MILITARIZATION OF ETHNIC CONFLICT

IN TURKEY, ISRAEL AND PAKISTAN

by

Murat Ulgul

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHRC	Asian Human Rights Commission
AI	Amnesty International
AL	Awami League
AMAN	The Directorate of Military Intelligence (Israel)
CAS	Chief of the Army Staff
CGS	Chief of the General Staff
CiC	Commander-in-Chief
CUP	Commitee of Union and Progress
DeP	Democracy Party
DP	Democratic Party
EBDO	Elective Bodies (Disqualification) Order
EU	European Union
HRCP	Human Rights Commission of Pakistan
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ICG	International Crisis Group
IDF	Israel Defense Forces
IJI	Islamic Jamhoori Ittihad
ISI	Inter-Services Intelligence (Pakistan)
JDP	Justice and Development Party

JUI	Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam
JUI-F	Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam-Fazlur Rehman
KCK	Group of Communities in Kurdistan – *Koma Civaken Kurdistan*
LFO	Legal Framework Order
MMA	Mutahida Majilis-e Amal
MP	Motherland Party
MQM	Muttahida Qaumi Movement
MSB	Ministry of National Defense (Turkey) – *Milli Savunma Bakanlığı*
NAP	Nationalist Action Party
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NAWP	National Awami Party
NFC	National Finance Commission
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NIA	National Intelligence Agency (Turkey)
NRP	National Religious Party
NSC	National Security Council
NSPD	National Security Policy Document
NWFP	North-West Frontier Province
PA	Palestinian Authority
PDP	Peace and Democracy Party
PILDAT	Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency
PKK	Kurdistan Workers' Party – *Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan*
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
PLP	People's Labor Party

PML-N	Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz
PML-Q	Pakistan Muslim League-Quadi-e-Azam
PNA	Pakistan National Alliance
PPP	Pakistan Peoples' Party
PRODA	Public and Representative Offices (Disqualification) Act
RPP	Republican People's Party
SDPP	Social Democratic Populist Party
TBMM	The Grand National Assembly of Turkey – *Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi*
TPP	True Path Party
UN	United Nations
U.S.	United States
UNEF	United Nations Emergency Force
UNPO	Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization
WP	Welfare Party

ABSTRACT

How does the military influence on politics affect interethnic relations and ethnic policies within a state? This study aims to answer this question that has been largely unanswered in both ethnic conflict and civil-military relations literature. In the last decade, there has been a growing scholarly interest in the relationship between the regime type and international conflict. Several scholars argue that because soldiers are more war-prone than civilians as a result of certain characteristics, military regimes are more likely to initiate international conflicts. I use the arguments of this theory, which is called military activism, to explain if military influence on politics has a role in the decision to use force against ethnic groups within a state. I also explain the historical roots of military influence and ethnic policies by adopting historical institutionalism in this study.

I use a comparative case study method to see how different forms of military influence affect ethnic policies within a state. In this regard, I compare military control in Turkey, military participation in Israel and military rule in Pakistan. In addition, because the level of military influence varies in a state's history, it is also possible to make within-case comparisons to see if the increase or decrease of military influence on politics has a role in the changes in ethnic policies. In these cases I will analyze Turkey's Kurdish policy, Israel's Arab/Palestinian policy and Pakistan's Bengali/Baloch policy.

The main finding in the study is that regardless of its form, military influence on politics is detrimental to interethnic relations and the more the military has an influence on policymaking, the more likely it is to see militarist policies against rebellious ethnic groups. Military activism has significant explanatory power in all cases while the categorical distinction this theory makes between the officers and civilians varies depending on the form of military influence. I also found out that history matters and the developments in the state-building processes shape the military influence and ethnic policies in the following decades. Finally, the study brings some important observations in favor of constructivism and democratization theories.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Although ethnic conflict is not a recent phenomenon[1] and scholars have devoted

significant attention to interethnic relations in modern societies since 1970s (e.g.,

Huntington 1968, Daalder 1974, Schmitter 1974, Young 1976), what brought the subject

into the spotlight was the end of the Cold War and the structural changes it created in

global politics. The collapse of multi-ethnic countries such as the Soviet Union and

Yugoslavia triggered various ethnic tensions, conflicts and wars between and within the

newly-established countries such as Bosnia-Serbia-Croatia, Azerbaijan-Armenia,

Kazakhstan, Estonia, Bulgaria and many others. In the post-Cold War period, African

states also became a hot-bed of ethnic conflicts, to the point that some of them even

resulted in genocide, for instance, Rwanda being the most notorious case. On the other

side of the world, some East Asian states such as Sri Lanka and Burma suffered from

bloodshed between different ethnic groups. Even in Western states such as Ireland, Spain,

Canada, and Belgium tensions between different ethnic groups visibly increased. The

result of this development in global politics was a developing literature on ethnic

conflicts.

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[1] As Halperin (1998) argues, ethnic conflict was endemic in Europe even during its supposed "one hundred years of peace" between 1815 and 1914.

The purpose of this study is to contribute to the continuously-growing literature on ethnic conflict by highlighting important but significantly-ignored variables: civilian control of the military, military influence on politics, soldier-politicians, military mindset, a militarized society, etc. The main research question is how military influence on politics affects interethnic relations and ethnic policies within a state. Despite the fact that ethnic conflict and civil-military relations are separate areas of study within the international security literature, they are not completely independent from each other, and a development in one area has the potential to affect the processes in the other. Indeed, some scholars have analyzed how ethnic problems in some countries have given an excuse/reason to the military to intervene into politics or how the number of ethnic groups and their hierarchical relationship within a state may cause political conflict between governments and militaries (e.g., Enloe 1980, Horowitz 1985, Haleem 2003, Lindemann 2011). African states especially, with their ethnically heterogeneous populations and high number of military coups and coup attempts, present a good opportunity to offer this kind of causal relationship in which ethnic factors are regarded as independent variables while civilian control of the military is a dependent variable. Nevertheless, it is possible to reverse this causality and explore how civilian control of the military and/or military influence on politics is able to affect interethnic relations and/or ethnic policies within a state. Unfortunately, the existing ethnic conflict and civil-military relations literatures are lacking this kind of analysis.

The literature on ethnic conflict is mainly composed of rational choice (e.g., Posen 1993, Fearon 1995, Lake and Rothchild 1996, de Figueiredo and Weingast 1999)

and social-psychological theories (e.g., Horowitz 1985, Kaufman 2001, Ross 2007, McDoom 2012). Although these theories provide noteworthy explanations, there is no theoretical perspective explaining how military influence on politics affects ethnic policies in this literature. Instead, as mentioned, scholars are generally interested in analyzing how variables about ethnicity and/or ethnic conflict cause changes in civil-military relations within a state. On the other hand, there are two competing theories within the civil-military relations literature that reverse this causality between civil-military relations and conflict. These theories are military activism (e.g., Vagts 1956, Bremer 1992, Sechser 2004, Lai and Slater 2006, Stewart and Zhukov 2009, Weeks 2012) and military conservatism (e.g., Betts 1977, Andreski 1980, Huntington 1985, Maoz and Abdolali 1989). According to the military activism theory, soldiers are more war-prone than civilians and as a result, military regimes are more inclined to initiate international conflict than civilian regimes. Military activism holds that organizational interests and military mindset shape group interests and psychology within the military in a hawkish way and because of this, international conflict is more likely if one or both sides are led by soldiers. Contrary to this, military conservatism asserts that military officers are conservative in the use of force and many international conflicts are the result of ambitious and irresponsible civilian elites. The problem in these theories is that scholars have tested these theories only in terms of international conflict.

But how about domestic conflicts? If the proponents of military activism are right in their argument that soldiers are more war-prone than civilians because of organizational interests and the military mindset, it is natural to assume that the same

factors should affect the soldiers' thoughts and policy preferences on ethnic issues and they should be the main supporter of militarist policies against ethnic opponents. If military conservatism has more explanatory power, we should expect to see that civilian politicians are more likely to propose use of force against ethnic groups than the military. Although domestic and international conflicts are not identical in terms of causes and consequences, there is no reason not to apply these theories in ethnic conflict cases. What is crucial here is that through testing military activism and military conservatism theories in ethnic conflict cases, we can find out how military influence on politics affects ethnic policies and interethnic relations within a state. The importance of this kind of analysis is the opportunity to ask some questions not previously asked: Are soldiers more inclined to solve ethnic problems by use of force rather than through diplomatic, economic and social means? How do military coups and the presence of military regimes affect interethnic relations? Do close military-society ties lead to changes in the preferences of civilian elites in power? In what ways does the presence of soldier-politicians in key government posts and in parliaments and their dialogue with civilian elites affect the ethnic policies? How do the policies of military leaders help ethnic groups to mobilize?

I will try to answer these questions in three cases: Turkey, Israel and Pakistan. The purpose of this study is neither to establish an overarching theory explaining all ethnic conflicts nor refute rational or socio-psychological theories. Indeed, what will be tested here are not ethnic conflict theories but military activism and military conservatism. The objective is to bring some variables into the spotlight and open the way for new discussions in the literature. In addition, in this study I will follow an

approach rarely used in explaining ethnic conflicts: historical institutionalism. Historical

institutionalism necessitates "interactions among a variety of variables in a way that

reflects the complexity of real political situations" (Thelen and Steinmo 1992, 13). Since

I will analyze the interaction between several variables such as military influence on

politics, military coups, soldier-politicians, military mindset, external threats, ethnic

policies, etc. I anticipate that this approach will provide the best framework for this study.

Nevertheless, before a more detailed theoretical explanation and justification of the

methodology and case-selection it is necessary to analyze the existing literature on ethnic

conflict, military activism/conservatism and historical institutionalism.

1.1 Literature Review

1.1.1 Theories of Ethnic Conflict

Ethnic conflict is "a form of group conflict in which at least one of the parties

involved interprets the conflict, its causes and potential remedies along an actually

existing or perceived discriminating ethnic divide" (Cordell and Wolff 2010, 5).[2]

Although ethnic conflict theories will not be tested in this study, I will briefly summarize

them here since I believe that the decision to use force, whether adopted by soldiers or

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[2] The important part of this definition is that it is sufficient that only one side sees the conflict from an ethnic perspective. Indeed, in some cases recognizing the problems as ethnic may contradict with the foundational claim that a state is ethnically homogenous or governments may prefer to label the conflict with other terms in order to damage the legitimacy of ethnic movements. Both of these situations can be seen in Turkey: until the 1990s Turkish governments rejected to recognize Kurdish identity and when the conflict gained momentum in the last two decades they labeled the problem as terrorism. Similarly, in the 1970s, Golda Meir, the former Israeli prime minister, stated, "There is no Palestinian nation" (Peri 2002, 19), since recognizing this identity may have turned the international conflict into a domestic one and have given more obligations to the Israeli government to abide by within the newly-occupied territories. Nonetheless, these rejectionist policies do not obstruct us from regarding these conflicts as ethnic since Kurdish and Palestinian groups believed that their inferior status was based on their different ethnic identity.

civilians, may transform the nature of ethnic conflicts. Following the typology made by Cordell and Wolff (Ibid., 25-43), I separate ethnic conflict theories into two main schools: rational-choice and social-psychological theories. In the next chapters, I will show examples of some ethnic problems which began with economic concerns or security fears – the subjects of rational-choice theories – but turned into zero-sum nationalist struggles as the use of force against ethnic groups creates hostilities and national myths which improve the explanatory power of social-psychological theories. Therefore, it is necessary to have a brief knowledge about the literature both to understand the causes of ethnic conflicts and to see the gap I intend to fill.

Rational-choice theories assume that individuals – leaders and/or members of an ethnic group – act as a result of cost-benefit calculations and if the benefit of the conflict exceeds the costs, ethnic conflict occurs. Security-oriented rational-choice theories concentrate on the security dimension of ethnic conflict and argue that conflict occurs and escalates between ethnic groups as a result of the fear of being attacked by other group(s). Lake and Rothchild (1996, 41) argue that the fear of being attacked is fed by some factors such as an information failure, commitment problem and security dilemma between groups. This fear may lead an ethnic group to arm itself and/or make a preventive attack in order to not be a victim. These actions are the result of cost-benefit calculations since the benefit of a preventive attack outweighs the costs of being a victim (Posen 1993).

Other rational-choice theorists focus on economic and political greed and argue

that economic and political benefits may lead individuals to provoke and support ethnic conflicts between groups. Collier and Hoeffler (1998) argue that the probability of civil war is higher in low-income countries since the economic gains of fighting provide benefits for rebels, and the duration of ethnic conflict is dependent on the gains from the civil war. In this view, a conflict may increase economic gains from smuggling, arms-trading, natural resources in the conflicting area, diaspora donations, etc. and economic opportunities may explain the emergence of ethnic conflicts better than other motives. Others focus on political greed and point out that power ambitions of elites and their fear of losing power may lead to an ethnic conflict. In this logic, if elites feel that their power is threatened, they may decide to undertake military action against a certain ethnic group to maintain their power. In order to do that, elites make the public believe that the nation is facing a grave danger. Although the public could not know who is mainly responsible for the conflict, they are inclined to believe that the other group may be threatening; therefore, they support violent policies offered by the elites (de Figueiredo and Wiengast 1999). Here, public fear and elite ambitions play an equal role in the emergence of ethnic conflict as a result of cost-benefit analysis on both sides.

Social-psychological theories, on the other hand, prioritize intangible factors such as group worth and legitimacy, myths and symbols, cultural factors, etc. in explaining ethnic conflicts. One sub-theory in this school, realistic group conflict theory, focuses on group psychology and assumes that competition between ethnic groups is zero-sum and a group's gain (loss) equals to a loss (gain) for the other group. In this competition, a group is inclined to develop positive values for itself, while the other group is given negative

stereotypes (Sherif 1966). As this study looks at the group psychology of military officers and focuses on territorial conflicts which are often zero-sum games, realistic group conflict theory may provide important explanations in my cases.

Another sub-theory within the social-psychological school is social identity theory. Proponents of this theory concentrate more on the formation and comparisons of identities and the legitimization of intergroup relations rather than group interests. According to its adherents, conflict is likely if the minority group established its relations with the majority group illegitimately and the system within the state is unstable. In this kind of situation, the minority group tries to transform interethnic relations through force to get a positive social identity to replace its negative identity as a minority group. Since the majority group will try to prevent this challenge, conflict occurs. Horowitz (1985, 227) argues that this type of group comparison is widespread especially in the ex-colonial countries in Asia, Africa and the Caribbean because of the colonial policies that created advanced and backward groups. He shows that colonial states favored some ethnic groups to the disadvantage of others and the main reason for ethnic conflict in the post-independence period in these regions is this inequality between groups. In this study, this theory has significant explanatory power in the Pakistani case, but group comparison is not only seen in ex-colonial states.

The final theory in the social-psychological school are the psychoanalytic/ psychodynamic theories in which symbols, myths, rituals, national histories, etc. play a decisive role in explaining the causes of ethnic conflict and its escalation. Like social

identity theory, identity is at the center of psychoanalytic/psychodynamic theories; however, as can be understood from its name, psychological factors play a more important role in ethnic conflicts than intergroup comparisons. In this theory, not only are cultural symbols, rituals, national glories and even defeats important for the definition of group identity, but it is necessary to have an enemy against this common identity and to equate this enemy with negative characteristics. This theory takes its roots from Anthony Smith's ethno-symbolic theory of nationalism which stresses the "complex interplay between elites and various sections of the wider population whom [the former] may seek to mobilize in terms of symbols, myths and memories that resonate with them" (Smith 2009, 21).

The purpose of this study is neither to prove nor to refute these theories. As I shall show in the case studies, in certain time periods and in certain places all these theories may have explanatory power. For example, while the commitment problem played a significant role in increasing the tensions between Turks and Kurds in the 1920s and 1930s, group comparison and national myths turned into the main factors affecting interethnic relations in the 1980s and 1990s. Sometimes more than one factor may function at the same time as economic factors, political greed and group comparison increased the violence between the Pakistani military and Balochs in the 2000s. Instead, my concern is to show how the military and its values may transform the nature of interethnic relations and ethnic conflicts. For instance, a conflict may start because of economic factors or group inequality but if a military regime comes to power and if their leaders are more war-prone than civilians, as military activism argues, the policies

adopted by this regime may lead to a lack of credible commitment or national myths that keep hostilities intact. This kind of scenario makes it important to bring some attention to variables related to the military.

Nevertheless, this study is not the first attempt at analyzing the relationship between ethnic conflicts and military regimes or military influence on politics. In his influential study, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, Donald L. Horowitz (1985, 443-559) gives a full chapter of detailed analysis about ethnic conflict and civil-military relations in ex-colonized states in Asia, Africa and the Caribbean. Horowitz argues that ethnic coups frequently take place in these countries for several reasons. Colonial policies are one of them since ex-colonial armies in these states tend to be drawn from backward groups and after independence the domination of the army by these groups is challenged by the advanced groups who see control of the army as a competition between these identities. There are also some institutional problems facilitating ethnic coups in these countries. These are the connections between soldiers and politicians, the officers' difficulty in putting ethnic affiliations aside and civilian intrusion into military politics. According to Horowitz, these elements reinforce each other and lead the officers and civilians to cooperate with each other to increase the interests of their own ethnic groups. The result is ethnic competition over the army which ends either with military disquiet and military coups or homogenization of the army.

Despite of the fact that Horowitz made some important points on the relationship between military coups and ethnic conflicts, in this study I focus on something different.

Although civilian intrusion into military politics and civilians' efforts to manipulate the balance in the military in order to increase their personal or their own ethnic group's interests are important factors in these ex-colonized countries, my intention is to look at cases in which the military interfered in civilian politics and endangered interethnic peace without or with minor civilian intrusions. It is possible to see this scenario in countries in which ethnic competition over the military is not an issue. For instance, since independence neither Kurds in Turkey nor Palestinians in Israel have made any attempt to control the military. Nevertheless, the militaries in these states still have an effect on interethnic relations by affecting the political decision-making. Even in Pakistan, which is an ex-colonial state, it is possible to focus on the military's organizational identity and preferences rather than civilian intrusions into the military. Therefore, what I am mainly looking at is not the interaction between civilians and officers in ethnic terms, but the independent effect of the military on interethnic relations and ethnic policies. This intention necessitates seeing the military and its officers as independent or intervening variables rather than dependent ones.

1.1.2 Military Activism and Military Conservatism

If we need to show those variables related to the military as independent or intervening variables, the ethnic conflict literature, unfortunately, gives us no theoretical perspective. On the other hand, a relatively small but important discussion in the civil-military relations literature points out two competing theories, military activism and military conservatism, that analyze the effects of military values and military regimes on

international conflict and it is possible to adopt these theories and apply them to ethnic conflict cases. Starting with military activism, its proponents argue that soldiers are more war-prone than civilians and that the presence of military regimes may increase the possibility for international conflict between states. They support this argument with two factors: organizational interests and military mindset.

First, it is argued that the organizational interests of the military may lead military officers to follow offensive policies since war brings some psychological and material benefits to the soldiers. To begin with, combat may bring glory and excitement and a victory in war may open the door to political careers for some generals. There are several politicians such as George Washington, Dwight Eisenhower, Charles de Gaulle, etc. who owed their political careers to their successful military fame. Combat also gives the military a large share of the budget. Soldiers would like to obtain new weapons improved by technological developments and during peacetime governments may be less inclined to obtain these weapons since they may need to spend the budget on other areas such as education, health services or building factories. Last but not least, combat gives officers and soldiers battlefield experience. During the conflict, an army has a chance to try new strategies, to test the efficiency of the officers and how soldiers react against the real stresses of conflict. According to military activism, all these benefits increase the possibility of conflict (Sechser 2004, 750).

Second, the theory argues that soldiers are more war-prone than the civilians because of the military mindset. Military mindset is mainly the result of the functional

specialization within the military. More than in any other job, the belief system a soldier

holds is significantly shaped by the professional environment in which he finds himself

from the first day he steps into a military academy. A military career differs from other

professions in terms of socialization, as military academies and military barracks

physically separate soldiers from the civilian world for an extended period while the

military in general enlists those who view national security as a main concern. Even

though military cadets may be ideologically diverse at the beginning of their education, a

distinct type of military man is created over time through training, operations, and even

wars. What is important is that the ideas, values and norms gained in the military

educations are permanent in a soldier's mind as the militaries are "total institutions that

mold the beliefs of their members for life" (Cohen 2004, 98). According to the military

activism theory, this specific education and socialization make the soldiers war-prone

because it emphasizes security and survival while creating a certain type of belief-system

which is called military mindset.

Military mindset refers to the ideas, values, and norms a military man holds about

the role of the army and the use of force in domestic and international affairs. The

proponents of military activism theory argue that military mindset has some ideological

patterns that make the soldiers war-prone. First, soldiers are trained as realistic,

pessimistic and cautious men. The main objectives of military training are to survive in

the battlefield, win wars, and protect the borders of the state and security of the citizens

from external threats. In this profession, even a small mistake may have enormous

consequences; therefore, a soldier has to take all worst-case scenarios into consideration,

which makes him a natural-born pessimist. Samuel Huntington (1985, 61), who put the

military mindset into theoretical perspective for the first time, argues that a military man

sees "violence rooted in the permanent biological and psychological nature of men" and

"between the good and evil in man, the military ethic emphasizes the evil." If a military

man wants to survive, protect, and win, he has to be "a man of Hobbes" who trusts no

one other than himself and his companion-in-arms. This pessimism is mainly about the

capacities and intentions of the enemy, but soldiers may also mistrust the politicians who,

they believe, lack an accurate understanding of security affairs and often behave in a self-

seeking way.

Related to this pessimism and realism, the second ideological pattern in the

military mindset is a soldiers' preference for military measures to end security problems.

