means that there is no leader to lead and no police to secure us in this world. Even the U.S considered itself as world police, but still, the international security has to focus on international scope, where every country and person, as international society has responsibility to maintain the international security. One case, ISIS is become an international problem, so that every country in this world is trying to maintain in states level, or even more in international level by making coalition to attack it.

Prabhakaran Paleri states on his book that the way to maintain the security of a country is by increasing the military capability and defense³. Good military and defense will create the readiness of a country to face the war, as the way to achieve the peacefulness. Sometimes, it also creates security dilemma. When other country tries to gain its military capability, it is considered as the threat. The insecurity of a country itself has illogical reason. For example, A country has nuclear weapon in

² Ibid. p18.

³ Prabhakaran Paleri, "National Security: Imperatives and Challenges", 2008. p521.

its country, then, B country will have a prejudice in which it feels insecure and considered A country has the nuclear weapon to attack B country.

More peaceful idea shows by liberalism perspective that argues, to maintain security, country does not need to use military, or even create the war as a way to show up its power. By using cooperation with other country, it creates interdependence among others, then the security will be maintained automatically.

Barry Buzan representing the constructivist and developed the securitization idea from Ole Wæver, [a close colleague of Buzan who defines securitization theory is elaborating the insight that no issue is essentially as a threat⁴. In other words, securitization is the art of speech. The understanding of securitization is considered as the act to maintain the security. However in Barry Buzan's idea, there is nothing that can be considered as a threat⁵. For a country, it is a power of language, in which the conditions of possibility of threats are internal to the act of saying "security."⁶ It can be concluded that securitization idea is talking about the complicated way taken by a country to achieve the national interest. However, country is usually doing an indirect thing to achieve that national interest, which nobody knows what exactly the main interest that it really wants to achieve.](#)

⁴ Thierry Balzacq, "Securitization Theory How Security Problems Emerge and Dissolve", Routledge, London and New York, 2011.

⁵ Marianne Stone, "Security According to Buzan: A Comprehensive Security Analysis", GEEST, 2009.

⁶ Opcit.

B. ISIS and the Securitization Project of Turkey

International society got shocked after Turkey changed its action as a respond to ISIS by conducting military intervention, together with its partner, the U.S. Turkey seems so enjoyable with its aggressiveness in conducting military intervention to ISIS. An incident from ISIS which killed 33 people in Suruc, become the reason of Turkey to attack ISIS. However, this reason was unacceptable for Russia. Vladimir Putin assumed that Turkey conducted military intervention for dual purposes, to overthrowing ISIS and Kurdish, including to overthrow Assad regime⁷.

The assumption of Russia is reasonable to analyze. It is natural for a country to protect its security, and Turkey has purpose to maintain its security in states level by conducting military intervention to protect its region and society. Then now Turkey is upgrading the focus of security in international level by involving itself on military intervention to ISIS. It is being questionable, whether Turkey is truly care with international security that disturbed by ISIS or there are other purposes through its action. The theory of securitization from Barry Buzan will be proper to analyze and answer what exactly the purpose that Turkey's wants to achieve.

Overthrowing ISIS, Kurdish, and Assad Regime

Turkey's military intervention in Syria is definitely known as a focus on attacking ISIS. The Syrian uprising could not be as a strong reason for Turkey to conduct military intervention because it is fully discursive to Turkey and totally be

⁷ "Simalakama Rusia Perangi ISIS" in Tempo, October 6, 2015.

matter of Syria. Even this problem could be called as the trigger that breaks the relations of Turkey and Syria.

Turkey's action to attack ISIS nowadays is more aggressive than before. This country seems in "above the cloud" position. The U.S as its partner makes Turkey more confident to attack ISIS and now Turkey is one of the main actors to attack ISIS. However, the success of Turkey and the U.S to attack ISIS is questioned by the international society. There is no concrete evidence showing that ISIS has collapsed or given up by attacks from Turkey and the U.S. It only shows that the condition of Syria increasingly devastated because of the attacks. Nevertheless, the assumption that Turkey has double purposes in its action to attack ISIS is probably true. It is reported from BBC news, Kurdistan said that Turkey attacked them in Kobane, a city in north Syria, using their tanks⁸. Even more, Turkey jets bombarded the defense bases of the PKK in Qandil, in Iraq⁹. Whereas, there is no ISIS in Qandil.