This preference is based on the fact that soldiers see security affairs from a unique

perspective. Because they "are socialized to envision national security as a strictly

military problem," as Sechser (2004, 750-51) argues, soldiers may undervalue economic

and diplomatic aspects of security problems whereas they exaggerate security threats,

highlight the advantages of striking first and generate optimistic evaluations of the results

of war . However desirable it is, long and comprehensive thinking is not expected from

them because in the battlefield comprehensive thinking may lead to a loss of precious

time, or worse, death and defeat. As a result of military education, soldiers tend to prefer

short-term military measures over diplomacy, which is unpredictable and takes a longer

time to apply. Furthermore, soldiers see political concessions to the adversary as a

weakness which can be exploited in the future if the balance of power between the two

groups changes in favor of the enemy. According to soldiers, diplomatic concessions only prolong the existing problems, whereas, with a certain triumph on the battlefield, the victor can impose its conditions on the enemy and decisively end the problem. Because soldiers see diplomacy as a waste of time, they also do not like civilians to meddle in military matters by presenting alternative solutions (Ibid., 751; Weeks 2012, 333).

Although I will mainly test the military activism theory in this study, it is necessary to give a brief look at the military conservatism theory which has the opposite arguments. While military activism claims that soldiers are more war-prone than civilians, military conservatism holds that many international conflicts are the result of the ambitious policies of irresponsible civilian elites and military officers are conservative in the use of force. Although this theory shares some common assumptions with military activism such as the one about the nature of men, its proponents argue that military officers have organizational interests different from what military activism argues. Since soldiers are the ones who die or get wounded on the battlefield, this theory holds that they do not want to suffer because of the naïve and ideal policies of the civilians. This is evidenced by the well-known quote of Douglas MacArthur, former Chief of Staff of the United States Army in the 1930s, "the soldier above all other people prays for peace for he must suffer and bear the deepest wounds and scars of war" (Imparato 2000, 131). Therefore, what military conservatives regard as organizational interests is different from the understanding of military activism.

Military conservatism also argues that soldiers are more pessimistic on the utility

of military force than civilians. Because civilians have no experience on the battlefield, they underestimate the costs and overvalue the benefits of military action and they argue that soldiers are less inclined to use force until the security and survival of the state is in imminent danger. As a prominent advocate of this theory, Huntington (1985, 69) stresses that professional soldiers rarely favor war since it means the intensification of threats to the national security of a state. As he states, a soldier "tends to see himself as the perennial victim of civilian warmongering. It is the people and the politicians, public opinion and governments, who start wars. It is the military who have to fight them." In parallel to this observation, Betts (1977) finds that during the Cold War, American officers did not homogeneously advocate use of force when faced with crises; contrary to that, civilians offered more aggressive policies than officers.

As can be seen, both military activism and military conservatism are based around the same issues: organizational interests and assumptions on the utility of military force. Nevertheless, they end up with different conclusions and the main reason for this dilemma can be seen in the differences of the cases they analyze. Military conservatives generally justify their arguments with analyses of the US military while military activists mainly researches non-American armies. Because I analyze non-American armies, I will form my hypothesis in accordance with military activism theory; yet, the emphasis here is something different. To me, it is surprising not to see any research about the relationship between civilian-soldier differences and domestic conflict when there is a significant debate in the case of international conflicts. Although the literature on military activism and military conservatism is not as broad as the ethnic conflict literature, the former may

give us enough opportunity to analyze how military influence on policymaking affects interethnic relations and ethnic policies in a country. I argue that if the proponents of military activism are right in their argument that soldiers are more war-prone than civilians because of organizational interests and the military mindset, then it is natural to assume that the same factors should affect the soldiers' thoughts and policy preferences on the issue of ethnic conflict. In short, I aim to bring the debate between military activism and military conservatism into ethnic conflict cases in order to fill an important gap both in the ethnic conflict and civil-military relations literatures.

1.1.3 Historical Institutionalism

The approach I will follow in this study to understand how military influence affects interethnic relations is historical institutionalism. It is necessary to note that historical institutionalism is neither a theory nor a method but an approach to studying politics (Steinmo 2008, 118). At the core of this approach there is a belief that institutions and history matter when trying to understand political decisions. Its proponents argue that institutions are decisive in restraining and refracting politics; nevertheless, they are "never the sole cause of outcomes" (Thelen and Steinmo 1992, 3). In addition, they focus on the historical origins of the institutions and show how the decisions taken in a critical time-period plays a significant role in the future decisions and institutional relationships. Historical institutionalism is useful in this study as I will show that history and institutions are more important than it may seem both in terms of military influence on politics and ethnic policies.

Institutions are the formal organizations and/or rules that structure political behavior and they have always been important since governance occurs through these formal organizations and rules. Political scientists have long been interested in formal institutions such as states, parliaments, political parties, international organizations, constitutions, courts, trade unions, human rights organizations, and many other institutions and showed how they, or their differences, affect the behavior of the political actors. By institutions, not only formal organizations are meant; informal rules and procedures are also emphasized in the explanations of institutionalist scholars. Without understanding institutions, how they work and how they affect political life, any explanation of a political phenomenon would be inadequate. Institutions are important since they shape, constrain and influence political behavior in several ways. According to institutionalists, they "matter more than anything else that could be used to explain political decisions" and because of this importance they deserve an explanation (Peters 2005, 164).

In the literature, there are three main schools of institutionalism: rational choice institutionalism, sociological institutionalism and historical institutionalism. As in all rational-choice schools, rational choice institutionalists treat actors as if they are rational maximizers who prioritize their self-interest and make cost-benefit calculations before acting. In this form of institutionalism, political actors establish institutions and follow formal and informal rules since they believe that institutions will maximize their interests. Institutions are created to solve the problems among the rational actors while they also shape these actors' strategies. Rational choice institutionalism has been mainly

used to explain American congressional behavior but has been criticized for its simplistic assumptions and ignoring of societal factors (Hall and Taylor 1996, 10-13; Weingast 1996; Shepsle 2008)

Against the limitations of the rational choice theory, sociological institutionalists added cultural variables in order to explain political behavior. While sociological institutionalism does not reject the rationality of the actors in forming political institutions, they see the political actors as more socially constituted than rational. Sociological institutionalists also define the institutions more broadly than the rational choice approach by adding "the symbol systems, cognitive scripts, and moral templates that provide the 'frames of meaning' guiding human action" into their explanations (Hall and Taylor 1996, 14). Sociological institutionalists mainly analyze how cultural contexts affect political behavior and how different institutions emerge in different cultures when political actors are faced with similar political questions. These political questions include several political issues such as democratization (McFaul 2001), industrialization (Dobbin 1994), and modernization (Belge 2012).

Historical institutionalism largely overlaps with sociological institutionalism, but demands more than these explanations. Similar to its sociological counterpart, historical institutionalists reject the assumption that actors are rational maximizers. The proponents of this approach argue that sometimes actors "follow societally defined rules, even when so doing may not be directly in our self-interest" (Thelen and Steinmo 1992, 7-8). Likewise, they believe that cultural contexts play a significant role in political behavior

and not only actor's strategies but also their goals are shaped by the institutions they create. Nevertheless, unlike other institutionalists, its proponents are more interested in explaining the persistence of institutions rather than their formation and they seek to explain processes rather than one-time events. In this perspective, the critical issue in historical institutionalism is the historical evolution of the institutions. As Douglass C. North (2006, viii) states, "History matters. It matters not only because we can learn from the past, but because the present and the future are connected to the past by the continuity of a society's institutions. Today's and tomorrow's choices are shaped by the past. And the past can be made intelligible only as a story of institutional evolution."

To understand this emphasis on history more clearly it is necessary to highlight some concepts frequently used by historical institutionalists. Historical institutionalists argue both that institutions affect actors' goals and that history matters because once institutions are created self-reinforcing processes of rules make reversal very difficult. They explain this argument through the concept of *path dependence*. Path dependence means that "what happened at an earlier point in time will affect the possible outcomes of a sequence of events occurring at a later point in time" (Sewell 1996, 262-63). Once an institution is created, the acceptance of political alternatives in later periods becomes difficult because of self-reinforcing processes. Institutions affect patterns of political mobilization, institutional rules of the game and even citizens' basic ways of thinking about the political world. In this situation, political alternatives are lost and political processes may be significantly dependent on the historical foundation of institutions (Pierson 2004, 10-11; Mahoney 2000).

The concept of path-independence indicates that historical periods are not equal. In other words, some time-periods are more important than others in shaping political structures and outcomes. These important time-periods are called *critical junctures*. Critical junctures are brief time-periods during which institutions are created and in which actors are trying to shape the institutions in parallel to their own interests. Critical junctures are generally seen after internal and external shocks such as war, financial crises, military coups, national disasters, etc. The depression of the 1930s in the US, the end of the Second World War, and the debt crisis of the 1980s are some examples of critical junctures (Collier and Collier 1991, 31). While all big internal and external events have the potential to be a critical juncture, in order to be regarded as a critical juncture, an event must lead to significant changes in institutional structures and relations in domestic and international politics. The Second World War, for example, was a critical juncture for Germany and Japan as it brought change in the militaristic self-images in these countries, replacing it with pacifist ones (Keating 2008, 112). Yet, as we see in the Israeli case, not all wars result in the same ideological and institutional changes within a country. Therefore, what defines the critical juncture is the transformation of institutions, not the event itself.

Critical junctures are also the time in which ideologies are set and once a certain kind of ideology is set it may be difficult to reverse in the future. This brings us to the concept of *learning* which is important in historical institutionalism. After ideologies are set in critical junctures, learning is realized in accordance with these ideologies and over time they become firmly held by elites and by society. For instance, different ideas and

rules become dominant and different learning paths take place between a state which adopts democracy and one which has an authoritarian leader during the critical junctures. Democratic norms and values are not practiced within an authoritarian regime and there is no benefit to the politicians to adopt these norms and values. Therefore, if there is no crisis within the system that may lead to a new critical juncture, succeeding actors adopt the existing ideologies and rules rather than challenging them because of these learning processes based on established formal and informal rules. Political development often "sticks" with the critical junctures and learning process (Collier and Collier 1991, 11-12).

To be fair to the scholars of historical institutionalism, this is not a study mainly focusing on this approach. My primary intention is to use some key concepts such as path-dependence and critical juncture to explain the historical persistence of military influence on politics and ethnic policies within a state in a better way. Yet, I believe this does not prevent this study from making a theoretical contribution to historical institutionalism as both civil-military and ethnic conflict literatures are lacking historical institutionalist approaches. During my research I found only one study, Mazhar Aziz's *Military Control in Pakistan: The Parallel State*, that explains the persistence of military regimes through historical institutionalism. And in the ethnic conflict literature I saw no historical institutionalist approaches. Therefore, this is probably the first study undertaking the difficult challenge of combining ethnic conflict and military influence on politics with historical institutionalism. The next section will detail the hypotheses created out of this combination.

1.2 Military Influence on Politics and Ethnic Conflict

1.2.1 Theoretical Approach and Hypotheses

If historical institutionalism is adopted as an approach to understand military influence on policymaking, the first thing to do is to find a critical juncture to show when this effect may have started. In a state's history, the state-building process is one of the most appropriate time periods to see the characteristics of critical junctures.[3] This is a period when old institutions are partly or completely torn down and new formal and informal rules are determined. This is also the time period in which various actors participate in the debates to create institutions in parallel with their concerns and interests. Without a doubt, ethnic minority groups want to increase their interests in the state-building process and they may demand cultural, social, economic and political rights within a new country. The acceptance or rejection of these demands in the state-building process is determinant on the future of interethnic relations.

The military is another actor taking part in these critical junctures. A benign military power may be desirable in the state-building process in order to provide order and security during this turbulent time. Nevertheless, in addition to a security role, officers in the military may join debates about establishing rules for rational or

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[3] In the cases I will analyze in this study, state-building goes hand-in-hand with the nation-building process but this is not the case all the time. State-building and nation-building are different concepts. While state-building refers to "the task of building a functioning and durable state capable of fulfilling the essential attributes of modern statehood," nation-building is "the broader process of developing a shared sense of political community that is capable of binding together the population of a given state" (Dinnen 2007, 2). I choose to use state-building as a critical juncture because nation-building may start long before the formation of a state when norms and rules in civil-military relations and ethnic policies are generally created.

sociological reasons. Officers may act with individual and/or organizational self-interest during the state-building period and try to establish institutions in order to serve their interests. For this purpose they may increase the role of the military in the decision-making process from the beginning by creating institutions that ease the involvement of the military in politics when officers believe that their interests are in jeopardy. Sometimes, for cultural or historical reasons, the military may also distrust civilian elites and formal and informal rules may demand military involvement when the civilians are thought to be corrupt. It is also possible to argue that if civilians are not capable of providing political order or simply do not have adequate financial and political power, they may invite the military to share the responsibility of governing the state. The military's position in the critical junctures may be determinant in future military influence on the decision-making process and eventually in the military's role in interethnic relations. Once the military's role within the state exceeds its security-providing mission in the state-building process, it becomes difficult to diminish its role in the future because of the effect of 'path dependency'. Therefore, the first hypothesis is:

H1: The greater the influence of the military on policymaking during the state formation period, the greater that influence is likely to be in later years.

A military can shape or direct policymaking in several ways. In this study, I examine three countries where the military influence on politics can be observed in three different ways: military rule in Pakistan, military control in Turkey and military participation in Israel. The purest form of military influence can be seen in military rule. Military rule is "the rule of a government whose effective head is a military officer who

comes to power through the military coup d'état, and continues to use the military as the

primary base of his or her power even if he or she has "civilianized" him- or herself

through "elections" and "plebiscites"" (Maniruzzaman 1992, 734-35). In this type of

government, military generals rule the state and rely for their power on the military.

Though civilians may occupy high government posts, they are often chosen by the

military generals and kept under scrutiny by the military echelon. They are not allowed to

follow policies independent from those of the military rulers. Institutions, rules and ideas

are formed in parallel to the military's preferences and the soldiers constantly observe the

direction of the policies. Although the military echelon sometimes has to give power to

civilians, they keep this influence on politics through the institutions, rules, and ideas

established during the military rule. As a result, when civilians follow policies the

military dislikes, it is likely to result in a military coup when the military demolishes the

rules that it regards as disadvantageous and forms new rules in its favor. Military rule

took place in Pakistan between 1958-71, 1977-88 and 1999-2008.

Nevertheless, military influence is not seen only under military rule. Soldiers

occasionally leave their uniforms behind for different reasons when they hold power. In

some cases, they simply do this in order to show themselves as democratic although they

keep the support of the military during their rule. Sometimes soldiers keep the civilians

under their control but do not get involved in politics since they believe that politics

would damage the professionalization of the army and would carry the risk of dividing

the army into political factions. Finally, civilians may abandon some of their

responsibilities to the army since they believe that the army is more capable of

accomplishing that task or the soldiers want the civilians not to be involved in the political decision-making on a particular, security-related, issue. All these scenarios are observable in the Turkish case where military influence existed without direct military rule except in the post-military coup periods of 1960-61 and 1980-83.

Finally, it is necessary to also talk about military influence through participation in politics. In some countries, military generals may play a significant role in political decision-making because of the difficult internal and external threat environment the state faces. If a state is always in a warlike situation, deals with several catastrophes such as mass migration and environmental disasters, or has a shortage of experienced political leadership, it is likely that military officers may assume key roles in policy- and decision-making. In this scenario, soldiers may be politicized to a significant degree and they likely will follow a political career after retirement from the military because of the political experience they gained during their active military service. What differentiates military participation from military rule and military control is that it occurs in a relatively democratic regime where civilians have the last word on state policies even when soldiers dislike the decisions. Soldiers may do their best to shape the thoughts of civilian leaders and sometimes they act in opposition to civilian orders on the field, but in theory there is significant civilian control of the military. I use the concept of military participation for the Israeli case in this study.

All in all, the difference between military rule and other forms of military influence is clear as in the former the military officers assume the role of governing the

state. The line between military control and military participation is more blurry as both take place under civilian regimes. The key difference between military control and military participation is the civilian politicians' ability to define the national interests and state policies. I argue that in the case of military control civilians have less ability to do so and national interests and state policies are occasionally defined by military officers, especially in security issues. In the following chapters, I will show that the form of military influence established in the state-building process is critical for the future military influence within a state. I will also show in these cases that the form of military influence plays an important role in the explanatory power of military activism and military conservatism theories.

Determining the type of military influence that exists in a country – rule, control or participation – depends on the indicators of military influence. As mentioned briefly above, an important indicator of military influence is the right to "have the last word" in the decision-making process. Ideal civil-military relations are defined by a situation that gives the civilians the final say on a political issue. Feaver (2003, 61) states that civil-military relations are *working* if the military is "doing things the way civilians want" and it is *shirking* if "the way those in the military want" is adopted. Desch (1999, 4) argues the same by pointing out that the best indicator of civilian control is "who prevails when civilian and military preferences diverge" and if the civilians do, there is no problem. Military officers can give their opinions about what kinds of operations are necessary for state security or the number of troops that will be used in an operation; however, they should not interfere in politics and must respect the civilians' right to command and

control security policies (Huntington 1985, 80-85). The military should accept civilian decisions even when they are about state security and civilians should define the objectives and interests of national security. If these conditions are not met and soldiers both define and control state security as well as important issues in non-security matters, as in the cases of military rule and military control, we can talk about high military influence in politics.

Under military rule, there is no doubt that military officers get the last word. Yet, even under civilian regimes, soldiers may get the "last word" through different means. One way to do this is to shape the governmental and constitutional framework in accordance with military's preferences. For example, although its equivalents in democratic states are beneficial for providing effective communication and preventing misunderstandings between civilians and soldiers, National Security Councils may be used by the military to control political decision-making and prevent civilians from adopting policies soldiers oppose. Soldiers may also increase their influence by forming direct links with the head of the state in order to bypass the authority of the parliament. Sometimes soldiers may assume government posts under civilian regimes in order to shape the political decisions. They may hold security-related posts such as Ministry of Defense and/or interfere in areas not usually associated with security, but important for military influence, such as education, trade, communication, etc. and this occupation increases the military influence in a state. As Huntington (Ibid., 88) states, "Military influence is increased if members of the officer corps assume positions of authority in nonmilitary power structures."

The presence of soldier-politicians in key government posts is another indicator of military influence. Soldier-politicians are different from the active officer corps members I mentioned above. These are former soldiers who either left their uniforms behind intentionally in order to enter politics or as the result of retirement. Soldier-politicians may have close relations with the military, but this is not always the case and some of these politicians may be disliked by the military either because they had a bad reputation during their service or because the military feels contempt for those who get involved in politics. What is important here is the characteristic shared by both serving officers and soldier-politicians: military mindset. If soldiers are socialized within the military and adopt an ideology and identity, the values and ideas they adopt will affect their decisions in their profession. Nevertheless, because militaries are "total institutions that mold the beliefs of their members for life" (Cohen 2004, 98), it is likely that this ideology and identity will continue to influence the preferences of an ex-officer when he becomes a politician. If there is a close relationship between the military and soldier-politicians, their presence in key government posts and parliaments may increase military influence, but even if there is no such relationship it is still possible to talk about the influence of military mindset, which may have some important consequences in political decision-making, as asserted by military activism theory.

The presence of soldier-politicians in key government posts and/or parliament also has implications for strong military-society ties, another indicator of military influence. It is important to note that this is not as undemocratic an issue as military coups. Even in robust democracies, such as the United States, the military experiences of

a politician are generally used in presidential election discourses and it significantly affects the preferences of voters. Being war heroes during the Second World War, both Dwight D. Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy offer perfect examples of how a successful military career may help a candidate to get elected as the president of the United States. Yet, if the public elects soldier-politicians as their representatives it shows how the society values and shares the identity and preferences of these former soldiers. If a soldier-politician values the ideas of active military officers, the latter may influence the public through him. The election of soldier-politicians may also be an indicator of the militarization of political discourse which also helps the military as an institution to increase its influence on politics.

Society, from this perspective, is important since even in authoritarian states the approval of the society is a prerequisite for following certain policies. As Rebecca Schiff (2009) points out, the impact of society is generally ignored in the civil-military relations literature, but even the occurrence of a military coup is dependent on concordance or discordance between civilians, the military and society. If there is a disagreement between civilians and the military, then the society can be an important actor that changes the balance of power between two. Since the military has coercive power through the use of force, soldiers may implement any policy they want; however, without the support of the population, this policy may not be durable. Therefore, soldiers value the contributions of society and they increase their influence in political decision-making by affecting the citizens' mindset. Undoubtedly, military-society ties can be strengthened by additional factors such as the role of the military in the independence of the state or the presence of

external threats.[4] External threats may help soldiers to legitimize the necessity of a strong

army and the army's involvement in politics especially when there is a general distrust of

civilians within a society. When there is a militarized society within a state, soldiers may

be able to influence politics even when they are under the strict control of the civilian

institutions. For example, if the society and the military share some values, soldiers can

change the civilian preferences with a brief comment to the press since politicians want to

be reelected and it is unlikely that they will follow policies that go against the public's

demands. As Huntington (1985, 89) points out, "the standing of the officer corps and its

leaders with public opinion and the attitudes of broad section or categoric groups in

society toward the military are key elements in determining military influence."

I have discussed three indicators of military influence: the governmental and

constitutional framework which determines who gets the "last word", the presence of

soldiers and soldier-politicians in key government posts, and military-society relations. It

is important to note that all these indicators may not be observed at the same time in the

cases I analyze. Military influence through the governmental and constitutional

framework is mainly seen in Turkish and Pakistani politics whereas the Israeli military

influences politics through soldier-politicians and a militarized society. A high number of

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[4] Scholars in the civil-military relations literature have discussed the effect of the external threat
environment on civil-military relations for many decades. According to Desch (1999, 6), civilian control of
the military is easier when a state faces primarily external threats and it is more difficult when the threat is
mainly internal. Andreski (1968) similarly argues that soldiers who have no fight may be inclined to
interfere in politics, so keeping them busy with external threats may be the best way to provide civilian
control of the military. On the other hand, some argue that external threats, especially the possibility of
interstate warfare, strengthen the political ambitions of the soldiers and endanger civil-military relations
within a country. Lasswell (1941, 455) points out that an external threat environment may necessitate
specialists in violence – soldiers, and the result may be "dictatorial, governmentalized, centralized, [and]
integrated" authority.

soldier-politicians can also be seen during the Turkish state-building process but in the following decades retired soldiers occupied only the presidency. In each specific case, these differences will be explained in detail.

The next question, and the main question of this study, then, is how does the military influence on policymaking affect interethnic relations? Here I will form my hypothesis in accordance with military activism theory. As explained, military activism theory holds that soldiers are more war-prone than civilians and the initiation of international conflict is likely if a state is ruled by a military regime. They support this argument with two characteristics of the military: organizational interests and military mindset. In order to show how military activism may explain military preferences against ethnic groups, in is necessary to analyze the effects of these characteristics on ethnic policies.

Starting with organizational interests, although it may sound bizarre, ethnic conflict may bring some benefits to the military. The first of these benefits is the military's share of the budget. If a state adopts the use of force to end ethnic discontent, the military receives more resources and more weapons in order to accomplish this task. The money which should be spent for economic and social improvements will directly go toward ammunition and new technological weapons. Second, ethnic conflict necessitates different tactics and strategies from international conflict. Traditionally, soldiers are trained to survive in conventional warfare. The formula for victory in conventional warfare is to increase the number of troops and technological weapons as well as to

develop new strategies for the battlefield. On the other hand, challenging violent ethnic groups necessitates following tactics, strategies and equipment very different from conventional warfare. Although at first traditional militaries may face with some difficulty, they learn the rules of the game over time and this learning provides them with new experiences that strengthen the capability and flexibility of the military. Another institutional benefit gained from ethnic conflict is that the conflict gives the generals a chance to rid the army of members of the other ethnic groups. Exclusive tendencies emerge during an ethnic conflict especially when members of a particular ethnic group dominate key appointments both in the state and in the military. Nevertheless, the most important benefit of the conflict is that it puts military leaders in the spotlight and makes them one of the important actors in the political decision-making. If there is a divergence between civilians and soldiers on ethnic preferences, the wartime conditions make it easier for the soldiers to put their preferences at the top of the state's agenda.

Military education and the mindset it created also have important implications for ethnic conflicts. In modern state institutions, police are responsible for domestic security and the military is entrusted with border security and external operations. This functional specialization may have consequences if soldiers are involved in ethnic policies. First, focusing on external threats may lead to the belief that ethnic problems are not real but artificially created by foreign states to damage national unity. Especially if a state is surrounded by enemy states, it is likely that soldiers will search for links between foreign states and domestic ethnic groups; therefore, they will see reasons for ethnic problems coming from abroad rather than inside the state. Undoubtedly, the foreign support of

ethnic groups cannot be ignored. As Kaufman (2001, 33) states, although foreign states cannot directly create ethnic problems, they can offer "money, advice, and propaganda support to help extremist elites mobilize politically and promote ethnic hostility." Yet, focusing on the external dimension of the conflict may lead rulers to ignore the domestic causes which are important to consider in order to solve interethnic tensions.

Second, as mentioned before, soldiers are trained to survive in war and long and comprehensive thinking is not expected from them because it may lead to their death and/or defeat. Therefore, diplomatic, social, and economic means to resolve problems are not the first priority of the soldiers. Rather, they prefer to be the victor in order to impose their conditions on the other side since economic and diplomatic solutions only prolong the existing problems. This characteristic of the military mindset may have consequences for ethnic relations. An ethnic conflict may have several causes and its resolution may require parallel policies on all dimensions. A successful military campaign may result in the destruction of an ethnic group but if social, economic, and political dimensions of the conflict are ignored as a result of the military victory, the military campaign will be successful only in ending the ethnic mobilization but not the ethnic problems. In this scenario, it is likely that ethnic conflict will reemerge as soon as ethnic mobilization takes place again.

Furthermore, rather than ending ethnic problems, a military campaign may make the resolution of ethnic problems difficult if it involves the indiscriminate use of force. Because soldiers are trained to fight in international wars, they make a specific self-other

distinction. During an international warfare, external actors are separated according to their position: if a foreign state supports your position it is a friend; if it does not when it should be, this foreign state is regarded as an enemy. Neutrality is rarely welcomed during international wars. It is accepted only when the non-belligerency of a foreign state offers certain advantages. Yet, neutrality is often witnessed in ethnic conflicts. Not all members of an ethnic group promote violence during ethnic conflicts and, in general, those who suffer in a conflict are ethnic members who stay between the two fires of the state and violent ethnic groups. In this case, it is likely that the indiscriminate use of force against an ethnic group pushes these neutrals into the arms of violent ethnic groups. Therefore, military mindset may be detrimental in interethnic relations if soldiers prioritize the use of force policy over diplomatic, social and economic policies.

Finally, the military's pessimism about the nature of men may push the soldiers to use force against an ethnic group. As mentioned, military ethic emphasizes evil in the nature of man and a soldier has to be Hobbessian in order to survive, win and protect. If this is the case, it is natural to assume that when an ethnic group is inclined to offer peace and wants to negotiate with the state, soldiers will expect the worst-case scenario and become pessimistic on the intentions of the ethnic group. This pessimism leads to the exaggeration of real threats and soldiers may assume that a violent ethnic group is more powerful than it really is. Therefore, military mindset may cause pessimism about an ethnic group's intentions and capabilities, exaggeration of the threats, and ignorance of peaceful policies to solve ethnic problems. All in all, in accordance with these arguments, my second hypothesis is:

H2: The greater the influence of the military on policymaking during periods of ethnic tension, the greater the likelihood that the state will use militarist policies to respond to that tension.

Although the use of force is the main indicator of militarist policies, I will show that some social, political, and economic measures can also be followed with a military mindset. For example, if state officials enter into a dialogue with an ethnic organization solely in order to create rifts within the larger ethnic group and they had no intention of recognizing group rights, it is difficult to define this initiative as a political step. Homogenization policies or non-recognition of ethnic identities and ethnic languages can also be counted as militarist policies if the purpose is to eradicate the ethnic identities. The importance of these policies is that they may lead to ethnic confrontation once the ethnic group has enough resources to challenge the state. Therefore, unlike military activism and military conservatism theories, I will not limit my explanations to use of force policy only.

In accordance with the differences between the forms of military influence, I expect to see some variations between my cases in terms of ethnic policies. I expect to see more militarist policies in the regimes where military influence on politics is higher. If the theory of military activism is right, it is natural to witness more militarist policies in the case of a military regime. Military control must also bring a significant degree of militarist policies against ethnic groups but not as much as in a military regime and there must be some, but mainly unsuccessful, diplomatic, economic and social initiatives to solve ethnic problems. Finally, in the case of military participation, we should see hybrid ethnic policies which involve more promising peaceful initiatives as well as militarist

policies.

Some may criticize this study because of the assumption of a categorical distinction between military officers and civilian politicians. Huntington (1985, 89) writes, "No dichotomy exists between the "military mind" and the "civilian mind" because there is no single "civilian mind." There are many "civilian minds," and the difference between any two civilian ethics may be greater than the difference between any one of them and the military ethic." I agree with this statement and as my cases will show there are many civilians who advocate militarist policies and there are serious disagreements between civilians in terms of ethnic policies. Nevertheless, the main comparison here will be made between government officials and military officers, not between civilian politicians. I will look at if there is a categorical distinction between civilians and officers in terms of ethnic policies and how it affects interethnic relations and ethnic policies.

Indeed, one of the main contributions I make for military activism and conservatism theories in this study is related to the issue of categorical distinction. I argue that the form of military influence affects the degree of categorical distinction between civilians and officers. As will be shown, categorical distinction is more observable in cases of military control – in other words, the Turkish case – in which the military officers are less socialized with civilian politicians. On the other hand, it is more difficult to make a categorical distinction in military participation – Israel – and military rule – Pakistan – because civilians and officers have more contact and they are able to influence

each other's mindset. The difference between military participation and military rule is that in the former the civilians are more dominant actors whereas in the military rule it is the soldiers who make civilians accept their own mindset. I will show that these differences also affect the explanatory power of military activism and conservatism theories.

1.2.2 Case Selection and the Plan of the Study

I will test these two hypotheses outlined above through three cases which show different characteristics of civil-military relations: Pakistan, a state that has witnessed several successful and unsuccessful military coups in its political history and was ruled by military generals from 1958-71, 1977-88 and 1999-2008; Turkey, a state whose democratic process was broken by two de jure – 1960 and 1980 – and two de facto military coups – 1971 and 1997 – but unlike Pakistan, was not directly ruled by the military; and finally, Israel, a state whose civil-military relations are ideal in appearance and whose democratic process has never been challenged by the military. Since there are different kinds of military influence in each country, they are useful for a comparative case study which will show the similarities and differences between these countries. For each country, ethnic conflicts during different time periods will be examined both to see if historical institutionalism offers a fruitful explanation to understand the persistent effect of the military influence and if the latter affects the direction of interethnic relations in a positive or negative manner. Since I chose the state-building process as a critical juncture, first I intend to analyze what happened in these periods both in terms of

military involvement in the decision-making process and interethnic relations.

Because I argue that the categorical distinction between civilians and soldiers are clearer in the case of military control I will start this study with the Turkish case. The following two chapters will analyze the Kurdish conflict in Turkey. In Chapter 2, I will explain how military control of Turkish politics during the state-building process affected the state's policies towards the Kurdish rebellions in the same period. I choose the years between 1923 and 1939 as the state-building period, since the first fifteen years of this period passed under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and 1939 is added because the Kurdish rebellions was suppressed one year after Ataturk died. The main characteristic of this period was that although there was civilian oversight of the military, the governance system can be defined as military control because the key government posts were held by soldier-politicians whose first priority was to control the political arena rather than create participatory institutions.

In Chapter 3, I will first show how military control of politics took an institutional form through changes in the governmental and constitutional framework after the successive military coups in 1960, 1971 and 1980. Following this, I will analyze how this institutional military control affected state policies towards the Kurdish conflict after it restarted in 1984. The important point here is to observe the parallel policies adopted towards Kurds in the 1920-30s and the 1980-90s. Then I will explain how the military started to lose its control of politics during the regime of Recep Tayyip Erdogan and the Justice and Development Party (JDP) and analyze whether or not the change in civilian

control of politics had any effect on interethnic relations. The Turkish case is important in that it allows me to make a within-case comparison by having different time periods in which the military had differing power in politics. In the Israeli and Pakistani cases, the military influence in politics is less varying than in the Turkish case.

Chapters 4 and 5 will deal with the Arab-Israeli and Israeli-Palestinian conflicts respectively. In Chapter 4, I follow the work of Yehuda Ben-Meir (1986, 101) who sees the first two decades of the state's history as a distinct period and takes the years between 1948 and 1967 – in other words, from the state's foundation until the Six Day War – as a state-building period. The most important characteristics of this period are the distinguished personality and dominant influence of David Ben-Gurion and highly informal decision-making procedures coming from the pre-state years. These two characteristics play a significant role in the high level of military influence on politics in this period, albeit in the form of participation and under civilian oversight. As an ethnic conflict case, I choose the Arab-Israeli conflict of this period. Although it is international, this conflict is closely related to the Palestinian conflict as Arab states took responsibility for the Palestinian cause until the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was founded in 1964 and they suffered a total defeat in the 1967 War.[5] Because the security norms and values formed against the Arab states in this period would later show themselves in the Palestinian conflict, I believe analyzing the Arab-Israeli conflict is beneficial for the

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[5] Here there is a controversy in the literature on the objectives of the Arab states. For example, Morris (2007, 17) and Mearsheimer and Walt (2007, 84) argue that rather than supporting the Palestinian cause, the aim of the Arab states was to grab land by "preventing the birth of a Palestinian Arab state and carving out chunks of Palestine for themselves." Even if this is the case, it does not affect how the Israeli state understands the Arab and Palestinian threats as well as the security norms and values it created against these threats.

objectives of this study. In this chapter, I will show how the active military officers played an important role in national security decision-making and how civilians and military officers affected each other's preferences in an ideologically restricted political arena.

In Chapter 5, I will first explain military participation in Israeli politics in the period after the Six Day War. The main characteristic of this period is the increasing number of soldier-politicians in Israeli party politics while active military officers still play a significant role in national security decision-making. After this analysis, I will turn my attention to the military influence on the First (1987-93) and Second Intifadas (2000-2005) as well as the Oslo peace process (1993-2000). Because military influence through participation is a continuous phenomenon in this period I cannot compare the presence and lack of military influence on ethnic politics as I will do in the Turkish case; however, two different kinds of comparison – comparing soldiers' and politicians' preferences as well as periods of negotiation and conflict – are possible in the Israeli case.

Chapters 6 and 7 will analyze the military influence on the Bengali and Baloch conflicts in Pakistan. In this case, the state-building period starts in 1947 with the creation of Pakistan and ends with the independence of Bangladesh in 1971. The purpose of Chapter 6 is to see how the Pakistani military, which was born as a small force in 1947, increased its power during this critical juncture and came to power informally in 1954 and formally in 1958. Although there were several Baloch rebellions in this period, I prefer to look at the Bengali conflict as the case study because it is the main ethnic

conflict of this period and its consequences were so grave that Pakistan became the first

state disintegrated in the postwar period with the independence of Bengalis in 1971.

Therefore, it is important to analyze how military rule in Pakistan affected this conflict.

Chapter 7 begins with an explanation of the military influence in Pakistani politics

after 1971. I will show that although military rule was mainly responsible for the

disintegration of the country and generals unwillingly handed the power to the civilians,

they soon rose to power again because of the civil-military relations norms created during

the state-building process. Then I will analyze how military influence in Pakistan politics

affected the Baloch conflict in 2000s. I will complete this analysis by comparing two

periods: the military rule under General Pervez Musharraf between 1999 and 2008 – the

Baloch conflict started in 2005 – and the civilian regime between 2009 and 2012. In spite

of the civilian regime, military influence in Pakistani politics is a constant phenomenon

and this chapter will show how this influence limits civilian initiatives even when the

generals are not formally in power.

Chapter 8 will conclude the study by summarizing the results of the comparison

between cases and within cases. The main finding is that both historical institutionalism

and military activism are proved in all cases; nevertheless, the form of military influence

has a significant effect on military activism's explanatory power. All in all, I believe, the

study makes important theoretical contributions. First, it forms a bridge between civil-

military relations and ethnic conflict studies with a new causal mechanism by showing

the military influence on politics as an independent variable in its relations with ethnic

conflict. Second, it contributes to the literature by testing the military activism theory in ethnic conflict cases, which was not attempted before. By offering three forms of military influence, the study also differs from the simplistic distinction that was made between the civilian and military regimes in the literature. Third, as one of the first examples, the study uses important concepts of historical institutionalism to explain the persistence of military influence and ethnic policies. Finally, as the concluding chapter will show, the study makes important contributions to democratization, socialization, and constructivist studies.

1.2.3 Methodology

George and Bennett (2005, 74) point out that "the formulation of the research objective is the most important decision in designing research." This study can be defined as a theory-testing comparative case study as I apply military activism theory to ethnic conflict cases with some modifications. Rather than regime type, I am looking at the military influence on politics as an independent variable. I chose a case-study method since I believe that the contribution of quantitative methods to this kind of research would be limited. Indeed, researchers analyzing the relationship between military regimes and international conflict generally use statistics to show that causal relationship; however, statistics cannot help us to see the different and interconnected means used by the military to influence politics. Because I analyze different variables such as civilian control of the military, soldier-politicians, military-society relations, etc. and how they, independently or together, determine the military influence on politics, I think a case-

study is an appropriate method to work with. Furthermore, military influence on politics generally takes place behind closed doors which makes the detailed case study necessary.

In terms of comparison, the study focuses on different units of analysis. On the upper-level the study compares different forms of military influence in three countries: military rule in Pakistan, military control in Turkey and military participation in Israel. Below that, and as the main subject of the project, the differences between civilians' and military officers' preferences and policy choices are identified in each case. In some cases, I will compare the preferences among civilian politicians as I will show different ethnic preferences of the Turkish politicians during the PKK conflict. When relevant, I will also highlight the differences between military officers' ethnic policy preferences, which will be mainly seen in the Israeli case during the Intifadas. At the case level, it is also possible to compare the different levels of military influence, i.e. military control (1960-2007) and civilian control of the military (2007-2014) in Turkish politics; different forms of interethnic relations, i.e. Oslo peace process (1993-2000) and the Second Intifada in the Israeli case (2000-2005); and different regime types, i.e. military regime (2005-2008) and civilian regime (2008-2012) in Pakistani politics. All in all, although the study mainly makes a micro-level analysis, the comparisons will be made on several levels.

I will mainly benefit from two research methods to test the hypotheses. First, to see the explanatory power of historical institutionalism on the persistent effects of the military influence on political decision making I will use the process-tracing method. As

Hall (quoted from ibid., 205) emphasizes, "process-tracing is a methodology well-suited to testing theories in a world marked by multiple interaction effects, where it is difficult to explain outcomes in terms of two or three independent variables." Since I will analyze the interaction of different components of military influence, process-tracing will be helpful for this study. In addition, historical institutionalism necessitates explaining chains of events, rather than a single phenomenon; therefore, process-tracing can help us to link the past, present and future. Process-tracing will also be useful for testing military activism theory as I will explain the continuous effect of military influence on ethnic policies. Discourse analysis is the other method that will be used in this study. Military activism theory assumes that civilians and soldiers hold different preferences about how to solve the security problems and this difference can be traced through their speeches and policies. In this respect, what I will do should not be confused with analyses interested in the psychology of discourse processing such as post-structural analyses. The discourse analysis in this study will be limited to the structural analysis of texts and/or speeches.

Finally, it is necessary to specify the resources I will use in this study. Knowing the native language provides me a significant advantage for the Turkish case. I visited the country in January-February 2014 during which I found several resources including government reports from the 1930s which were published as books after the negotiation process started at the end of the 2000s. I have also analyzed newspapers, books written by military officers, biographies about political elites and secondary sources both in Turkish and in English. The real challenges in this study were the Israeli and Pakistani

cases because of the language barrier. The solution in the Israeli case was relatively

easier as almost all political and military elites who wrote memoirs translated their books

in English. I was able to find several books about Ben-Gurion, Moshe Sharett, Yitzhak

Rabin, Ariel Sharon, etc. which helped me to compare civilians' and officers' preferences

on ethnic problems. There are also several American politicians who were involved in the

peace process between the Israelis and Arab/Palestinians and wrote of their experiences

which provided me with extensive information. Although the authenticity of the

information in these books may be questionable, they no doubt give information about

the preferences of their authors. I also benefited from the English-language Israeli

newspapers including Haaretz, The Jerusalem Post, and Arutz Sheva. In the Pakistani

case, on the other hand, there is a possible resource shortage. I used secondary sources

and several memoirs about the Bengali conflict while for the Baloch conflict I relied on

newspaper articles as well as human rights reports written by the International Crisis

Group (ICG), Human Rights Watch (HRW), Amnesty International (AI), Asian Human

Rights Commission (AHRC) and Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP).

Chapter 2

MILITARY CONTROL AND FIRST KURDISH REBELLIONS

2.1 Military Control in the Turkish State-Building Period

2.1.1 Military Influence in the Pre-Republican Era

Military influence in politics is the most lasting phenomenon in Turkish political history. Even when Turks emerged as nomadic people on the plains of Central Asia, their life was shaped by militarism[6] as a way of life. In parallel with the dominant belief system, shamanism, early Turks believed that if one was killed by a warrior, he would be in the service of his murderer in the afterlife. Similarly, there was a practice to erect stones on a warrior's graveyard in relation to the number of his kills (Bozdemir 1982, 3-4). After Turks moved westward, adopted Islam as a religion, and settled down, they institutionalized this militarized life. Turks became the main force in the Abbasid army and as an early example of their influence in politics, Turkish generals tried to control the Caliphs in order to wield power in the empire (Kennedy 2005, Bennison 2009). In addition, the recognition of Islam contributed to Turkish militarism by mixing their warrior characteristics with Islamic objectives and Turks carried the flag to spread Islam through military conquests.

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[6] Militarism refers to adaptation and glorification of military values and practices in the daily life that blurs the distinction between civilian and military spheres (Sjoberg and Via 2010, 7).

The objective to spread Islam through military conquests gave substantial power to the military during the Ottoman Empire. As Albert Lybyer (1913, 90) correctly puts it, "The Ottoman government had been an army before it was anything else. Like the Turkish nations of the steppe lands, the Ottoman nation was born of war and organized for conquest. Fighting was originally the first business of the state and governing the second." The military was so influential in the Ottoman political system that even during the golden age of the empire it could play a critical role over who would or would not be sultan. In the throne-fights between the sons of a sultan, the support of the janissary soldiers,[7] who were children of non-Muslims and non-Turks but socialized into the Turkish warrior culture, may have turned the scales in favor of any candidate.[8] Nevertheless, the janissaries affected the Ottoman political system mainly after the state power started to decline. With the loss of territory and economic power, the janissaries rebelled against the state several times and, according to Birand (1986, 149), five sultans and forty-three grand-viziers were deposed and/or killed by the janissaries for different reasons.[9]

Gradual loss of territories as a result of military defeats and successive janissary

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[7] The Janissaries were the infantry soldiers that formed the main part of the Ottoman military. The non-Muslim children were brought to the military through the *devşirme* (picking) system and were converted into Islam before training. Although officially they were owned by the sultan, the janissaries and *devşirme*s were paid salaries for their service and their status were different than slaves. For instance, some *devşirme*s were able to become Grand Viziers (like the prime minister today) although they were not originally Muslims. Both the janissary and *devşirme*s played a significant role in the growing power of the Ottoman Empire between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries (Turnbull, 2003).

[8] For instance, in the throne-fight between Selim and Ahmet, sons of Beyazıt II (1481-1512), and between Mustafa, Beyazıt and Selim, sons of Suleyman the Magnificient (1520-1566), the support and opposition of the janissaries played a significant role in the victory of both Selims (Hale 1994, 8-9).