This is an odd thing because Turkey looks more enthusiast to attack Kurdish than to attack ISIS. The theory of securitization from Barry Buzan will answer the prejudice of what actually the interest of Turkey is in its action to attack ISIS. If Turkey really means to attack ISIS, it does not necessarily creates the tension to Kurdish because they have the same goal, to overthrow ISIS. Instead of doing cooperation, Turkey even considered Kurdistan as a terrorist group, the same as ISIS. Selahattin Demirtas, as the leader of Kurdish Peoples' Democratic Party

⁸ "Turki dituduh menyerang Pasukan Kurdi Suriah" on BBC Indonesia, July 28, 2015. <http://www.bbcindonesia.com>

⁹ Uzay Bulut, "Turkey Uses ISIS as Excuse to Attack Kurds", July 30, 2015. <http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org>

(HDP) said the ISIS free-zone made by Turkey and the U.S is actually only to prevent the Kurdish to expand the areas close to Turkey¹⁰. This matter also conveyed by Anne Barnard on her article in New York Times that ISIS free-zone is established to provide a place to train Syrian militants which is part of the effort to support the fight against Assad regime, but the militants have to keep this zone from ISIS, and also Kurdistan¹¹.

The attack from Turkey to Kurdistan is not a misdirected attack, but called as Turkey's opportunity to hide its main purpose behind its military intervention to ISIS. Turkey stated that the military intervention has conducted to attack ISIS, nevertheless it seems Turkey is to focus on attacking Kurdistan in its border rather than to attack ISIS. Whereas, Turkey's goal is to maintain the security of its region which is unstable nowadays because of ISIS. Turkey also prevent this group spreading to the world as well establishing ISIS free-zone in Turkish-Syrian borders, as the access of ISIS members to come to Syria. However Turkey's action does not same with what it says. Moreover, there is no evident that shows the attack from Turkey to ISIS brought the successfulness. Different from Russia, this country perfectly shows the world its success to attack ISIS. It is proven by Aleppo, the city in Syria which was controlled by ISIS, then the attack is able to drive out ISIS in that region.

Turkey's behavior also can be connected with other objectives that it wants to achieve. The prejudice that Turkey actually wants to prevent its region from

¹⁰ "Pemimpin Kurdi mengecam rencana "Zona Penyangga" di Suriah on BBC News, July 29, 2015. <http://www.bbc.com>

¹¹ "Goals Diverge and Perils Remain as U.S. and Turkey Take on ISIS" on New York Times, July 27, 2015. <http://www.nytimes.com>

Kurdistan could be true from the way of how Turkey was more excited to attack Kurdistan in Turkish-Syrian and Turkish-Iraqi borders. However, other presumption also appears, which is to overthrow Assad regime. It cannot be regarded as an assumption, but it is indeed the real thing that wants to achieve by Turkey, as the writer already explains in chapter III. The disclosure of evidence is seen from the requirement of Turkish government to join on coalition, states that Turkey would join the coalition if it gives priority to overthrow Assad regime¹². The U.S coalition previously focused on attacking ISIS, as an urgent matter, but Turkey considered if the focus shifted to against Assad, peace will be created¹³. Moreover, the attempt of Turkey and the U.S to establish ISIS free-zone in Turkish-Syrian borders to help Syrian militant, by training them to increase the strength against ISIS, already shows the evidence that both of them are against Assad regime¹⁴.

The securitization idea of Barry Buzan is proven from Turkey's odd actions. ISIS means nothing for Turkey. This country even does not consider ISIS as a threat for it. It is proven from the beginning of ISIS establishment, Turkey does not seem so concern to attack this group and get involved on military intervention, even Turkey joined on the U.S lead anti-ISIS coalition, but it has to take a long time to wait for Turkey to involve on military intervention. The condition was changing after threatening feeling of Turkey because Kurdish also attacked ISIS near its

¹² Ranny Utami, "Turki Izinkan AS Serang ISIS Lewat Pangkalan di Incirlik" on CNN, July 24, 2015. <http://www.cnnindonesia.com>

¹³ "Kesepakatan AS-Turki Bantu Perlawanan di Suriah" on BBC News, February 18, 2015. <http://www.bbc.com>

¹⁴ "Amerika Serikat dan Turki Melatih Pemberontak Suriah" on Tempo, February 21, 2015. <http://www.tempo.com>

border, Turkey finally decided to intervene ISIS and build ISIS free-zone with its partner, the U.S. Moreover, the establishment of ISIS free-zone is also as a “stepping stone” for Turkey to overthrow Kurdish and Assad regime. Then by providing a place for Syrian militant to live and train them to increase their military ability does not make Turkey so concern about international security. Even more, international society will smartly conclude that all Turkey’s actions and behaviors are only to maintain its domestic security that has been threatened for a long time by Kurdistan, and to end the tension with Assad regime by overthrowing him. Then, a peaceful relationship with this neighbor will be started again in another time when Syria has a new President.

International Power Recognition of Turkey

After its involvement, Turkey nowadays is being one of the main actors in ISIS crisis, together with the U.S, Russia and other coalition members. Nobody knows what exactly the interest of Turkey in involving itself to attack ISIS on military intervention. The prejudices come from peculiarity evidences that exist which tell that Turkey is attacking ISIS is only as the guise to overthrow Assad regime and Kurdistan. Moreover, in a deep analysis, Turkey did it as a goal to re-position its power in the Middle East.

This analysis could be exaggerated, but it makes sense, since Turkey is a place where East and West could intermingle. Even more, Turkey is considered as a “bridge” to connect Asia and Europe. However, its position which placed in Asia and Europe also creates the crisis of identity. After the fall of Ottoman empire,

Turkey changed into Republic and its behavior tends to follow the Europe than Asia. It shows from the secularism idea that applies in Turkey, although the majority of the population is Muslim. Nevertheless, its choice to be more incline to the West does not make Turkey is easily accepted by Europe. Moreover, Turkey seems to be too arrogant to Asia by its choice to incline more to the West by ignoring its uniqueness which is also as part of Asia, it caused Turkey is not so well received either in Europe, or in Asia.

As the time past, Turkey lose its power and called as “The Sick Man of Europe”. Ottoman Empire was fall and the power had already disappears for so long time, but it seems hard for Turkey to accept that it was no longer considered as a strong country. It needs a long time and effort for Turkey to be considered by the world, one of the ways is by applying “zero-problem with-neighbor” policy. It has already explained on previous chapter, “zero-problem-with neighbor” policy is impress the world that Turkey is eligible to account for in terms of politics¹⁵. Turkey considered as a stable country who can protect and hold its country from the unneeded tension with the neighbor. However at this moment, because the “zero-problem-with neighbor” policy had been "betrayed" over the action of Turkey to fight against ISIS on military intervention in Syria, the “nice” Turkey is defected in the eyes of the world.

It cannot be denied that Turkey has an important role on creating the peace in Syria that has been disturbed by ISIS. First, Turkey is the country who directly connected to Syria and Iraq as the places where ISIS exist, in terms of land. Even

¹⁵ See “Turkish Foreign Policy Vision” by Ahmet Davutoglu.

Saudi Arabia also the neighbor of these countries, it more focus on maintaining its region from the attack of Yemen, than against ISIS¹⁶. This can be the opportunity of Turkey to show the world that it is needed to overthrow ISIS. Turkey's involvement in military intervention against ISIS can be concluded that the U.S lead anti-ISIS coalition becomes easier to do ceasefire. It is proven, the U.S can open the air base at Incirlik that allows the U.S to conduct air strikes against ISIS. Moreover, ISIS free-zone was established. This matter being a hope for international society, by the involvement of Turkey to against ISIS, Turkey will prevent ISIS to spread to the world by its effort on the establishment of ISIS free-zone. It could be said, if Turkey does not get involved in military intervention, it could never happened, because The U.S coalition would not be able to establish ISIS free-zone and air base without allowance of Turkey. Then, Turkey played its role as a good country with good purpose that is going to embrace Syrian militant and help them to overthrow Assad regime.