[9] Hale (Ibid., 8) shows a darker picture by stating that only between 1618 and 1730 no less than six sultans were deposed by the Ottoman soldiers.

rebellions necessitated reforms of the military. For this purpose, the Janissary corps were abolished and replaced by a European-style army in 1826. Commanders from European armies were brought to the empire to educate Ottoman soldiers and all modernization efforts focused on the military in order to gain the territories that were lost after military defeats. Contrary to these intentions, this modernization process did not end military influence on politics but transformed it. Out of the centralization and Europeanization of the army, a liberal, Western and progressive military class emerged and these soldiers cooperated with intellectuals to bring a constitution to the traditional and conservative Ottoman governance. This cooperation intensified especially after the first constitution of the Ottoman Empire, *Kanun-i Esasi* (Basic Law), was annulled by Sultan Abdulhamid II only one year after it was accepted in 1876. Later, the cooperation between intellectuals and soldiers took place under a paramilitary organization called as Committee of Union and Progress (CUP). While the dominant character of this organization was intellectual until 1905, the soldiers soon took control of the movement with the influx of young nationalist Ottoman officers. The CUP initiated a rebellion – the Young Turk Revolution – against the sultan in 1908 and this led to the beginning of the Second Constitutional era while the soldier-leaders of the movement, especially Enver Pasha, became increasingly powerful political figures. These officers had a significant influence over the Sublime Porte in the following years as they played a critical role in the Ottomans' decision to fight in the Great War (Hale 1994, 13-57, Karabekir 2009, Hanioglu 2011, Aksin 2012).

This brief history gives us some helpful information. First, it shows how Turkish politics and society were militarized even before the modern period. Second, it points to

the roots of the Turkish officers' regarding themselves as a force for modernization during the Republican period as the Ottoman military was the first and only institution that was modernized by European standards while traditional state governance and society values remained unchanged. This difference in terms of modernization also explains why Turkish military sees itself above the public and civilian elites after 1923. Finally, the Ottoman officers' being involved in party politics after 1905 and pushing the state into the World War, as a result, are important to understand why the Turkish officers in the Republican period were disinclined to enter into party politics and why real and de facto military coups did not end with military regimes in Turkey. Nevertheless, the critical time period to understand the military influence and its characteristics is the state-building period during which institutional relations and governance norms were established.

2.1.2 Civil-Military Relations in the State-Building Period

On October 29, 1923, the Republic of Turkey was founded by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk[10] and his close associates, mainly from the military. The military officers played a significant role in the independence process since the state was lacking any political class and the successive wars before 1923 made the military a highly-experienced political actor. Before the declaration of independence, these military officers fought in Tripoli and the Balkans between 1911 and 1913, in the First World War between 1914 and 1918 and in the Independence War mainly against Greeks supported by Great Britain

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[10] The Turks began using last names after the adoption of the law related to this matter in 1934. In this study, I will use last names of individuals even when explaining events before 1934 to prevent any confusion.

between 1919 and 1922. While Turkish soldiers had been in the battlefield for the last twelve years, the diminishing influence of the Sublime Porte and the lack of any societal class made them the only political actor after independence. This situation put the politics in the new state at risk from the beginning since former generals commanding arms may now have been against each other in the political arena. Ataturk was aware of this fact as he stated that after they gained victory against Greeks they would be fighting against each other (Armstrong 1998, 154).

Ataturk was strongly against military interference into politics since the 1908 Revolution. He was a member of CUP but he sided with those who insisted on a complete disengagement of the military from politics after the revolution. As a result of this insistence, Zurcher (1984, 51) argues, he made several enemies in the Committee. Indeed, after the revolution it was impossible to follow independent policies from the military and this situation led the German ambassador to state, "No government that antagonistic to Germany would stay in power as long as we are the one who control the military in Turkey" (Bozdemir 1982, 74). This military interference in politics with the danger of manipulation by foreign states was against Ataturk's conception of an independent state. According to Ahmad (1993, 49), in addition to his military accomplishments during the world war, one of the reasons for Ataturk's ability to restore unity after the CUP leaders fled the country was his remaining independent of discredited political factions throughout the constitutional period between 1908 and 1918. In Ataturk's mind, military interference in politics was dangerous both to a state's independence and the political power of elites.

In addition to the bitter legacy left by the Unionist soldiers during the constitutional period, Ataturk wanted to establish civilian control of the military within the new state for rational reasons. Ataturk and his followers' primary objective was to create a new identity for the society, "a new type Turk very different from the "Ottoman," just as the revolutionaries in France had had to create the Frenchmen and the Bolsheviks were in the process of creating the new Soviet or socialist men" (Ibid., 77). The new society should have been modern, secular and Turkish while the governance system must have been transformed into a republic. Nevertheless, not all the commanders fighting with him during the independence war shared his perception of a new state and some of them favored the continuance of the sultanate and caliphate system which were abolished by Ataturk in 1922 and 1924, respectively. Moreover, there were some personal rivalries between Ataturk and some commanders who felt that they played as significant a role as Ataturk, who disliked his personal dominance in the state governance and who believed that Ataturk's social origin – he came from a poor family unlike those commanders who had important family names during the Ottoman regime – was not suitable to be the leader of a new state (Hale 1994, 67-70).[11] This opposition coming from the military members was a threat to Ataturk's leadership, who had left his uniform before the independence war, and his plans for the new state.

Ataturk was afraid of any cooperation between the opposition against him and the military. That is why he tried to conciliate the military before making radical decisions

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[11] The most important of these commanders were Kazim Karabekir, Ali Fuat Cebesoy and Refet Bele. For a helpful source that provides biographical sketches for the Turkish political elites during this period, see Metin Tamkoc's *The Warrior Diplomats* (1976, 309-61).

although he was the national hero who brought independence. For instance, on October 20, 1923, nine days before the declaration of the republican system, he guaranteed a substantial pay raise for the military officers. As an another example, in January 1924 he went to Izmir to watch winter war games but the main reason of the visit was to test the atmosphere of the military towards his intention to end the Caliphate system. After Ataturk became sure that the military would not join the opposition, he announced its abolishment in March (Harris 1965, 57). These two examples clearly show the fact that civilian control of the military was not guaranteed in the early republic and this was not unusual because of the problematic military influence on politics since the second half of the nineteenth century.

To control the military and to prevent the opposition from using this institution against his leadership, Ataturk made important changes in the legal system. First, on December 19, 1923, Law No. 385 was passed in the Assembly. This law required future deputies to resign from the military forces if they were officers and soldiers. In addition, two articles in the 1924 Constitution aimed to increase the civilian control of the military. Article 23 stated that no person can be deputy and hold office under the government at the same time, and according to Hale (1994, 72), this emphasis on the "office under the government" could include jobs within the military. Article 40 of the constitution, on the other hand, made the military establishment directly responsible to the Presidency and stated that supreme military command is inseparable from the Assembly and it is represented by the President (TBMM 2015a). In addition, Article 148 of the Military Penal Code, dated 22 May 1930, decreed that military personnel shall be imprisoned

from a month to five years if they join political parties, participate in political meetings, assemble for political purposes, and write political speeches (MSB 2015).

The regime also tried to neutralize the commanders in opposition by claiming that they had alleged coup plans and that some including Kazim Karabekir, Ali Fuat Cebesoy and Refet Bele, were involved in the attempt to assassinate Ataturk in 1926. Although these commanders were found not-guilty and returned to the Assembly, after this date there was no threat of cooperation between the military and opposition. Finally, and most importantly, the Chief of the General Staff (CGS), Fevzi Cakmak, was loyal to Ataturk and he had no ambition for political office. Cakmak became the CGS in 1922 and held the office for twenty-two years until 1944, and he successfully killed any ambition for military intervention into politics against the will of the ruling elite.[12]

Undoubtedly, Ataturk also had liberal aims when he tried to provide civilian control of the military. He wanted to modernize and westernize the state and a state ruled by the military would not fit the definition of a modern state. In accordance with this belief, he wanted to cut the direct link between the military and Republican People's Party (RPP)[13] because he believed that a political party "receiving its strength from the Army [would] never appeal to the nation" (Kennedy 1974, 137). What he wanted from the officers was to focus on their profession rather than politics. He stated (quoted from Rustow 1959, 546):

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[12] According to Ahmad (1993, 9), Cakmak was so traditional that he did not approve his men even reading newspapers.
[13] The political party he formed and stayed in power as single-party with minor exceptions until 1950.

Commanders, while thinking of and carrying out the duties and
requirements of the army, must take care not to let political considerations
influence their judgment. They must not forget that there are other
officials whose duty it is to think of the political aspects. A soldier's duty
cannot be performed with talk and politicking.

Nevertheless, although Ataturk stressed the importance of preventing military

intervention in politics, the latter played significant roles in the state-building process. On

the one hand, Ataturk was afraid of possible cooperation between the opposition and the

military, on the other, he planned a division of role in creating a new state with a new

identity. As Harris (1965, 56) argues, Ataturk's main objective was not to "keep [the

military] out of politics, but to make sure that it remained completely loyal to him and to

the Republic, a court of last resort when needed to support his efforts to build the new

Turkey." Ataturk was a realist-pragmatist leader and for higher purposes, liberal

principles could be ignored. This is why he had demanded to serve as Minister of War in

the Ottoman government after he returned from the Syrian front in November 1918

although he opposed this kind of intervention in the CUP period (Hale 2011, 192).

Similarly, during the Independence War, both Ismet Inonu and Fevzi Cakmak served as

deputies in the First Assembly while simultaneously serving as the CGS. These situations

may have been regarded as exceptions in unusual conditions if there had not been high

military autonomy after civilian control of the military was established in 1926.

The high military autonomy can be assessed with the significant role of Fevzi

Cakmak in the political decision-making. As Momayezi (1998, 3) states, "Men with

military backgrounds not only won the war of independence, they laid the foundations on

which the new Turkey was based," and among these men, three had incomparable status

with others: President Kemal Ataturk, Prime Minister Ismet Inonu, and the CGS Fevzi Cakmak. Indeed, Turkey was ruled by the Ataturk-Inonu-Cakmak triumvirate during the state-building process (Belge 2012, 608) and no individual could give an important decision without their approval because of this hierarchy among the elites. Cakmak in this scheme was responsible with security, but since the level of external threat was low after the independence was won, he mainly focused on providing internal order against rebellions. The presence of a hierarchy between Cakmak and other political elites – except Ataturk and Inonu – was crystal-clear on issues of internal security. For example, when Celal Bayar, the Minister of Economics, intended to improve the socio-economic conditions of the Kurdish cities by planning and installing factories during the Kurdish rebellions, he stressed this hierarchy to a parliamentarian who requested a factory in his constituency: "Here is the phone at your service, now we call [Cakmak], and you talk to him. If he allows, I will lay the foundation factories both in Diyarbakir and Urfa. But first get his permission. Marshal does not allow; he blocks it" (Madanoglu 1982, 135).

Although he was not a member of the Council of Ministers, Cakmak frequently attended its meetings and exercised noteworthy influence on this institution. There was no parliamentary control on his decisions and, as Ataturk intended, he was directly responsible to the head of the state. He could establish direct contacts with other ministries and, as the example above shows, his concerns overwhelmed those of any other politician. Cakmak used this autonomy while being loyal to Ataturk. In addition to its security missions, the military also played a significant role in implementing and spreading the social, economic and cultural reforms announced by Ataturk. As a result of

this autonomy during the state-building process, the military and Fevzi Cakmak became so influential in political decision-making that after Ataturk died, the officers played a direct role in the election of Ismet Inonu as the new president (Ozdemir 1994, 101).

Several of Ataturk's remarks during this period also show that it is more appropriate to term the institutional relations as civil-military cooperation rather than civilian control of the military. As early as 1920, Ataturk stated that the officers were not only responsible for military affairs, but also for participating in the political decision-making process on domestic and foreign issues (TBMM Tutanak 1920). In another speech, while he warned the soldiers not to get involved in politics, Ataturk continuously emphasized that the military is the "guardian" of the state and his reforms (quoted from Harris 1965, 56):

> Whenever the Turkish nation has wanted to take a step up, it has always looked to the army…as the leader of movements to achieve lofty national ideals…When speaking of the army, I am speaking of the intelligentsia of the Turkish nation who are the true owners of this country…The Turkish nation…considers its army the guardian of its ideals.

This concept of being "guardian" is so important that it became a guiding norm which would shape civil-military relations in the following decades. With this role, the military was made responsible for the protection of the modern, secular, and unitary state which was realized through Kemalist reforms.[14] This task was even legalized with Article 34 of the Armed Forces Internal Service Law, dated 1935, as this article gave the military

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[14] From 1923 to 1938, Ataturk and his supporters implemented significant changes in social, cultural, political and economic areas. Some examples are the abolition of sultanate and caliphate, adoption of Western dress code, development in women's rights and their participation in politics, the adoption of the Latin Alphabet, centralization of political power, abolishment of sharia law and the adoption of a Western penal code, etc. These changes were significantly in contrast with the Ottoman political and social system.

a duty "to protect and defend the Turkish homeland and the Republic of Turkey." In the future, the emphasis on the responsibility to protect and defend "the Republic of Turkey" was interpreted as to defend and protect "the Kemalist reforms" and became a tool to legalize military interference in politics.

In sum, the rule on civil-military relations during this period was military cooperation with the civilian elites in policymaking and policy implementation while staying away from challenging civilian politicians and involving party politics. This situation can be explained as "out-of-politics and above-politics" which means that the military should have stayed out of the daily politics, party competition and links with the political parties, but officers should have been active in policymaking at the same time (Ozcan 2010a, 190-91).[15] Nevertheless, while being an important component, institutional relations alone cannot explain the concept of military control as I defined in the Turkish case. For this, we need to turn our attention to the soldier-politicians in this period.

2.1.3 Soldier-Politicians in the State-Building Period

Contrary to the future decades, the lack of military intervention into Turkish

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[15] It is important to note that German officers who had served in the Ottoman army played an important role in this adoption of this principle. German officer Colmar von der Goltz, who came to the Empire in 1883, was especially important as his teachings were highly influential in the minds of the Ottoman officers. All major commanders in the War of Independence, including Kemal Ataturk graduated from the War College under Goltz's reorganization and his book, *Nation in Arms*, became the basic book to live by for all these officers. Goltz believed that officers must play an important role in state policies whereas they should stay away from party politics as the German generals under the Kaiser. For more information about the Prussian effect on the military leaders who founded Turkey, see the first chapter, "The Making of an Ottoman Soldier," of George W. Gawrych's *The Young Ataturk* (2013) and Gencer Ozcan's article, *Prussian Influence on the Republican Era Army in Turkey* (2010a).

politics during the state-building period can be explained by the presence of soldier-politicians in key government posts and the parliamentary as between 1923 and 1938, no less than fifteen percent of each assembly was formed by soldier-politicians. As the table on the next page shows, other than the first assembly which functioned between 1920 and 1923, all assemblies during the state-building process were dominated by deputies coming from two professions: bureaucracy (government and law) and military. The first assembly was a highly specific and more democratic one since it involved religious and Kurdish deputies which were excluded after the republic was formed. In addition, in this Assembly there was an opposition called the "Second Group" and their members were questioning the non-democratic behavior of the ruling elite and supported division of powers (Ozdemir 1989, 7).[16] After 1923, this opposition was mainly silenced and labeled as "reactionary forces" by the official history (Belge 2012, 606-607). This group was dangerous for the ruling elite since they opposed the Kemalist version of modernization and state identity (as secular and Turkish). The suppression of this group can be seen in the fact that there were 118 members within the Second Group and only three of them were re-elected in the Second Assembly (Hale 1994, 67-68).

The reason why this group took part in the first assembly whereas they were excluded by the ruling elite after 1923 lies with the security conditions at the end of the World War. On 30 October 1918, the Ottoman state signed the Armistice of Mudros which ended the war between the Ottoman Empire and the Allied states. As a result of

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[16] Another democratic indication in this assembly was open and long discussions on military spending even in the middle of the war. After 1923 this tradition was gone and silence on the military budget became a rule.

Table 1. Occupation of Turkish Parliamentarians in 1920-57 (Frey 1965, 181) [17]

OCCUPATIONS OF DEPUTIES, BY ASSEMBLY (PERCENTAGES)

OCCUPATION	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
Law	13%	12%	12%	13%	12%	13%	17%	19%	26%	27%
Medicine	4	7	8	7	9	11	10	11	13	11
Dent., Pharmacy, & Vet. Med.	1	—	*1	1	2	2	2	3	2	2
Engineering	—	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	4	4
Government	23	25	25	20	19	18	19	14	10	9
Military	15	20	19	16	18	16	14	11	6	4
Education	5	9	10	9	11	13	14	11	6	8
Trade	12	7	9	11	10	10	7	13	17	17
Agriculture	6	6	6	10	8	6	7	9	10	10
Banking	1	1	1	1	1	3	2	2	2	2
Religion	17	7	4	3	3	2	1	1	1	1
Journalism	2	4	5	7	5	5	3	3	4	4
Other	2	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
Total[a]	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Unknown	(15%)	(12%)	—	(1%)	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total Number of Deputies	437	333	333	348	444	470	492	499	494	537

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[17] Roman numbers represents the Assembly terms: I (1920-23), II (1923-27), III (1927-31), IV (1931-35), V (1935-39), VI (1939-43), VII (1943-46), VIII (1946-50), IX (1950-54), and X (1954-57).

the armistice, the military was disbanded and only a small force remained to provide internal security. When Ataturk decided to start the independence war, therefore, there was no effective military force to resist the Allied occupation which was planned with the secret Sykes-Picot agreement of May 1916 and became official with the Treaty of Sevres signed in August 1920. As a result, Ataturk had to rely on local groups, including Kurdish and religious ones, that would form guerilla forces against the occupiers. At the beginning, these guerilla groups were led by military officers who left the Ottoman army and after the military gained victories they were disbanded voluntarily or by force. In addition to militaristic reasons, the support of the local population was necessary to justify the independence struggle to foreign public opinion. The principles declared by American President Woodrow Wilson after the war supported self-determination movements and public support from all circles would increase the chances of victory in the political arena.

Following independence, however, the priority was to modernize the state as fast as possible. In this mission, Kemalists lacked public support within the traditional Muslim and Kurdish societies since their conception of modern Turkey challenged the dominant values, norms, and rules in these groups. It is true that Kemalists wanted to democratize the state and create participatory institutions. For this purpose, Ataturk even initiated the formation of two opposition parties, the Progressive Republican Party in 1924 and Liberal Republican Party in 1930. Yet, as soon as these parties were formed, the opposition against Kemalist ideology quickly gathered around them and they were dissolved in less than a year. These experiences made the founding fathers believe that

controlling the political structure was more important than creating participatory institutions in order to establish a modern, secular and unitary state. As a result, the bureaucrats and soldiers became the main power dominating the political structures in the state-building process.[18]

Although the percentage of soldier-politicians did not exceed the share of the bureaucrats in the parliament, it is necessary to emphasize that they occupied key government posts in this period. As mentioned before, the three most important men in this period were from the military: Mustafa Kemal Ataturk as president from 1923 to his death in 1938; Ismet Inonu as prime minister from November 1923 to November 1924 and from March 1925 to October 1937, and; Fevzi Cakmak as the CGS until 1944. Ali Fethi Okyar, the second prime minister of Turkey between Inonu's first and second tenure was also a military officer; nevertheless, he was known to be in opposition to Ataturk and was replaced with Inonu right after the emergence of the Sheikh Said rebellion in 1925. The Ministry of National Defense was also occupied by soldier-politicians, Abdulhalik Renda who was a strong Kemalist as an exception. Recep Peker (1924-25) and Cemil Uybadın (1925-27) were also soldier-politicians who served as Minister of Internal Affairs although they were followed by Sukru Kaya (1927-38), a loyal Kemalist civilian. Soldier-politicians also held important cabinet posts such as Minister of Public Works and Minister of Communications. As Frey (1965, 260) shows,

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[18] The mindset of the ruling elite may also have been effective in this change. According to Cook (2007, 15), the military officers who founded Turkey can be described as "high modernists" who were "inherently authoritarian" and who believed that "only those with these types of specialized skills, that is to say themselves, have a mandate to exercise political power." As mentioned before, the Ottoman military was the first institution that was modernized and the education and worldview these officers received must have separated them from the traditional and conservative public.

one-third of the top leadership within the assemblies from 1923 to 1939 were held by soldier-politicians although their percentage within the assemblies in total was between fifteen and twenty percent. Indeed, the first cabinet which did not involve soldier-politicians was formed by Hasan Saka in 1948 while the president was Ismet Inonu at the time (Rustow 1959, 550). All in all, while we cannot talk about the institutional control of the military over politicians, it is evident that military control took place through soldier-politicians whose main priority was to control the political arena.

2.1.4 Military-Society Relations in the State-Building Period

While soldier-politicians dominated the political arena, state-society relations were also based on the notion of control in this period. Although the founding leaders of the state, especially Mustafa Kemal and Ismet Inonu, were popular among the population,[19] the presence of soldier-politicians in the assembly did not necessarily indicate close military-society relations because of the election system. In Turkey, two-tier elections through electoral colleges took place until the adoption of multi-party elections after the Second World War. In this system, the public did not vote for their representatives directly but for those who would choose the parliamentarians in their name. This system favored the elites in town and country and since the soldiers had more popularity in the urban parts of the country rather than rural areas, it is likely that their

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[19] For a public who witnessed the humiliation of the sultans by foreign countries and who saw the end of an empire, the military achievements of these men were difficult to ignore. Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoglu (2003, 13), one of the greatest novelists in this period, states, "Our youth passed along with longing for a national hero. We…opened our eyes in a world of debacle." Especially among the urban population, Ataturk's and his associates' status were higher than any of the potential leader including the Sultan who fled the country in 1922 and former Ottoman War Minister Enver Pasha who left the country after the Great War.

high proportion in the assembly was based on the election system.[20]

Nevertheless, from the beginning, the leadership valued close state-society and military-society relations. This can be understood by looking at the education of former military officers. Colmar von der Goltz, the German officer who shaped the military education system in the late Ottoman Empire, had great influence on the Turkish political elite, especially on the soldier-politicians. Goltz advocated a superior role for the military in society since he believed that modern wars took place between the nations rather than armies and the citizens should be given a sense of duty to serve for the state and die if necessary. In his mind, every citizen should be ready to serve in the military with a sense of duty. Goltz (1914, 28) states:

> It is not every one who has the inclination and talent for being a professional officer in time of peace. Every capable man belonging to good society should, however, conceive it to be his duty to prepare himself to be, when necessity demands. In time of war all military routine becomes simplified. The duties of the active officer can surely, with few exceptions, be undertaken by any educated man who is healthy and strong, provided he has only a firm will…The desire of attaining the position of an officer in the reserve should be prompted, less by considerations of personal honour, than by a sense of duty.

Teaching the citizens "a sense of duty" necessitated close relations between the education system and the military. While the teachers were given to nationalize and militarize the citizens, the military turned into a school to impose nationalist values on the illiterate masses. In a speech made to a group of teachers, Ataturk made this point by stating that the "education army" is no less important than the military since teachers "do

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[20] The Progressive Republican Party which was closed down in 1925 wanted to change this system with direct elections and universal suffrage but this was unacceptable for the ruling elite because universal suffrage would bring non-Kemalist elites such as religious and Kurdish leaders (Ahmad 1993, 57).

a sacred duty to teach those who kill and die why they kill and die." Similarly, in a publication dated in 1938, the Ministry of Culture pointed out, "The army is a school as the school is an army."[21] Here both institutions played a significant role both to create a nation-in-arms as well as to modernize the citizens to close the gap between the ruling elites and the peasant masses. As Frey (1965, 70) points out, in the early years of the republic over 60 percent of all deputies were university educated and fluent in foreign languages whereas about 60 percent of the male population were illiterate. In a traditional and conservative nation, this rate of illiteracy among women should have been higher and this gap was an important obstacle for the ruling elite to impose the new modern, Turkish and secular identity on the traditional, religious and ethnically heterogeneous citizens.

Indeed, the identical transformation of the society was significantly important for the state leadership. Similar to a military leadership which aims to create a distinct type of military man through military education, the state leadership in Turkey wanted to create a certain type of citizen (modern, secular and Turkish) who would live in a hierarchical and centralized state. Two practices were important from this perspective: mandatory military service and soldiery courses in high schools. Mandatory military service provided the ruling elite an opportunity to teach the principles and reforms of the new state to the peasant masses. The objective of the state was to homogenize the citizens through military service and send these peasants back to their village with new identity. These men were also expected to teach what they learned in the barracks to the women –

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[21] Altinay (2013, 222-23) argues that education and militarism in Turkey have been so directly linked that there are only two ministries that carry the word of *milli* (national) as an adjective: Ministry of National Defense (*Milli Savunma Bakanligi*) and Ministry of National Education (*Milli Egitim Bakanligi*).

wives, sisters, and mothers.[22] Soldiery courses in high schools, on the other hand, started

in 1926 and turned into an important tool for spreading military values and norms to the

society as well as teaching the model of citizenship to the youth. Similar to the German

military which had been tasked with guiding the citizens to be loyal to the hierarchical

political system led by the Kaiser before the First World War, the Turkish soldier-

politicians, who were educated by the Germans, attempted to form a citizenship model

where individuals would be loyal to the founding fathers and their reforms through these

practices. This process was relatively successful in the western parts of the country

whereas it was challenged by the conservative and rural Kurdish and religious population

in the East.

All in all, I argue that there was military control both at the political and societal

level during the state-building process in Turkey. It is important to emphasize that by

military control I do not mean the military's institutional control over the civilian

politicians. As I have pointed out, in this period there was civilian-military cooperation in

the decision-making process as the civilian and military echelon adopted the same

ideology, which was Kemalism. I adopted the concept of military control because soldier-

politicians occupied key government posts; their priority was to control the political

structure rather than to create participatory institutions, and; they also wanted to

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[22] A fictional story published in *Ülkü*, a popular monthly of the Early Republic, reflects this mission. In the story, Husmen, a young peasant who was in the last day of his military service, daydreams about his arrival in the village and his relationship with his wife Kezban: "After he is back in the village and has his wedding, he will tell Kezban all about the things he learned in military service…When Husmen says it all to Kezban, she will be dumbfounded; the fascination of his wife…will make Husmen proud. He will first teach Kezban how to identify herself. When he calls "Kezban," Kezban will run to him like a soldier, stand in front of Husman and, after giving the official greeting, she will say "Ali's daughter Kezban, 329 Poturlar [presumably her address]…yes, sir!" and will wait for his orders." This story is also important in the preferred gender hierarchy during the early republic (Altinay 2004, 77).

transform the society so that they could easily shape their life in accordance with the

Kemalist ideology. Although there were prominent civilians in the government, the

military was mainly loyal to the founding fathers who were former soldiers and

underwent the same educational and ideological process as the military echelon. Indeed,

as the next chapter shows, not long after the founding fathers left the political scene,

institutional military control over civilian politicians started in Turkish politics, which

shows that the military control through soldier-politicians in the state-building process

and the institutional military control of politics in the following decades are not

independent from each other. Yet, before explaining this I will analyze how the military

control of politics affected the state policies toward the Kurdish rebellions in the state-

building period.

2.2 Military Control and the Kurdish Rebellions in the State-Building Period

The Kurdish question is the most serious political, economic and social problem

Turkey has faced since the foundation of the state. Although there were infrequent

rebellions in the late-Ottoman period as a result of the centralization policies, the wave of

Kurdish rebellions started with the Nasturi rebellion in 1924 and until the complete

repression in the Dersim rebellion of 1939, Kurdish groups rebelled against the new-born

government twenty-four times in a period of fifteen years (Birand 2008). The most

serious of these challenges were Sheikh Said Rebellion (1925), Agri Rebellion (1930)

and Dersim Rebellion (1937-39). This section will answer the question of why the use of

force was adopted as the main policy against the Kurds; if there were alternative and

liberal methods to deal with the problem; how the presence of soldier-politicians affected

the policy-choices made during this period; and, if there was a difference of thought

between soldier-politicians and civilian decision-makers on how to end the rebellions.

2.2.1 Soldier-Politicians, Military and the Kurdish Rebellions in 1924-39

Until the Sheikh Said rebellion and its apparent seriousness, the Turkish rulers did

not have clear, consistent Kurdish policy. Despite the rebellions in the late-Ottoman

period, the Kurds cooperated with the Turkish government in Ankara during the War of

Independence mainly because of the possibility of an Armenian state on the lands called

North Kurdistan by the Kurds.[23] The good relations in this period led the Turkish rulers to

recognize some kind of autonomy for the Kurds in the lands where the Kurds were the

majority. In his speech in Izmit on January 16/17, 1922, Ataturk stated that there will be

no Kurdish problem in Turkey since both groups are inseparable and drawing a line

between them is equal to "destroying Turkey." He pointed out that there were Kurds in

the Turkish parliament, both groups have a common destiny and there will be a kind of

autonomy guaranteed for the Kurds in the constitution (Mumcu 1992). Indeed, the First

Assembly (1920-23) included several Kurds from the region and the 1921 Constitution

included articles giving local institutions relatively a good deal of power to govern small

regions. However, in the Second Assembly the number of Kurds from the region

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[23] Similar to the Palestine/Eretz Yisrael distinction, here the name of these lands has ideological and political meaning and while the Kurds called this area North Kurdistan, the Turks refrained using this word since the Sheikh Said rebellion and name it as southeastern Turkey/Anatolia. Even the name of the north of Iraq, a foreign land, became controversial in Turkey and it is forbidden to call here South Kurdistan with the order issued by the Minister of Internal Affairs with other 35 "unfavorable" words on April 26, 1999 (Gunduz 2006, 137-38).

significantly dropped and the 1924 Constitution included articles in favor of a centralized state.

While conflict started as early as 1924, dialogue between the Kurds and Turks continued and on August 1, 1924, a Turco-Kurdish Congress was opened in Diyarbakir, one of the largest cities in southeastern Turkey. A British report pointed out that in the Congress the Kurds demanded a "special form of administration for Kurdistan, amounting practically to autonomy, a loan for the alleviation of distress, a general amnesty, no taxation or conscription in Kurdistan for a period of five years, the restitution of the religious [sharia] courts and of all arms confiscated in the country, as well as the removal of certain obnoxious Turkish military officers and officials." In return, Kurds would "loyally support the Government and lend them their full assistance in the Mosul[24] and all other questions and in the repression of any agitation among their compatriots in favor of a Sultan or Caliph." Kurds demanded autonomy and argued that although the Turks and Kurds were "inseparable", they were not "indistinguishable." At the end of the conference, Kurdish demands were accepted in principle although the issues of sharia courts, taxation and conscription would be subjected to the approval of the Assembly (Simsir 1991, 13-14).[25]

The Sheikh Said rebellion erupted in February 1925, thereby ending the dialogue

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[24] In this period, the future of Mosul, a Northern Iraq city today, was not clear and it caused a political problem between the British and Turkish governments as each claimed the area. While negotiations did not bring any solution, the British government managed to take the issue to the League of Nations in which London had more influence and in 1926 the city was confirmed as a part of British-controlled Mandatory Iraq.
[25] Bilal Simsir's book includes the original texts of 119 British documents on the Kurdish problem in Turkey between 1924 and 1938, which is an important source for the researchers.

between the Turkish government and the Kurdish groups and arousing the "fear of Sevres"[26] among the political elite. The rebellion was born as a reply to the abolition of the caliphate and Sheikh Said declared himself to be a leader of the religious movement against the "atheist" government; but the rebellion also had nationalist characteristics with a goal of establishing an independent Kurdistan. As soon as the fighting started between the Turkish forces and the rebels, military mindset showed its effects among the Turkish political elite. The first act was the removal of Ali Fethi Okyar, the leader of the Progressive Party, from power and his replacement by Ismet Inonu. Both Okyar and Inonu were soldier-politicians but the former was known for having liberal and moderate views whereas Inonu was "Mr. Security" of Turkish politics. Okyar's leadership was Ataturk's design to diversify voices in politics but, unfortunately for Okyar, the government faced the Sheikh Said rebellion three months after he came to power. The rebellion changed the priorities for Ataturk and he personally ejected Okyar from power and gave his approval to the security measures taken by the Inonu government. Most important of these measures were the law for the "stabilization of tranquility" and the establishment of two tribunals of independence, one in Ankara for the trials of the political opposition and the other in Diyarbakir for the trials of rebels. Although not supporting the motivations of the rebels, the Progressive Party opposed both measures (Ibid., 38-41). Yet, they could not resist once Ataturk made up his mind and after the Sheikh Said rebellion was suppressed, the party was closed in June 1925.

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[26] The Treaty of the Sevres is the peace agreement signed between the Ottoman Empire and Allied Forces at the end of the First World War. The treaty was designed in accord to secret agreements between the Allied Forces to partition the Ottoman lands. The Independence War prevented the implementation of the treaty but it left a legacy called "the fear of Sevres" through which various social and political events were interpreted as a secret design of the Western powers to divide Turkey.

It is true that the military confrontation between the Turkish military and Kurdish rebels started before February 1925, but it was the Sheikh Said rebellion which ended the indecisiveness of the state policies towards the Kurds. As soon as the rebellion started, hawkish politicians replaced the moderate politicians in the government and security policies such as the use of force, assimilation, Turkification, and population movement become the ethnic policies of the state. Ismet Inonu was the leading man of the security school. As a former soldier, Inonu was quite repressive against the Kurdish rebellions and advocated the use of force against those who opposed Turkish nationalism. After his government repressed the Sheikh Said rebellion, Inonu made it clear that security-oriented policies were not a one-time event against Sheikh Said and that they would continue in the following years. In a speech on April 27, 1925, he stated (Ibid., 58):

> We are frankly nationalists and nationalism is our only factor of cohesion.
> Before the Turkish majority other elements have no kind of influence. At
> any price, we must turkify the inhabitants of our land, and we will
> annihilate those who oppose Turks or 'le turquisme'. What we seek in
> those who would serve the country is that, above all, they be Turks and
> 'turquisites'. They say we lack solicitude for religions currents; we will
> crush all who rise before us to use religion as an instrument.

Indeed, Inonu's first act after the Sheikh Said rebellion was to prepare a plan for the Kurdish region. This plan was called "Reform Plan for the East" (*Şark Islahat Planı*) and it was passed by the Cabinet on September 24, 1925. The writers of this plan were Cemil Uybadin (soldier-politician, Minister of Internal Affairs, 1925-27), Mahmut Esat Bozkurt (lawyer and parliamentarian), General Kazim Orbay and Abdulhalik Renda (bureaucrat and Defense Minister, 1927-30). Although its name offers to bring reform to the eastern region, the plan did not include any social, economic or political reforms, but

focused only on the security aspects of the Kurdish problem. The plan proposed to punish those who speak any non-Turkish language in state offices, schools and bazaars; removal of native judges from the judicial courts; not to sell and even lend Armenian properties to the Kurds; appointment of "idealist" Turkish public officers to the region; the relocation of the Kurds to the Western cities; Turkish propaganda in the cultural centers called *Türk Ocağı*; the concentration of military barracks in the region; education of Kurdish children in the boarding schools in the Western cities; the desertion of some Kurdish villages and many other security-oriented measures (Yayman 2011, 76-82). In sum, the plan offers securitization, Turkification and assimilation as main policies to end Kurdish rebellions in the region. For this purpose, the Turkish government even attempted to reach an agreement with the Serb-Croat-Slovene government to move the Muslim Albanians from Kosovo to Turkey's eastern cities to balance the region's population in favor of the Turks (Simsir 1991, 92).

In addition to organizing the Reform Plan for the East, Inonu himself wrote an Eastern report in 1935 after the region witnessed many other successive coups during the previous ten years. Albeit mentioning the economic, social and administrative problems of the region, this report, written after Inonu's personal visit of the eastern cities, was prepared from a security perspective and sees the military as the main assurance of the young Republic. In the report, Inonu did not hide his fear of the foundation of Kurdistan as a state if some cities such as Erzincan became the center of the Kurds (Ozturk 2008, 51). Indeed, the words of "the center of Turkishness" (*Türklük merkezi*) and "the center of Kurdishness" (*Kürtlük merkezi*) were reiterated several times in the report. It seems

that Inonu saw a "zero-sum conflict" between these areas and he advocated the spread of the "centers of Turkishness" to the disadvantage of the "centers of Kurdishness," which were regarded as a threat against the Republic.

Another important detail in the report is the emphasis on French propaganda to explain the Kurdish revolts. Indeed, all major Kurdish rebellions during this period were linked with a foreign power by the Turkish politicians. The Sheikh Said rebellion coincided with the dispute between Turkey and Britain over Mosul and Kerkuk; the Agri Rebellion took place when Turkey demanded border rectification from Iran, and; the Dersim rebellion occurred when Turkey tried to put the Hatay region, mandated by France, into its own territory. Turkish politicians and the press frequently claimed that these states provoked Kurdish feelings in Turkey to increase their interests over these disputes. There were also arguments that Kurds within the border countries as well as Armenians helped Turkish Kurds to rebel against the Kemalist government. Some of these accusations echoed the truth. For instance, a British document dated June 26, 1930 shows that during the Agrı rebellion an Armenian commander called Reuben Pasha asked for ammunition from Britain and Iran to help the Kurds (Simsir 1991, 183-84). The external influence in the Kurdish rebellions cannot be ignored, however, an over-emphasis on this factor was damaging, especially in a country such as Turkey whose politicians witnessed the partition of an empire and the implementation of the Sevres Agreement, which basically made the politicians and soldiers ignore the other aspects of the problem.

"Sevres fear" is evident in Inonu's report. He maintained that the French attempted to occupy Turkey's southeastern cities such as Mardin, Urfa, Antep and Maras to control Syria in the pre-war period, but they failed; yet, this region was still important in their mind. To maintain French influence in the region, Inonu holds, its agents would not hesitate to use Kurdish tribes, as well as border smugglers, to prove that existing borders are uncontrollable. Against this policy, Inonu recommended using Arab tribes against France and expressed that seeing the French as an enemy must be a permanent feeling among the settlers in Turkey's southeast (Ozturk 2008, 22-25). Inonu also offered the appointment of a General Inspector – a kind of super-governor who is responsible for everything, including immediate execution of death penalties – to the region; Turkish settlement from Black Sea region to the southeast; increase in Turkish education;[27] and a three-stage plan – preparation, clearance of arms, and settlement – in Dersim, where an extensive military operation would take place in two years. These recommendations underline the military mindset of Inonu and his emphasis on a zero-sum conflict between the Turks and the Kurds.

Fevzi Cakmak, the CGS, was also a proponent of military measures against the Kurds. In his report written in 1931, Cakmak did not hesitate to see the Kurdish population as a threat and argued that the security problem could not be solved by treating them kindly. Instead, he stated, the use of force would be more effective on the Kurds and it should be the basis of state policies on the Kurdish issue. It is reported that

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[27] At this point, Inonu argues that the former policy which excluded the Kurds from education should be left: "We should notify that this separation policy is abandoned" (Mumcu 2012, 80). Although this is a positive recommendation, Inonu later adds that they should use their limited resources in the Turkish villages, which again emphasizes ethnic discrimination (Ozturk 2008, 63)

when he was asked to choose between roads and schools, Cakmak would prefer the former since roads were necessary for carrying military equipments to the region. The head of the military did not want industrial and educational development in the region. He believed that if the regional population was educated, it may have led to separatist-nationalist sentiments against Turkish identity (Bayramoglu 2004). He expressed this thought by stating, "What road, what school! We cannot handle the illiterate Kurds, no way we can the educated ones" (Ozer 2013, 60). Back to the report, the more radical suggestion was to establish a "colony regime" within the Kurdish region. Cakmak held the belief that the state should approach the Dersim region as a colony and the Kurds should be assimilated with the Turks. The report also included other security-minded suggestions such as Turkish propaganda, removal of the Kurds from local public posts, and the Kurdish movement from East to West (Calislar 2011, 248-51).

Before Fevzi Cakmak, internal colonization was offered by Cemil Uybadin, one of the writers of Reform Plan for the East. Before the foundation of the Republic, Uybadin served as an officer in the Tripoli War, Balkan Wars, World War and the War of Independence. He became the Minister of Internal Affairs in January 1925 and stayed in this post until November 1927. Therefore, he held one of the most critical seats when Turkey's Kurdish policy was shaped. Uybadin wrote a Kurdish report in 1925 and similar to Inonu and Cakmak he approached the issue from the security perspective. He argued that the Kurdish actions within the region were supported by foreign powers, especially

by Britain and France.[28] Uybadin accepted the fact that the strict measures taken by the government after the Sheikh Said rebellion caused dissatisfaction among the public against the state; however, the first measure he recommended was to appoint a General Inspector to the region who would have powers allowing him to follow "a colonial method of administration" (*müstemleke tarz-ı idare*). Population movement was again one of the main suggestions and Uybadin recommended the settlement of Turkish immgirants from Romania, Bulgaria and Serbia to the southeast cities and the movement of Kurdish nationalists to the West or, if possible, out of the border.

Discrimination against the Kurds was underlined in almost all aspects of the report. For instance, on the credits from the Agriculture Bank, Uybadin stated, the Turks should be prioritized by the civilian and military administration officers. His disarmament policy was also ethnically discriminatory: He advocated the total disarmament of the Kurdish population whereas Turkish settlers would be allowed to have arms. The mistrust against the Kurds can also be seen in his suggestion not to appoint Kurds in critical and strategic posts such as military posts on the borders, judicial courts, mail and telegram offices, etc. Instead, these posts should be occupied by Westerners and Turks. Intelligence and Turkish propaganda should have been increased and the Kurds should have been encouraged to live in the West and marry with Turks. Finally, the

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[28] Yet, these arguments are one-dimensional and they ignore the fact that in critical times foreign powers supported the Turkish government in suppressing the Kurdish rebellions. For instance, Ozer (2013, 92) points out that one of the factors that changed the balance of power between Turkish troops and Kurdish rebels during the Sheikh Said rebellion was French allowance of the usage of the railways on the Syrian side of the border by the Turkish army to move the troops to the conflict area. A similar kind of contradiction will be seen in the speeches of Turkish officers during Turkey's fight against the PKK in 1990s.

intensification of military measures was not neglected in the report and he offered strict

military measures that would be followed until Turkification succeeded in the region

(Ungor 2011, 134-35; Yayman 2011, 72-76).

As a result of these recommendations from the Reform Plan for the East and

Uybadın's report, the General Inspectorship was founded on June 25, 1927, and the first

inspector appointed was Ibrahim Tali Ongoren. He was a military doctor during the

Tripoli, Balkan and Great Wars and he was next to Ataturk when the latter took the first

step to start the independence struggle in Anatolia by going to Samsun in May 1919.

Therefore, he was an extremely-trusted and effective individual. Indeed, he was the only

bureaucrat who became General Inspector two times, first as the First General Inspector

in southeast Turkey from 1927 to 1932 and then as Second General Inspector in Thrace

during the second half of 1930s.[29] As Yayman (2011, 99) labels, Ongoren was "the

super-bureaucrat" of the era and his evaluation on the Kurdish problem was important

because of his effectiveness on the policy-making and his task as the General Inspector.

Similar to the politicians mentioned before, Ongoren was a security-minded

bureaucrat on the Kurdish issue. After the suppression of the Agri rebellion in 1930, the

state focused on one district, Dersim, and the reports in 1930s were mainly about the

disturbances in this particular area. Ongoren wrote a report about the Dersim Kurds in

1930 and his main finding was that if the Kurds in Dersim suffer enough they would obey

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[29] It seems that military mindset of Ongoren was not limited with the Kurdish problem and during his second inspectorship his mind was occupied with the security threats in Thrace. Guttstadt (2013, 67-68) argues that Ongoren was "outright obsessed with the Jewish problem" and the Inspector blamed the Jews of dominating economic life and exploiting Turks in the region. Ongoren was also worried about military threat from Bulgaria and advocated the armament of the Muslim population as militias and village guards.

the rules of the state. The Inspector maintained that Dersim should be isolated from its environment so that the Kurds would suffer from hunger and they would have no option other than asking for the state's shelter. Ongoren did not expect any rebellion inside Dersim, instead he claimed that the rebels were coming from border areas; nevertheless, his method was to punish the innocent Kurds in Dersim. According to him, the military measures should have been increased: the army should keep critical roads going to Dersim, and there must be a fleet of airplanes in Elazig to bomb the tribes which opposed the state and to destroy their agriculture and animals. Although Ongoren believed that the strict measures in the past did not work, he recommended the government try and "eradicate" the Dersim problem. Therefore, he demanded a single, but complete, operation (Mumcu 2012, 31-34).