Turkey and its decision to choose the U.S as its partner to overthrow ISIS could be considered as a smart way. The benefit of this collaboration is not only achieved by Turkey, but also the U.S. Turkey can re-positioning its power in the Middle East as the important party to overthrow ISIS, while the U.S got the benefit to strengthen its position as the leader of coalition to overthrow ISIS. However, the U.S lead anti-ISIS coalition is questionable whether the U.S still leads the coalition to attack ISIS, or it just stays at the back and let Turkey become the main actor in

¹⁶ Ikhwanul Kiram Mashuri, "Mengapa Yaman, bukan Israel atau ISIS yang diserang?", Republika, April 6, 2015. <http://www.republika.co.id>

this drama. It can be seen from the beginning, the U.S yielded in order to get Turkey as its partner to attack ISIS, and then the focus of military aggression split into two, which is initially focused solely on attacking ISIS, and now also focus on overthrowing Assad regime¹⁷. The U.S considers ISIS is more urgent than the dictatorship problem of Assad and Syrian militant. However, Turkey's ability to make the U.S think about democracy and human rights which previously upheld by the U.S, to finally consider of overthrowing Assad as a priority. By prioritizing to overthrow Assad, then peace will be enhanced.

Nevertheless, it seems that nowadays Turkey has taken over the intervention, but definitely Turkey has exceeded the limit. The overreaction of Turkey's respond is showed in the incident of Russian jet when it shot down Russian jet on November 24, which flying across the border of Syria and Turkey. Turkey argued that the Russian jet crossed the buffer zone areas, and Turkey should shoot it down. This action creates the tension between Turkey and Russia. Unsurprisingly, the U.S supports Turkey's action through this problem. The U.S Defense Department spokesman, Colonel Warren said that Turkey has the right to protect its territory from various threats, including the Russian jet that cross the buffer zone¹⁸. Once more, the U.S seems like letting Turkey to be the main actor in ISIS crisis. Then other support comes from NATO. Based on the article 5 of NATO which states that the threat to one of NATO member, be a threat for all NATO members. Ambassador Haydar Berk, The Permanent Representative of Turkey to

¹⁷ Ranny Utami, op.cit.

¹⁸ "The Real Reason for Turkey's Shoot Down of The Russian Jet" by Gareth Porter on Common Dreams, November 30, 2015. <http://www.commondreams.org>

the NATO states: *"NATO is one of the essential dimensions of Turkish foreign and defense policy. Turkey has been an important member of the Alliance and a reliable Ally for 60 years."* It is obviously that Turkey already get the protection from NATO and the U.S. Moreover, this clearly tells that Turkey had dared to show that it has a power and should not to be underestimated, even for a strong country like Russia.

The important role of Turkey in military intervention against ISIS really brings the opportunity of Turkey to re-position its power in the Middle East. Turkey wants to show to the world that it is not "A sick man of Europe" anymore. The disrespectful ways of Turkey by shooting down the Russian jet was as the way to show the world that it is still powerful and reliable to involve on the overthrowing of ISIS. Nevertheless, the world was not impressed on it and considered Turkey did the wrong action. The Russian coalition, Syria by its Syrian Information Minister Omran al-Zoubi said, "The shooting would be added to the criminal record of insurgent groups fighting in the country and of those countries that were financing and arming them"¹⁹. While Russia's respond stated by Vladimir Putin said that "We are not planning to engage in military sabre-rattling. But if anyone thinks that having committed this awful war crime, the murder of our people, that they are going to get away with some measures concerning their tomatoes or some limits on construction and other sectors, they are sorely mistaken"²⁰."

Turkey's involvement on attacking ISIS makes Turkey being an important country on ISIS problem. It can be seen from its geographical location which is

¹⁹ "Russian Foreign Minister Cancels Visit to Turkey", New Indian Express, November 24, 2015. <http://www.newindianexpress.com>

²⁰ "Putin: Turkey will regret jet shooting 'more than once'" on Aljazeera, December 4, 2015. <http://www.aljazeera.com>

bordered directly with Syria and Iraq, as the places where ISIS was established. It is makes sense that Turkey is serious to re-position its power in Middle East by its involvement on military intervention to ISIS and disrespectful action to Russian jet could be effective to show that it is a powerful country. However, the way to show of its power was so reckless. To show the power, Turkey should not do brutal action by shooting down Russian jet. It does not matter if Turkey feels proud because of its important role through the matter of international security, but it must be underlined that Turkey should be conscious, misbehaving action could not regarded as a power, moreover, Turkey still need the help and protection by NATO and the U.S which causes Turkey feels confident to attack ISIS, or Kurdistan, and those parties who helped Assad regime.