Education was also important in Ongoren's policies in the region. Nevertheless, it is important to note that from the security perspective the education was equal to Turkification and it did not serve in any way to recognize cultural plurality. Education from a security perspective was organized in three institutions: schools, Turkish cultural centers (*Türk Ocakları*) and the army. The army would especially play an important role in the Turkification of the Kurds who would serve in Western Turkey. An American report underlines the importance of these institutions in Ongoren's Kurdish policy (quoted from Cagaptay 2006, 23):[30]

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[30] British Charge D'affairs in Istanbul also reports a conversation with Ongoren which underlines the importance of Turkish education in the Inspector's mindset: "Ibrahim Tali Bey told me with glee of some other beys who returned from exile, and whom he made to put up at the hotel in [Diyarbakir] until they

> Ibrahim Tali Bey's policy relies upon education of all kinds, carried out through schools and Turk Ocagis. As every child goes to school, so every man goes through the army, which itself has become a great school…It is clear that even ten years of this procedure will make an enormous difference in the outlook of the people which has neither priests, literature nor leaders to keep its own traditions.

Another General Inspector who was notorious for his security policies was General Huseyin Abdullah Alpdogan, who served as the Fourth Inspector General and the Governor of Tunceli (Dersim) between 1936 and 1943. Therefore, when we take into consideration that all power in the region was held by General Inspectors, he can be defined as one of the top decision-makers during the Dersim Rebellion/Resistance.[31] Within a year that Alpdogan came to this task, he realized that violence shown to the Kurds in the past had a negative effect on the regional situation and he blamed the gendarmerie for too much violence. A British report pointed out that, according to him, when the occupation of "disaffected areas" would be completed, "more regular troops and fewer gendarmerie would be stationed in the area" and "great clemency would be shown to the Kurds, who were already responding to gentler methods" (Simsir 1991, 308).

It is important to note that during the state-building process the Turkish political elites mainly targeted feudal landowners and religious sheikhs rather than ordinary Kurds. They believed those landowners and sheikhs were the main obstacle to

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could read and write in the new letters. At the end of nineteen days they acoomplished the task and were allowed to proceed" (Simsir 1991, 172).

[31] Ahmet Ozer (2013, 210-11) argues that the violence in Dersim cannot be defined as the rebellion since the operation was planned and the government had decided to execute it years before the violence started. He points out that even the military did not use the word rebellion in its documents but called it "tedip" which means "discipline." As a result, Ozer argues, the state did not counter against an insurgency but aimed to discipline the Kurds who did not obey the homogenization plan of the state.

secularization, modernization and homogenization of the state. Their plan was to provide for the integration of the Kurds into the system by dividing these large lands among the people. Politicians thought that if the power of these landowners and sheikhs was eliminated, the Kurds would grow richer and integrate into the system willingly; therefore, neither their religious nor ethnic identity would cause a problem. Although being well-intentioned, it would be naive to think that these landlords and sheikhs would leave their power willingly. When the state abolished religious institutions, rejected Kurdish identity and language, and more importantly, came to the region with heavy armaments, these landlords and sheikhs easily mobilized the ordinary Kurds against the state by stating that the government's aim was to eliminate the Kurds. In the end, the suffering of the Armenians during World War was still in mind. On the other hand, when the ordinary Kurds rebelled against the government, the politicians regarded them as the enemy partly because of the inflexibility of the military mindset. Therefore, even though Alpdogan and other decision-makers accepted the fact the too much violence adopted in the past was detrimental to the integration of the Kurds, they could not refrain from adopting the same methods during their tenure.

That is why it is not surprising to see that the most repressive military measures in Dersim were taken during the tenure of General Alpdogan. According to the state reports, in the first four years of Alpdogan's tenure, 13,806 persons were killed in military operations in Dersim (Sabah 2011b)[32] while the real number is expected to be higher. The

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[32] This number was given by the current Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan. Erdogan based this numbers on a document prepared by then the Minister of Internal Affairs Faik Oztrak on August 8, 1939.

officers in the region were unable to understand the dynamics of the region and when they ordered the killing of landlords and sheikhs they either could not realize this policy would spark more violence or intentionally wanted to initiate a cycle of violence to end the Dersim problem permanently. For instance, when the son of Seyyid Riza, the leader of the rebellion, was killed by an order of Alpdogan, Seyyid Riza bombed a bridge and this event gave the state an excuse to start *Tunceli Tedip Harekati* (The Operation to Discipline Tunceli). Punishment, rather than moderation, was the main strategy during the operation. For example, as Ihsan Sabri Caglayangil (1990) points out in his memoirs, Seyyid Riza was hastily executed by the officials on November 15, 1937, since they were afraid that the Kurds would beg Ataturk, who would come to the region the next day, to stop the execution. Caglayangil also states in his memoirs that the military had sprayed poisonous gas into caves and killed people like rats in Dersim. All these policies followed under the Inspectorship of Alpdogan created unrest among the Kurds and the events were transformed into myths which are used by Kurdish nationalists even today.

2.2.2 Civilian Militarists and the Kurdish Rebellions

All this information shows that the presence of soldiers or soldier-politicians in critical decision-making posts increased the security concerns of the state and gave birth to the priority of security measures in dealing with the Kurds during the early Kurdish rebellions. Yet, it would be wrong to argue that only soldiers or soldier-politicians advocated militarist policies towards the Kurds in this period. This was a one-party regime in which clientelism was one of the strongest norms in state governance. In this

system the divergence of ideas on how to end the Kurdish rebellions would be unlikely. In other words, it is natural to expect less diversity in a one-party regime than a democratic system. For instance, if one directly opposes the Ataturk-Inonu-Cakmak triumvirate or the official ideology of the state, it is likely that he could not rise to the upper echelons in the political system or would be brought down by the top echelon. This was exactly what happened when the moderate Ali Fethi government could not take the strict security measures against Sheikh Said rebellion. It is also logical to assume that there may have been hard-core nationalists among the political elites. In the end, the nationalist Young Turks and the CUP, which preceded the Kemalist movement, were a combination of civilians and military officers.

Looking at the civilian politicians of this era shows that some of them were more radical than soldier-politicians in their words. For instance, Mahmut Esat Bozkurt, the Minister of Justice in 1925-1927, one of the writers of the Reform Plan for the East and ideologue of the ruling RPP, stated in September 1930 that (quoted from Parla and Davison 2004, 77):

> Because this party [the RPP], by the works it accomplished heretofore, restored to the Turkish nation its position that is essentially the master. My idea, my opinion is that, harken ye friend and foe, the master of this country is the Turk. Those who are not genuine Turks can have only one right in the Turkish fatherland, and that is to be a servant, to be a slave.

It is important to note that in this speech, Bozkurt did not target those who are Kurds, but those Kurds who identified themselves as Kurds. For him, if a Kurd defines himself as a Turk, he was not a slave in the Turkish lands. This policy excluded ethnic Kurdish identity and those who embraced this identity rather the Kurds as whole group.

The essence of this policy can be found in Social Darwinism that divides groups as strong and weak and that argues that the survival of the strong lies in the disadvantage of the weak. In this perspective, the weak Kurdish identity should have been absorbed into the strong Turkish identity and if it cannot be, the Kurds could live somewhere else. This argument, indeed, was stressed by another civilian politician, Tevfik Rustu Aras, then Foreign Minister, in his conversation with Sir. G. Clerk, British Ambassador in Ankara (Simsir 1991, 98):

> [Tevfik Rustu] enunciated his theory of historical philosophy. The pendulum swings between a period of empire of federation and one of independent nations and races; the British Empire alone in history has had the political wisdom to adapt itself to the growth of separatist forces and so to preserve its structure; the pendulum has now reached the maximum of its swing towards individual and separate nations and the swing back into groups, if not into empires, is already noticeable. The process is inevitable, but in its course small national units must disappear, or only survive precariously because their absorption by one of their bigger neighbours means war with the others, independent existence for all small nationalities of 1 or 2 millions, e.g., Albania, is henceforth impossible. Thus the Kurds, too, are inevitably doomed, but in their case their cultural level is so low, their mentality so backward, that they cannot be simply assimilated in the general Turkish body politic...[T]hey will die out, economically unfitted for the struggle for life in competition with the more advanced and cultured Turks, who will be settled in the Kurdish districts. After all there are less than 500,000 Kurds in Turkey to-day, of whom as many as can will emigrate into Persia and Iraq, while the rest will simply undergo the elimination of the unfit.

Social Darwinist nationalism was not dominant only in Turkey but also in Europe and this philosophy showed its most brutal form in German policies before and during the Second World War. These politicians may have adopted this philosophy as a result of an international diffusion effect but it is also important to note that Social Darwinism entered into Turkish political thought via Goltz's writings for the modernization of the Turkish

military in the late-Ottoman period. Nevertheless, Social Darwinism did not take a genocidal form in Turkey as happened in Germany. The use of force was limited to the military operations and systemic killing did not take place. The Kurds could live with equal conditions with the Turks under one condition: if they recognize that they are Turks. Therefore, Social Darwinism showed itself mainly in the clash of identities rather than in clash of groups. This philosophy was dominant both in military and civilian echelons and it led the creation of two theories which are important to understand Turkish-Kurdish relations in the state-building process: Turkish History Thesis and Sun-Language Theory. These theories were initiated by Ataturk but developed by academic circles so they are also important in showing the cooperation between the soldier-politicians and civilians in shaping ethnic policies.

The Turkish History Thesis simply argues that all inhabitants in Anatolia are Turks. According to this thesis, Turks have been in Anatolia from very early historical periods, some academics said for ten thousand years, and all ethnic groups in Anatolia such as the Kurds, Armenians, Lazes, etc. "derived their origins from 'the same original, primitive mass'" which was Turkishness (Cagaptay 2004, 93). This argument rejects the claim that Turks stepped into Anatolia in 1071 with the Battle of Manzikert when the region was settled by several ethnic groups, especially by the Greeks, Kurds and Armenians. Moreover, this thesis argues that all major civilizations, Sumerian, Hittite, Chinese, Indian, Roman, Greek and even Latin American civilizations were formed by the Turks. During the nation-building process, these kinds of arguments were used to bolster the importance of Turkish identity. Nevertheless, we cannot neglect their role in

eradicating Kurdish and other minority identities during the state-building process. The thesis implied that since all civilization takes its origin from the Turks, the inhabitants of Anatolia are Turks and those who resisted against their origin should be suppressed by any means possible. Indeed, these arguments could be seen in almost all reports written from the security perspective. For instance, in his report written in 1932, Sukru Kaya, Minister of Internal Affairs between 1927 and 1938, stated that the government had to teach those citizens who were "Turks in origin." In order to accomplish this duty, the government must entrust "idealist teachers" with this task (Yayman 2011, 114).

If all inhabitants of Anatolia and all civilizations were Turks in origin, it is natural to expect that their language should have been derived from the Turkish language and Sun-Language theory was created to support this theory. According to Sun-Language theory, the Turks who moved from Central Asia to different parts of the world forgot their natural language over time yet it is possible to find some Turkish origin in foreign words which proves that all these foreign languages derived from Turkish. In addition, the theory argues, if there were some different languages spoken in Anatolia it was the fault of the political and religious institutions of the Ottoman Empire that had not given enough attention to protect Turkish in this region (Besikci 1991, 141). This theory gave the Turkish language a special historical place and regarded it as "the parent of all other tongues" (Cagaptay 2004, 92). Those who spoke other languages were harassed and in 1935 Prime Minister Inonu stated, "From now on, we will not keep quiet. All citizens, who live with us, will speak Turkish" (Ibid., 96). Needless to say, government reports especially focused on the language issue in the Kurdish problem and again "idealist

teachers" were given the responsibility to teach the Turkish language to those who did not know. It is important to note that rejecting a distinct Kurdish identity and Kurdish language through these theories played a significant role in the Kurdish alienation; furthermore, as I will show in the next chapter, the same cultural rejection continued in the following decades. All in all, both civilian politicians and academics played no less a significant role in the ethnic policies during the state-building process; yet, it is necessary to emphasize again that this was a one-party regime whose top echelon was formed by soldier-politicians.

2.2.3 Moderates during the Kurdish Rebellions

Although being a minority there were some moderates who refrained from advising for the use of force against the Kurds during the state-building process. These moderates did not oppose the assimilation and Turkification policies of the state and they were not less nationalist than the militarist civilians and soldier-politicians. Yet, they believed that the Kurdish problem could be solved without spilling blood. The moderates approached the issue from economic or religion perspectives and when they spoke about security, they focused on the security dilemma and information failure between the government and local population. Similar to the security school, these moderates did not belong to a single group and they included persons both from the civilians and soldier-politicians. Yet they were not able to represent themselves in the top decision-making.

Yayman (2011) labels this group of moderate politicians as the "civilian school" against Inonu's "security school." The leading figure of the civilian school was Celal

Bayar, Minister of Finance (1932-1937) and the Prime Minister (1937-1939). Bayar was an economist and he had served in the War of Independence mainly as an adviser. He had more liberal and economy-based ideas to solve the Kurdish problem, yet his liberalism should be evaluated within the conditions of 1930s. For instance, Bayar started his report, dated in 1936, by repeating Inonu and stated, "The most important force we will lean on is our army and gendarmerie" (Bayar 2006, 63). Similarly, Bayar saw feudalism as a main danger and advocated the transportation of those Kurds who initiated insurgencies against the state. Yet as an economist, some of Bayar's recommendations significantly differed from the security school. For example, like several members of the security school, Bayar emphasized the importance of building roads but unlike others, his main concern, as an economist, was to improve the economic condition of the region and the Kurdish population. This was an unusual suggestion in this period since the general policy was to leave the region undeveloped as a punishment for the insurgency. Indeed, as mentioned before, when Bayar was the Minister of Finance, his willingness to construct factories within the region was prevented by Cakmak who had greater autonomy in the region than politicians.

Bayar's emphasis on the "discriminatory treatment" is also worth mentioning. Bayar pointed out that after the Sheikh Said and Agri rebellions the emotions for Turkism and Kurdism mutually increased. Although punishing those who rebelled is understandable, he stated, after the rebellion governing should take a different form, it should be a moderate system without discrimination. According to Bayar, if the Kurds were told by public officials that they are foreign, their reaction would be harsh;

therefore, the focus should be on peaceful integration. Bayar also criticized the fact that

some Kurds were not educated or not hired as public officers only because they are

Kurds. He maintained that this discriminatory treatment is damaging to the control of the

region (Ibid., 64). Therefore, unlike Cakmak who stressed the "dangers" of educating the

Kurds, Bayar strongly criticized the state policy not to educate Kurdish people because of

their ethnic identity. He also rightfully pointed out that integration of the regional

population is possible but punishing all Kurds without differentiating bandits and

innocent civilians would not help this process.

Finally, Bayar maintained that the Kurdish problem could have been solved

without spilling blood and the key was to improve the social and economic conditions of

the region. Undoubtedly, the sincerity of Bayar and his report may be questioned by some

who argue that Bayar was the prime minister when one of the bloodiest conflicts took

place in Dersim in 1937. Bayar stated that the decision to bomb Dersim was made when

Ataturk, Cakmak and he were together to discuss the disorder in the region and after a

couple of attacks on Turkish troops. He claimed that Ataturk took responsibility for

hitting Dersim – he, ultimately, made the decision. Bayar also mentioned that both

Ataturk and Cakmak were masters of the subject because of their experiences in the

Balkan Wars and World War and this put him in a passive situation (Altug 1986). It may

have been the case that Bayar simply did not want to bear the blame for the violence;

however, it is also true that within the decision-making structure he was not equal with

any member of the Ataturk-Inonu-Cakmak triumvirate and without the group's approval

Bayar could not have made any major decision on the Kurdish issue. Bayar was

appointed as the Prime Minister because Ataturk liked his report advocating social and economic reforms but in the middle of violence he and his preferences may have been put into a secondary role in favor of order and stability, similar to Ali Fethi's situation in 1925.

Another civilian politician who resisted the militarist policies of the state was the Governor Ali Cemal Bardakci and his approach to the Kurdish problem was more realistic than others. Although he was unwilling to recognize a Kurdish identity, Bardakci believed that people in the region held arms not because of nationalism but because of individual fears that if they gave up their arms, they may have been killed or forced to migrate (Yayman 2011, 97) like Armenians during the First World War. He argued that since the region was not governed properly for decades the local population had to protect themselves with their guns. If the government behaves properly, Bardakci believed, they would put their gun down. If the state starts a military operation to collect guns, it would be costly in terms of both blood and money. The governor maintains that the proper method was to build roads and schools as well as giving agricultural service to the people. Although Bardakci did not recognize the distinct Kurdish identity, he was not in favor of using force against the population in Dersim (Mumcu 2012, 39-40). Unlike the reports written from the security perspective, he focused on the commitment problem and security dilemma between the state and the Kurds. Indeed, during this period the main problem was that both sides did not know each other's intentions as the government believed that even the ordinary Kurds were rebelling whereas the Kurds were mobilized by the feudal landlords and sheikhs who claimed that the government was there to

eradicate them.

The moderate views on the Kurdish problem were not expressed only by the civilian politicians and there were some soldiers and soldier-politicians who disagreed with the heavy security measures taken by the Turkish government. As mentioned, Ali Fethi Okyar, who was Mustafa Kemal's schoolmate at Manastir Military High School and served in Libya and the Balkan Wars, was one of these moderates. Kazim Karabekir, the famous corps commander with his successes in the eastern front in the War of Independence, was another soldier-politician who had an alternative view to solve the Kurdish problem, although his solution could not be easily classified as moderate or militarist. Karabekir's solution was based on the religious character of the region and he believed that the religious ties between the Turks and the Kurds could be used to assimilate the Kurds. As most of the politicians during the period, Karabekir was equally against the Kurdish nationalism in the southeast and did not refrain from assimilation policies by suggesting the taking of children younger than twelve-years old to state boarding schools. Nevertheless, his main recommendation was the economic development of the region by not excluding the religion-factor to integrate the regional population with the state. For instance, he proposed the replacement of the Kurdish sheikhs with intellectuals trained in the faculties of theology and law and taught in Kurdish. At the same time, he believed Kurds in the region should be surrounded by Turkish forces until the assimilation process was completed. Therefore, military and religious measures were equally proposed by Kazim Karabekir (Kedourie 2000, 19-20; Ozer 2013, 231-33).

Along with Ali Fuat Cebesoy and Refet Bele, Karabekir was one of the former military officers who opposed Ataturk's leadership and his state- and nation-building efforts until they were arrested in 1926, accused of participating in an attempt to assassinate Ataturk. For political reasons these soldier-politicians significantly criticized the strict security measures taken by the Inonu government during the Sheikh Said rebellion. For instance, a day after Ali Fethi Okyar was ejected from the seat of the prime ministry and replaced by Inonu, Ali Fuat Cebesoy criticized this move by stating that they would not trust the Inonu government until the reason for this change was openly discussed in the parliament and asked the government to be careful in taking security measures: "Rebellions and reactionary acts should be eliminated, rebels and reactionaries should be punished. There is no doubt about that. Yet, I ask for not applying suppressive methods that restrict the basic rights and freedoms of the nation by the government" (TBMM Tutanak 1925). Until silenced by the assassination trial, this opposition criticized the government policies of using excessive force, muzzling the press, and restricting basic rights and freedoms.

There was also a case of a moderate soldier within the government circle during this period. Lt. Gen. Omer Halis Biyiktay, who wrote a Kurdish report in 1935, believed that the Dersim problem could not be solved by guns and moderate policies would be more appropriate. Contrary to the security school, Biyiktay was against the idea of mass population movement. Furthermore, he recommended the appointment of local but trusted Kurds to the regional offices. According to Biyiktay, the main problem in the region was banditry and if the local population were saved from the oppression of those

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bandits, strict security measures would not be necessary (Yayman 2011, 105-10).

Nevertheless, these moderate soldiers and politicians were in the minority and unable to change major government policies when the conflict was heated-up and top decision-making was controlled by the security school.

The final words in this section should be spared for the most important politician in the period: Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. Sevket Sureyya Aydemir, a well-known writer who published Ataturk (*Tek Adam* – First Man) and Inonu's biographies (*İkinci Adam* – Second Man), defines Ataturk as a "soldier but not militarist" (Aydemir 2008, 483-84):

> Yes, he was a soldier, but not a militarist. He loved life. There were times he commanded hundreds of thousands, went through pitched battles, wandered around dead and wounded. Yet, he also said, "I would not like to see even the death of a chicken."...One would not see in his country those concentration camps, torture rooms, political murders, degrading actions against intellectuals applied by some leaders of his lifetime; even during the terror days of Tribunals of Independence. He made people forget where and when the bloody events, wars, rebellions, Tribunals of Independence happened.

Comparing to the leaders of his lifetime such as Mussolini and Hitler, indeed, Ataturk did not praise or adopt violence. Social Darwinism during this period was limited to the identity level. He was impressed by French nation-building and he attempted to bring an encompassing Turkish citizenship to everyone regardless of the peoples' historical origin or the language they spoke. He promoted a multi-party system and the presence of different voices in the government, but when a crisis emerged his soldier-personality surfaced and he prioritized order and security over democracy and negotiation. As a result, he appointed Ali Fethi Okyar as the prime minister himself but when the Sheikh Said rebellion emerged he replaced Ali Fethi with Inonu who was a

"man of crisis." Similarly, when the tension in the region slowed down, Ataturk

appointed moderate Celal Bayar as the prime minister by telling Inonu that (Bozdag

1995, 25):

> The country had some conditions. You were the man who could overcome
> those conditions; I chose you as prime minister...Now the conditions have
> changed; there is a need for someone who could overcome new conditions; I
> made Mr. Celal prime minister.

By former conditions, Ataturk meant the security needs of the state whereas new

conditions pointed to the social and economical development of the region. After reading

Bayar's report on the social and economic problems of southeast Turkey, Ataturk

believed Bayar was the man of the time to develop the region. Yet, when the Dersim

rebellion emerged he prioritized the security needs once more and military officers

Cakmak and Alpdogan mainly shaped the policies in the region. Therefore, rather than

classifying Ataturk as militarist or moderate, it is more appropriate to claim that

conditions determined his political stance: in peacetime, he was a moderate; in times of

crisis, he was a militarist who prioritized order and security.

2.3 Conclusion

Historical institutionalism argues that how a state is formed and the principles

adopted in the state-building process shape the basic parameters that are influential in the

societal and political life in the following decades. In this chapter, I aimed to show how

the military control of Turkish politics was established in the early years of the Republic

and how it affected the ethnic policies of the state during the Kurdish rebellions between

1924 and 1939. The next chapter will show that this military control of politics continued by taking an institutional form especially after the military coup of 1960 and it continued the ethnic policies in the 1980s and 1990s in the same way as in the 1920s and 1930s.

In accordance with military activism, I also argue that the military control of politics was detrimental to interethnic relations as the presence of security-minded soldier-politicians in key government posts led to a preference for militarist policies against the Kurdish rebellions. Although until the Sheikh Said rebellion, some dialogue and negotiations were followed, in the post-1925 period, the use of force turned into the main policy option in Turkey's Kurdish policy. The state saw the issue as a feudalism/tribalism and security problem, and as a secondary factor, it focused on the economic underdevelopment of the region. Yet, cultural, social and identical aspects of the problem were totally ignored and the state rejected the Kurdish identity and language by creating the Turkish History Thesis and Sun-Language Theory. In addition to the use of force, the state followed several policies which were taken as security measures: assimilation, Turkification, population movement, the closure of the political parties that were moderate toward the Kurds, silencing the press on the Kurdish problem, and the appointment of a General Inspector to the region were only some of those measures.

It is important to note that although the CGS Fevzi Cakmak played an important role in the decision-making structure, the military as an institution played a minimal role in shaping the policies since soldier-politicians they trusted were in power and both sides were in line about following militarist policies. There were also a significant number of

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civilians advocating militarist policies, sometimes with more radical discourse, yet in the hierarchical nature of the decision-making structure, these individuals were mainly followers of policy choices shaped by the soldier-politicians whose preferences seemed to be affected by their military mindset. Some civilians and soldier-politicians offered alternative and moderate policies to solve the Kurdish conflict but these individuals either remained out of the decision-making structure or had to transform their preferences in-line with the militarists. Criticism against the militarists was voiced only when those who criticized were in the opposition. If they were in power they needed to transform themselves as Bayar did since the alternative was to be kicked out of power as Ali Fethi Okyar was destined to be. Therefore, it was possible to talk about a sort of socialization in the top echelon of decision-makers where militarism dominated the main policy discourse. This socialization effect, on the other hand, will disappear when military control takes an institutional form and the number of soldier-politicians decreases, as the next chapter shows.

Chapter 3

MILITARY CONTROL AND THE PKK CONFLICT

3.1 Military Control in the Postwar Period

3.1.1 Military Coups and Transformation of Military Control

The democratization process in Turkey started after the Second World War as a result of external factors. After Ataturk passed away in 1938, Ismet Inonu became the president and soon a war erupted in Europe. Inonu followed a policy of neutrality throughout the war because, he believed, the main threat to Turkey was not Germany but the Soviet Union and whichever side Turkey participated with during the war, the Soviet leaders would be ambitious on the Straits and northeastern Turkey. As expected by Turkish rulers, the Soviet Union attempted to change the Straits regime as soon as the war was over and in August 1946, Moscow demanded that the regime be formed by the Black Sea states, meaning mainly between the Soviet Union and Turkey. Fortunately for the Turks, a split emerged between Western powers and the Soviet Union at the same time and the Turkish government sought the help of the Western states against Soviet demands. The adoption of the multi-party system was important in this sense to gain the support of the Western public who was discontented with Turkey's neutral position in the war (Birsel 1948, Sadak 1949, Weisband 1973, Deringil 1989). Although the first multi-

party elections in 1946 cannot be deemed as fair, it was clear that the more Turkey

became dependent on the Western states, the less the RPP could obstruct the working

multi-party system. Indeed, Democratic Party (DP) headed by Adnan Menderes and Celal

Bayar, won the next elections in 1950. These men were a wealthy landowner and

economist, respectively, and for the first time since the foundation of the state, top

leadership was mainly civilian.

It is true that the founders of the DP were Kemalists and they had been

parliamentarians in the RPP ranks before they broke up with the party and established

their own. Nevertheless, they did not have ties with the military as strong as the RPP and

the DP rule brought a significant decline in the military control on political decision-

making. Although the DP added some soldiers into its ranks before the 1950 elections,[33]

the soldier's presence in key government posts and in the assembly significantly dropped

first in 1950 and more in the 1954 elections. At the same time, as soon as Menderes

became the prime minister he took measures to provide civilian control over the military.

He initiated a purge of the army command and replaced the CGS, three of the four force

commanders as well as the generals whose loyalty he doubted (Hale 2011, 197). In

addition, in 1949 the CGS was made answerable to the Minister of Defense, which

diminished the status of the military officers in the political structure throughout the DP

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[33] Among them the most important figure is Seyfi Kurtbek who served as Minister of Communication (1950-52) and Minister of Defense (1952-53) in the DP government. Although he entered into politics, Kurtbek mistrusted politicians who put their self interests and party-interests over national-interests. He called these "self-interested politicians" as "traitors" and believed that national defense issues should not have been part of domestic policy (Ozcan 2010b, 321). This statement is important to show two characteristics of the Turkish military mindset even in the 1950s: the mistrust towards politicians and the taboo on national security issues, which cannot be a part of party politics.

rule. The victory in the 1954 elections raised the confidence of the DP leaders against the soldiers so much that over time the confidence turned into looking down on them. Menderes' statement that he could "command the army with non-commissioned officers" was a typical example of his disdain for the military (Ozdag 2004, 52).

Although civilian control of the military emerged in the 1950s, the multi-party system did not end military influence in Turkey; contrary to that, as Jenkins (2001, 9) states, the military's role in the political decision-making has been enhanced by the failure of the parliamentary system. At the beginning of the 1950s, civilian control of the military worked relatively well thanks to the economic boom via American financial and military aid which contributed to both the economy and defense system; however, the honeymoon period lasted only a short time. After the 1954 elections partisanship emerged in Turkish politics and the DP started following authoritarian policies towards the opposition (Ozdag 2004, 55-62).[34] DP's repressive policies against the RPP and Inonu, who was deeply respected among the officers, especially raised a disturbance within the lower-ranks of the army.[35] Menderes' close relations with the religious and

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[34] According to Dodd (1969, 28), authoritarianism in the DP was based on several factors. First, the DP leaders had "a long history of active participation in the authoritarian People's Party," therefore, they did not have a democratic training. Second, they had an "Inonu complex." The DP leaders broke up with the RPP since they could not unseat Inonu and when they came to power, they concentrated on this task with all their power. Their restrictions on political freedoms were targeting Inonu and the RPP. Finally, they were over-confident of their electoral power. They may have been illiberal to the opposition party and the intellectuals, but the peasants and workers who vote in favor of the DP would not care much about this authoritarianism. For them, food, material goods, and religious freedoms were more important.

[35] One important incident took place in Kayseri before the 1960 coup. At the beginning of April 1960, Inonu made a trip to Kayseri to visit RPP members who had allegedly experienced unfair treatment by the authorities. On official orders, the Governor of Kayseri stopped Inonu's train, yet after a three-hour confrontation, the Governor stepped back. The next day, Inonu's path was blocked again but this time he was saluted by the soldiers in the blockade and after being confronted by Inonu, two soldiers resigned from the military. This incident was important in its showing the low- and mid-level soldiers' position in RPP-DP confrontation.

Kurdish groups were equally raising the soldiers' displeasure against the DP rule.[36] In

addition to the ideological reasons, material factors, such as the low salaries within the military,

was a source of discontent. But the last straw was Menderes' decision to use the military forces to

suppress the opposition and students' demonstrations in 1960. As a result, on May 27,

1960, a group of mid-level officers organized a military coup which released the genie

from the bottle by being the first of several successive military interventions in Turkish

history.

The 1960 coup started the institutional military control of Turkish politics. For

this purpose, the governmental and constitutional framework was redesigned to ease the

dominance of the military preferences in political decision-making. First, the National

Security Council (NSC) was established by the 1961 constitution prepared by the

provisional military rule. According to Article 111 of this constitution, the NSC was

tasked to "communicate the requisite fundamental recommendations to the Council of

Ministers with the purpose of assisting in the making of decisions related to national

security and coordination" (Anayasa 1961). The CGS, representatives of the armed forces

and the ministers as provided by law would participate in the Council and it was to be

presided over by the President and in his absence by the Prime Minister. Although there

was a functionally similar organization called the Supreme Council of National Defense

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[36] Menderes' main intention with this policy was to get the support of these groups in the elections and strengthen his and the party's power in politics. Nevertheless, in the Turkish military mindset these behaviors were regarded as a deviation from the Kemalist principles and self-interested behaviors which may have put the national interest in danger. This evaluation was the result of the fact that the soldiers who organized the military coup regarded themselves as better-educated than the civilians and they saw themselves as superior to the self-interested politicians. As an indication of soldiers' looking down on the civilians, an officer who participated in the coup states that "when a pasha (a Turkish general) opened the door of a civilian's (he meant Menderes) car and bowed down in front of him, I understood that I could not tolerate it anymore" (Belge 2012, 722).

that was formed in 1949 to form the national defense policy, the main function of the NSC was to provide for military control of state policies and national security issues.

Second, reversing back to the status during the state-building process, the CGS was made responsible to the Prime Minister in the exercise of his duties and powers; therefore, the military officers raised their rank in political decision-making by skipping the Defense Minister. Third, Cemal Gursel, former Commander of the Land Forces and a senior general who actively supported the mid-level officers to organize the coup, was appointed as President. Although the officers avoided entering into party politics after 1950, they placed an emphasis on the presidency to convey their messages, and warnings, to the civilian governments. As a result, from 1960 to 1989 the seat of the Presidency was occupied by former generals and later civilians who would not contradict with the military. Finally, similar to Article 34 of the Armed Forces Internal Service Law, dated 1935, the 1961 Internal Service Law also emphasized the Armed Forces' responsibility to protect the territorial integrity of the country and *the nature of the Turkish regime* and again this second part of the article would be used for justification for the future military interferences into domestic politics. As a result, through the NSC, constitution, and presidency, the officers succeeded in reestablishing their control of politics.

Nevertheless, by sticking with the principle created during the state-building process, the higher echelons of the military prevented any attempt to establish military rule in the country. Indeed, among those mid-level officers who organized the military coup, there were some advocating military rule because, they believed, the Menderes

government proved the fact that Kemalist principles were not well-rooted in the political system. Captain Muzaffer Ozdag, a member of this radical-authoritarian group, stated that they "are forced to go further than Ataturk, and complete what he left uncompleted" (Hale 1994, 132). The mistrust of civilian politicians and society was higher in this group than the military in general and with the internal revolution in the army fourteen radical officers were exiled to different military posts around the world in November 1961.[37] In fact, after the coup, the military attempted to restrain not only the authoritarian tendencies of civilian politicians, but also those radicals who advocated military rule within the barracks. Similar to the founding fathers, generals prioritized order and stability without giving up the democratic nature of the country. Tamkoc (1976, 95) argues that the liberal characteristic of the 1961 constitution proves the fact that those who lead the preparation of the constitution still had trust in the civilian politicians and it was likely that the higher echelons of the military regarded the Menderes rule as an accident in the democratization process rather than a default within the system. Therefore, political power was given back to the civilians with the elections in October 1961 and Inonu returned to power as the prime minister.

Yet, the military officers continued to control the politicians in accordance with the governmental and constitutional framework they designed. Contrary to the expectations, the liberal constitution of 1961 destabilized the political system in the country by raising the political opposition between leftist and rightists. At the end of

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[37] Among the fourteen, the most famous officer was Abdullah Turkes who would be the founder of the nationalist Republican Villagers Nation Party in 1965.

1960s, political violence between the left-wing movements and right-wing groups was accompanied by an economic recession, and friction between the political parties led the military officers to interfere in the political system eleven years after the first coup. Unlike the first coup which ended with the execution of Menderes, the 1971 coup took place in a bloodless way through a memorandum warning the government under Suleyman Demirel that if social and economic unrest was not controlled, then the military would exercise its constitutional duty – protecting the regime – and take power. This threat led to the resignation of the Demirel government and the generals chose Professor Nihat Erim to lead a technocratic government that would apply social and economic reforms to end the anarchy within the state.

The interference was followed by some changes to increase the military control of politics. First, those aspects of the 1961 constitution that were found to be too liberal by the officers were amended to limit social conflicts. Between 1971 and 1973 fifty-five articles of the Constitution were changed and the new rules notably limited freedom of expression in Turkey. Second, the Martial Law was declared in April 1971 and the law passed in the parliament in the next month declared that the military commander who rules the area under the martial law can limit or totally abrogate basic rights and freedoms in order to provide public order and security. More importantly, new regulations on the Martial Law were accepted in September and violent events that put the indivisibility of the state and the nation in danger, whether it comes from inside the state or outside, were added as a condition for the declaration of martial law (Burak 2011, 57). These changes are important if one takes into consideration that twelve out of sixteen years between

1971 and 1987 witnessed martial law in some parts or all of the country because of either domestic violence or external conflicts – specifically, the Cyprus problem.

Nevertheless, these amendments could not prevent disorder and anarchy within the state and led to another military coup in 1980, which turned out to be the zenith of the military control in Turkey. At the end of the 1970s, the conflicts between left-wing and right-wing groups escalated significantly and violence in the streets and universities costs tens of lives every day. Rather than cooperating against the domestic violence, civilian politicians such as Suleyman Demirel and Bulent Ecevit followed partisan politics and destabilized the country during their tenures as prime ministers.[38] The political crisis ended with the military coup on September 12, 1980, which became the last step in forming a "national-security state." Indeed, although the military was an influential actor before 1980, the civilians were able to question military autonomy in politics to some extent. For example, when the NSC made a public announcement about the violent activities at the universities in 1970, a critical debate started about the power of the organization to make such statements to the public. The critics of this action argued that

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[38] The chaotic and infertile political system led these political figures to become prime minister several times during the 1970s. Each politician served as prime minister three times between the 1971 intervention and 1980 coup: Demirel in March 1975-June 1977, July 1977-January 1978 and November 1980-September 1980; Ecevit in January-November 1974, June-July 1977, and January 1978-November 1979. According to Tanel Demirel (2005), who does not have any relationship with the politician Demirel, one of the reasons for these partisan politics was the former interference by the military, which deprived the democracy of being "the only game in town." Because the officers, as a principle followed since the state-building process, did not form a military regime, civilians regarded the military interferences as a quick and less costly solution if they could not defeat their political rivals through democratic means. According to this explanation, these politicians knew that even if a military coup takes place, they would be back in politics sooner or later. Without a doubt, it may be argued that military coup may produce some significant costs, as happened to Adnan Menderes who had been executed by the provisional military regime. However, unlike Menderes, neither Demirel nor Ecevit targeted military autonomy in politics; therefore, the threat of execution was minimal in their minds. Indeed, Demirel's ending his political career as the President of the Republic in 2000 was proof of the theory that military interferences destabilized the party politics by being a less-costly option for the politicians.

only the Council of Ministers was authorized to make decisions on security matters and announce it to the public (Ozcan 2010b, 337-39). This critical attitude is in contradiction with the 1980s and 1990s when all major security decisions were made by the NSC and both the public and media were waiting for the announcements at the end of each meeting. The 1980 military coup played a significant role in this transformation.

Military control after the coup was ensured through various changes within the governmental and constitutional framework. First, it is necessary to start with the 1982 Constitution. The notion of security was the main logic in this constitution prepared by the provisional military regime. In her review of the constitution, Meryem Erdal (2009) found that in sixty-five articles there are regulations and emphasis on security and all areas – economic, political, social and cultural – in the public life were shaped by the notion of national security. In addition to the indivisible integrity of the state and the nation, the constitution emphasized the Ataturk reforms and principles in many articles, including in the first three articles which "shall not be amended, nor shall their amendment be proposed." These articles related to security bears significance since the policies and restrictions against Islamic fundamentalism and Kurdish separatism, the two security threats regarded by the military in the 1980s and 1990s, were shaped by the 1982 constitution.

In this respect, Article 118 of the constitution, which describes the duties of the NSC, is important to highlight. The constitution brought important changes to the functioning of the institution in order to increase military control of politics. First, by

including the General Commander of the Gendarmerie in the NSC members, the civilian

majority within the institution came to an end. More importantly, the article extends the

power of the institution compared to the 1961 constitution which tasked the NSC to

"communicate the requisite fundamental recommendations to the Council of Ministers

with the purpose of assisting in the making of decisions related to national security and

coordination." According to the new constitution (TBMM 2015b):

> National Security Council shall *submit* to the Council of Ministers its
> views on taking decisions and ensuring necessary coordination with regard
> to the formulation, establishment, and implementation of the national
> security policy of the state. The Council of Ministers shall *give priority*
> *consideration* to the decisions of the National Security Council concerning
> the measures that it deems necessary for the preservation of the existence
> and independence of the State, the integrity and indivisibility of the
> county, and the peace and security of society. (*italics* my emphasis)

By changing "communicate" with "submit" and "recommendation" with "giving

priority consideration," this article attempted to make the NSC the main institution

responsible for formulating and implementing national security policy. In addition, the

article stated that the agenda of the NSC will be drawn up by the President "taking into

account the proposals of the Prime Minister and the Chief of the General Staff;"

therefore, it gave equal responsibility to the Prime Minister and the CGS in shaping the

agenda about security issues. The military's increased influence through the NSC is

important since the organization has been responsible for creating "National Security

Policy Document" (NSPD) in which the main internal and external threats to state

security are identified. In the post-1980 period, the military played a significant role in

preparing this document through the General Secretariat of the National Security Council,

an organization dominated by military officers. This document was so important for the

military officers that the former CGS, Dogan Gures, defined it as "the God of all

policies" (Cemal 2010, 357). This secret document was not under parliamentary

supervision and Prime Ministers generally signed it without any opposition to the threat

evaluation of the military officers.

In addition to the NSC and NSPD, the military increased its influence in other

mechanisms during the post-1980 period. First, the CGS protected his status in the

relationship with the Minister of National Defense by being responsible to the Prime

Minister in the exercise of his duties and powers. What is ironic, as Jenkins (2001, 44)

pointed out, is that even if the CGS had been responsible to the Defense Minister, it

would not have had practical meaning since, like the General Secretariat of the NSC,

Minister of National Defense was staffed primarily by serving officers.[39] Therefore,

civilians had a minimal role in the security issues even at the bureaucratic level. Second,

the presidential seat was occupied by a military officer again as happened for the last

twenty years. The junta leader, Kenan Evren became the seventh President of Turkey and

stayed in power until 1989. Finally, in the post-1980 period the military attempted to

infiltrate public life more than ever before. For instance, Article 131 of the constitution

gave the CGS the right to nominate his own candidates to the Higher Education Council,

which plan, organize, administer and supervise education. By this right, the military was

able to supervise whether or not the curriculum conforms to Ataturk's reforms and

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[39] It is important to note that like party politics, the officers avoided taking part in the civilian bureaucracy
with the exception of integrating officers into the Minister of National Defense and General Secretariat of
the NSC. This exception shows the fact that the officers saw security issues as their responsibility and were
reluctant to share it with the civilian politicians they do not trust.

principles. With this institutional and social power, the military became the most influential force in Turkish politics during the 1980s and 1990s.

In sum, the Turkish military gradually increased its control on Turkish politics through successive military coups which changed the governmental and constitutional framework in favor of the officers. Nevertheless, the influence never turned into a total control of politics, but as Karaosmanoglu (2000, 214) states, what took place was "a refined concept of autonomy." Here the principles adopted during the state-building process played a significant role by preventing the officers from entering into party politics, civilian bureaucracy and directly ruling the country. The officers tasked themselves with the protection of Kemalist ideology and identity as well as public order and security, the tasks they adopted during the early Republic. They especially gave attention to the spread of alternative ideologies and identities against Kemalism such as communism, Islamism, Kurdish and ultra-nationalist Turkish identities. With the intensification of the threat from "Kurdish separatism" and "Islamic fundamentalism" against the state in the 1980s and 1990s, the officers found themselves more involved in the political decision-making.

3.1.2 Military Control in the Post-1980 Period

The years following the 1980 coup witnessed more military control on the political decision-making process as a result of two developments: the emergence of PKK (Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan, Kurdistan Workers' Party) violence starting with the attack on the gendarmerie station in Semdinli and Eruh in August 1984, and the rise of the

Islamic political parties which resulted in the victory of the Islamist Welfare Party (WP) in the 1996 elections. The problematic nature of the civil-military relations surfaced during these years since military officers, who rejected involvement in party politics, acted like a political party on these issues. On the controversial issues like Kurdish and Islamist political parties, Kurdish education, ban on headscarf, etc., the problems which should be discussed and solved through inter-party dialogue, the officers rejected public discussion and restricted the problems to within the security establishment. On these two subjects – separatism and fundamentalism, the officers expected the civilians to apply the necessary security measures recommended by the military without opposing it. Indeed, when Mesut Yilmaz, then Prime Minister, pointed out in 1998 that national security is not only the military's responsibility, the Armed Forces issued a strict response stating that "no matter what position or task is represented, no one, for the sake of his personal interest or aspirations, can display an attitude or make any suggestion or comment that will discourage, confuse, weaken or overshadow the determination of the Turkish Armed Forces to struggle against separatist or fundamentalist activities that target the country's security" (Hurriyet Daily 1998).

While the governmental and constitutional framework provided the military with control over politicians on these controversial issues, one also needs to take other factors that eased this control into consideration. Civilian inability to solve political problems or their reluctance to get involved in these controversial issues equally played significant roles in the increased military control. Indeed, when a strong leader came to power, the military control on security issues was strongly challenged. For example, Turgut Ozal –

Prime Minister in 1983-89 and the President in 1989-93 – became one of the few civilian

politicians who provided civilian control of the military, especially during his presidency,

and put forwards alternative policies to solve Kurdish problem; although, his preferences

got a negative reaction both from the military and other politicians. Until the recent JDP

rule, Ozal was the only civilian politician who successfully made his own candidate,

Necip Torumtay, as the CGS against the preference of the military. The civilians, before

and after Ozal, rarely attempted to interfere into the assignments within the army,[40] and

appointment of generals were mainly decided within the military. During his presidency,

the military was under civilian control so that when a disagreement emerged between the

civilian and military echelons because of Turkish policies during the First Gulf War,

Torumtay preferred resignation to military interference in politics.[41] In addition, as will

be explained in detail later, during his presidency, Ozal was able to follow some radical

policies on the Kurdish issue. Because of these innovations, some scholars define Ozal as

the greatest reformer after Ataturk (Erdogan 2001, 30), although his reforms did not have

a permanent effect, unlike the ones applied by the founder of the state.

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[40] The only serious attempt came from Suleyman Demirel before the 1980 coup. The difference between Demirel and Ozal, in addition to their political power, was that Ozal's candidate was supported by the President Kenan Evren whereas Demirel's candidate, Ali Fethi Esener, was objected to by the President Fahri Koruturk. This comparison shows the importance of the Presidency for the military control of politics and why military officers have given special attention to the person who will occupy this seat. It also shows that even powerful politicians like Ozal needed the support of important military figures to control the military. If Evren had not supported Necip Torumtay, it is likely that the military officers would have given a different reaction toward civilian interference in military assignments.

[41] It is also necessary to underline Torumtay's personality in these events. Torumtay supported civilian control of the military and after the resignation, he stated, "The Turkish Armed Forces know very well that the civilian authority has always the final word. The Army knows where it stands" (Karaosmanoglu 2000, 211). Although there were disagreements about Ozal's aggressive Gulf War policy, what bothers Torumtay was not the civilian control but the hierarchy problem during the crisis. The policy directions were coming from President Ozal, rather than the Prime Minister Akbulut to whom the CGS was responsible. In Torumtay's words, "The ship was not controlled by the real captain and its direction was foggy" (Milliyet 1993g).

On the other hand, politically weak politicians had a difficult time in limiting the military control of politics. For instance, after Ozal died in 1993, Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel took the presidential seat and Tansu Ciller took the power as the first female Prime Minister in Turkish history. Ciller was politically inexperienced and she was criticized even by members of her own party, the True Path Party (TPP). Unlike Ozal who appeased the dissident voices from the civilian and military echelons when he initiated reforms on the Kurdish question, Ciller came severely under attack from President Demirel, the CGS Dogan Gures and her own party when she allegedly offered a "Basque Model" to solve the Kurdish problem after her conversation with the Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzales. After the criticisms, Ciller denied that she had offered the Basque model and became the most warmongering civilian politician on the Kurdish issue. During her rule, she gave a free hand to the military on the Kurdish policies and this was so highly appreciated by the officers that Gures became a parliamentary member from the TPP after his retirement (Aknur 2005).

In addition to the political capacity, another problem on the civilian side was the fear of military interference among the politicians. Suleyman Demirel, who had been overthrown by the military interferences in 1971 and 1980, was especially fearful and he became one of the most pragmatic politicians as a result of this effect. After the 1980 coup, when the well-known journalist Mehmet Barlas tried to comfort him by stating that military rule is only a transition period and he would turn to politics again, Demirel simply stated that the real transition periods are those times when the civilians rule and the military is the permanent actor in Turkish politics (Barlas 2008). In another private

conversation with someone close to him, Demirel pointed out the boss in Turkish politics by stating, "I was beat by the soldiers two times. You cannot do anything against their will. But can do everything by persuading them" (Cemal 2010, 133). Although Demirel was a quite experienced politician in Turkey, his experiences taught him not to contradict the military, especially on the Kurdish and secularism issues, and as a result of this mindset, he was not opposed by the military when he became the president after Ozal.

It is also important to emphasize the military's informal power as a factor that limits civilian ability to control the military in this period. This informal authority can be seen at the public level and institutional level. In Turkey societal confidence in the military has always been higher than any other civilian institution. According to the World Values Survey in 2000, the percentage of those who bear a "great deal of confidence" and "quite a lot of confidence" in the military (86.2%) was quite higher than the same confidence in the government (45.4%), parliament (41.5%) and political parties (27.8%) (Sarigil 2009, 710). In addition, similar to the state-building period, the military was still benefiting from compulsory military service[42] and national security courses in high schools[43] to teach the importance of the military to the public from an early age. As a result of these close ties between the military and society, a civilian challenge to the officers over Kurdish and secularism issues was difficult in this period.

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[42] According to Murat Belge (2013, 186), unlike the purpose during the state-building process, the aim of the officers with the compulsory military service is not to teach the soldiery anymore but, to teach the "absolute importance of the soldiers within the state" and that is why the military echelons are strongly against the adoption of the professional army although it can be more effective to deal with PKK violence.
[43] After the military interference in 1997, an important change was made in the context of this course and it was rearranged to include contemporary political issues. This gave a chance to soldier-teachers who led this course to explain internal and external threats against the state to the students from the military perspective.

Finally, the military's informal power over the civilian bureaucracy and non-state institutions such as the media, universities and business centers were also especially important both to limit the power of civilian politicians and to shape public opinion on political issues. For instance, the military and the judiciary generally have had parallel views on the internal threats against the state. The actions of the Turkish Armed Forces in the Kurdish areas were not challenged by the judiciary nor were the successive military interferences brought to the court until the late 2000s. Similarly, neither the media nor interest groups offer checks and balances to control military influence in politics. Contrary to this, these state and non-state institutions cooperate with the military when it is assumed that the secular and unitary nature of the state is in danger. This is exactly what happened in 1997 when the democratically elected WP and its leader Necmettin Erbakan was forced to step down from power. Starting with the NSC meeting in February 1997, the military asked the Erbakan government to make some changes to strengthen secularism in the state against the will of the ruling party. From this meeting until Erbakan's stepping down from the power in June, rather than using its formal power, the military initiated a public campaign to weaken the government. Representatives from the media, universities, interest groups, business community and women's groups were convened in the military installations in Ankara and Istanbul to warn them that the secularity of the regime was in danger. In this campaign, even the Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen's Association, one of the rare groups which advocated a reduced role for the military, supported the military's anti-Islamist campaign (Jenkins 2001, 19). The process ended with Erbakan's leaving power and in 1998 the WP and Erbakan was

banned from political activity by the judiciary, which is more enthusiastic to close

Islamist and Kurdish parties than the military.

3.1.3 The End of Military Control

In 2000s, the political decision-making structure was significantly changed as a

result of some external and internal factors that decreased the formal and informal power

of the military. The most important external factor was the European Union (EU)

accession process, which brought several changes to the governmental and constitutional

framework mainly from 2001 to 2003. Westernization is the fundamental objective since

the Republic was founded and Turkish governments have pursued admission to the EU

since 1961. One of the main obstacles in this process was a lack of democratization along

Western standards and the EU demanded a transformation in the problematic civil-

military relations before negotiations with Turkey for accession could start. Although the

military officers were distrustful of Western states, they could not object to the accession

process since if they had done, they would have contradicted the foundational claim that

the Turkish military is the guarantor of Westernization and modernization. Instead,

military officers persistently demanded that Turkey must be an EU member with "its own

conditions" emphasizing the Islamist and Kurdish threat and the military's objective to

fight against them with its all force. [44]

The military's concerns notwithstanding, Turkey adopted several reforms in 2001

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[44] Bila (2007) shows that other than Hilmi Ozkok, the Chief of the Army Staff between 2002 and 2006, who believes that the Kurdish problem can be solved through EU membership because of the economic and democratic advantages it offers, the doubt and mistrust against the European states, as well as the United States, is one of the feelings shared by the majority of the military officers.

to meet the EU standards in its constitution. Several controversial articles that limit

human rights and freedoms for security reasons, thereby increasing the military influence

in politics, including the infamous article 13,[45] were changed. Most important for our

subject, Article 118 which specifies the functioning and participants of the NSC was

amended and deputy prime ministers as well as the Minister of Justice were included

among the members of the Council. In addition, the amendment diminished the status of

the NSC decisions by emphasizing that its decisions are advisory and the Minister of

Councils are responsible for evaluating the decisions rather than giving priority. Further

changes to the NSC were made in 2003 on Law No. 2945, the law concerning the NSC

and its General Secretariat, and the office of General-Secretariat was entrusted to a

civilian, an office previously held by a military officer who answers to the CGS.

Although these changes were symbolically important, it would be an exaggeration

to see them as a major transformation in the military influence on politics. This

conclusion was based on two situations. First, as Akay (2009, 11) points out, the reforms

were implemented on major documents such as the Constitution and Law No. 2945 but a

significant change was not made in the secret regulations dealing with domestic security

threats. In addition, although the military lost its dominance on the NSC, the task for

security decision-making was simply transferred to minor organizations led by military

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[45] Article 13 of the 1982 Constitution stated that "Fundamental rights and freedoms may be restricted by law, in conformity with the latter and spirit of the Constitution, with the aim of safeguarding the indivisible integrity of the State with its territory and nation, national sovereignty, the Republic, national security, public order, general peace, the public interest, public morals and public health, and also for specific reasons set forth in the relevant articles of the Constitution." As can be seen, the article involved several vague conditions and human rights and freedoms could be restricted even in minor events. With the amendment in 2001, the article states that "Fundamental rights and freedoms may be restricted only by law and in conformity with the reasons mentioned in the relevant articles of the Constitution without infringing upon their essence."

officers. One of these organizations was the Domestic Security Group which was responsible for following developments and preparing reports on terrorism, fundamentalism, and separatism and this Group was transferred to the Planning of Mobilization and Preparations of War Department, headed by a brigadier general. In sum, reforms made on major documents seem like a showpiece rather than sincere efforts to diminish military influence.

Second, the amendments neither changed the military's perception that it is the guarantor of the secular and unitary state nor affected the close ties between the military and society. The military officers kept making statements in front of the media on secularism and terrorism issues and the JDP victory in the 2002 election made the military more involved in politics. The JDP was founded by Recep Tayyip Erdogan and Abdullah Gul, who had infamous reputations among the military echelon because of their Islamist identity. Military officers' distrust of the government turned into a political crisis in 2007 when Abdullah Gul was nominated by the JDP as the new president. As mentioned before, the seat of the presidency has been extremely important for the military and against the possibility of an Islamist President, the army issued a memorandum on the army's webpage reminding the government of the secularist characteristic of the state. However, this warning backfired and eased the JDP's hand by putting them on the side of the oppressed. The presidential crisis turned the 2007 elections into a vote of confidence for the JDP and Erdogan and the party got 46 percent of the total votes. Abdullah Gul became the eleventh President a month later, in August 2007, and the military's informal power was significantly diminished by its interference

and, more importantly, its loss in the confrontation.

The second strike to the military's informal power came with the Ergenekon trials which resulted in the imprisonment of several military officers, including former CGS Ilker Basbug, journalists and academics because of their contributions to the alleged coup plans against the Erdogan government. The trials had two important affects, one on the military-society relations and the other on military influence on politics. At the society level, the trials increased the mistrust towards the army to a level that has never been seen before. According to the Eurobarometer Survey which measures the public opinion in European countries, the rate of those who "tend not to trust" in the Turkish army was between 10-12 percent until 2007. However, with the beginning of the trials in 2008, this rate gradually increased to 16 percent in 2008, 20 percent in 2009, and 27 percent in 2010 (Gursoy 2012, 11). Therefore, an important link that eased military control of Turkish politics was broken. Second, the trials show that from now on undemocratic practice of the military officers will not go unpunished. Putting aside the imprisonment of a former CGS, even the trial of a high-ranking military officer was unimaginable before, but Ergenekon changed this fact in Turkey (Jenkins 2009). The military remained silent against the arrests and instead of organizing a military coup, the CGS Isik Kosaner and force commanders asked for their retirement in July 2011 as a protest. The protest strengthened the civilian hand in controlling the military and Commander of the Gendarmerie Necdet Ozel was appointed as the new head of the army. Even before this protest, in April 2011, Erdogan was confident enough to state that they made significant process and the armed forces were under the control of the government (Koc 2011, 16-

17). Undoubtedly, the presidential crisis and Ergenekon trials, which diminished the informal power of the military, played a more important role in this transformation than the amendments made in the governmental and constitutional framework.

It is possible to claim that since 2007 the military has been gradually coming under civilian control and the Erdogan government keeps making important structural changes in this direction. One recent and important amendment, for example, was made to Article 35 of the Armed Forces Internal Service Law which had been used as a reason/excuse for former military interferences. With the amendment dated July 2013, the military was tasked with only defending the state against external threats and the responsibility to protect the nature of the regime was removed from the article (Radikal 2013a). The government also targeted some problematic components of the military-society relations. In September 2011, for example, Egemen Bagis, the Minister of EU Affairs, criticized the national security courses in high schools as a waste of resources and stated that there is no example in Europe of military officers teaching in high schools with uniforms (NTV 2011b). The course was removed from the curriculum starting with the 2012-2013 school year and students began to take elective courses such as Democracy and Human Rights, International Relations, or Art History instead of National Security (TRT Haber 2012).

All in all, I argue that military control of Turkish politics continued after the state-building process by taking an institutional form following the military coup in 1960. Each military coup renewed the governmental and constitutional framework as a way to ensure

military control while military-society ties provided an informal power to the military.

During the PKK conflict in the 1980s and 1990s, civilians had difficulty in acting

independently under this political structure, except for a short period in Ozal's presidency

between 1989 and 1993. Military control of Turkish politics lasted until 2007 when the

presidential crisis and Ergenekon trials damaged the informal power of the military. The

rest of the chapter will analyze how these periods differ in terms of the state's ethnic

policies.

3.2 Military Control and the PKK Conflict

3.2.1 Kurdish Question from Dersim to Semdinli

The founding fathers were militarily successful in suppressing the early Kurdish

rebellions and the region was stable in military terms from 1939 to 1984. Yet, the

successful military campaign did not end the ethnic problem, but froze it for forty-five

years and when the PKK tasked itself as the representative of the Kurdish side, the

conflict took a more violent and nationalist form than the rebellions during the state-

building process. Indeed, the governments in this interim period could not alleviate the

Kurdish grievances while the policies followed after each military coup deteriorated the

ethnic situation.

During the Menderes government in the 1950s, the Kurdish population

experienced some social and economic development to some extent. Although far from

being perfect, the DP era was comparatively open and the political structure allowed for

Kurdish groups to raise their concerns and show their discontent to the administration. Communication networks between the Kurdish groups and the government permitted disappointed Kurds to publicly voice their concerns to the government as several Kurds, mainly landlords though, joined the DP ranks (Yavuz 1998, 12). In addition, the socio-economic transformation of the Turkish state started in this period as a result of the liberal economic policies of the Menderes government and close relations with the Western world pushed Turkey to leave the statist economic system. This transformation led to the beginning of the integration of the Kurdish cities into the Turkish economy, a policy that then President Bayar had proposed in 1935 (Kilic 1998, 97).

All these developments, which may have provided for ethnic integration within the state, ended with the military coup in 1960. After the coup, one of the first actions of the military regime was to arrest 485 political leaders and influential individuals of the Kurdish region and put them in the military camp in Sivas; 55 of them were forcibly relocated to western Turkey.[46] Moreover, in parallel with the policies adopted in the state-building process, the leaders of the coup regime ignored the distinct Kurdish identity. For

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[46] According to Celal Bayar, the Sivas Camp was "the center of political Kurdism," while Husamettin Cindoruk defines it as the "root of Apo movement." According to Cindoruk, the military coup reversed the détente of 1950s: "The May 27 Revolution had two mistakes in the Eastern policy. First, gathering the political leaders and influential individuals of the Eastern region at the Sivas Camp. Among them, there were those who were completely 'statist' and loyal to the republic. Some of them told me that after leaving the camp they went through an ideological education about the Kurdish problem by those who were also in the camp but had opposing views. In other words, the ideology of Kurdism emerged there as in the school. You took all these loyal men and those in opposition together there and those in opposition said, "You were loyal to the state, so what happened? Look, you are here with us." The second mistake was to send those chosen 55 agas (landlords) to exile in the western regions. So what is the situation? On the one side, the leaders of thought are at the Sivas Camp, on the other side 55 agas are in exile in the west. The question is who fills the vacuum in the region? The separatist Kurdish ideology! I call it political Kurdism. This political Kurdism benefited from the vacuum and emerged in the body of Revolutionary Eastern Cultural Centers after the elections. What causes all this is the vacuum created by the Sivas Camp and exile of 55 agas" (Cicek 2010, 219-20).

example, President Cemal Gursel stated, "There are no Kurds in this country. Whoever says he is a Kurd, I will spit in his face" (Yayman 2011, 169). In another speech, Gursel declared to a Swedish newspaper that "if the mountain Turks (that is, Kurds) do not behave themselves, the military will not hesitate to bomb and tear down their cities and villages. Both they and their country will disappear in the ensuing bloodbath" (Gocek 2011, 140-41). Gursel also insisted on inserting Turkish nationalism into the new constitution since "if they removed it there would be no one in Turkey calling himself as a Turk in fifty years" (Akcura 2011, 80).[47]

The military regime also asked the State Planning Agency to prepare a report about the problems in the Southeast and the report written by Colonel Hasim Tosun simply followed the policies adopted during the early Kurdish insurgencies. Among the "recommendations for the future governments" there were population movements for Kurds from the Southeast to the West and for Turks from the Black Sea region to the Southwest; reassurance of assimilation policies; separation of Turkish Kurds from their Iranian and Iraqi counterparts; propaganda through radio, theaters and poets; opening Turcology Institutes at the universities to prove that Kurds have Turkish origin; raising male and female missionaries; explaining to world intellectuals that there is no Kurdish problem in Turkey, etc. What is more important is that even within a report labeled as "SECRET" Tosun rejected Kurdish identity and he identified the regional population as

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[47] While Gursel followed a militarist line, there were more radical soldier-politicians on the Kurdish issue than him. For instance, Muharrem Ihsan Kiziloglu, the Interior Minister of the period, recommended mass execution of 55 prisoners in Sivas while they had these prisoners in their hands, yet this intention did not turn into action thanks to President Cemal Gursel who argued that they could not justify this action (Ibid., 43).

"people who were taught to think of themselves as Kurds" (Ibid., 118-22).

The same pattern between integration and deterioration can be observed in the following instances of military interference. In the 1960s, Kurds started joining leftist organizations and political parties but after the 1971 military intervention many of these organizations were banned and were defined as centers of anarchy supported by foreign states, which implied that the Soviet Union was the main enemy (Kilic 1998, 98). The closure of the Turkey's Workers Party, which supported the recognition of Kurdish identity and democratic rights for Kurds, was an especially big blow for the legitimate political Kurdish movement.[48] After the interference, hundreds of Kurds were arrested and, as Birand (1992, 70-72) points out, Kurdish political movements in the 1970s were born in these prisons.

While the military coup in 1960 and intervention in 1971 had these negative effects for Kurdish political integration, the most extreme measures against Kurds were taken after the military coup in September 1980. The 1980 military intervention was mainly the result of the chaotic political atmosphere in the country. However, measures taken against Kurds and Kurdish identity led some researchers to think of the Kurdish issue as one of the main reasons for the coup (Yavuz 1998, 14). Indeed, although this coup is never counted as an ethnic coup in the literature, the measures taken against Kurdish ethnicity show that one of the aims of the military in 1980 was to eliminate

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[48] Turkey's Workers Party was the first political party that recognized the "Kurdish issue" instead of the "Southeast issue" which emphasized the economic underdevelopment of the region. According to the party, "the reason for underdevelopment in the southeast was not a regional problem, but it was a political one since the Kurds live there" (Akcura 2011, 57).

Kurdish identity. This is especially clear in the now infamous "White Book", a small booklet which was distributed to high-ranking officials stamped as secret. In this booklet, Kurds were defined as those "who live in the mountains of eastern Turkey where there is too much snow. Those who walk on this snow create a different noise, and this noise is known as Kurd" (Ibid.).

The constitution prepared by the junta regime in 1982 offers a similar position against the Kurdish identity. More than its former counterparts, the 1982 Constitution placed special emphasis on state security, territorial integrity, and the indivisibility of the state in several articles. While Article 5 shows one of the "fundamental aims and duties of the state" as safeguarding the indivisibility of the country, Article No. 130 forbids any academic research that goes against the "integrity and indivisibility of the nation and the country." The most important one, however, was Article 42 which states that "No language other than Turkish shall be thought as a mother tongue to Turkish citizens at any institutions of education" (TBMM 2015b). In addition, Law No. 2932, dated in 1983, forbade the usage of any language "in the dissemination, printing, and expression of ideas, which is not in the official language recognized by the Turkish state" (Yavuz 2003, 192). By emphasizing the "official language recognized by the state," the regime made it clear that the purpose was to eliminate the Kurdish language from writing and printing.

The military coup also led several moderate Kurdish politicians to leave the country, and live in Europe in exile. Among them Kemal Burkay was important because of his rejection of violence as a means to gain democratic rights for Kurds. After going

into exile, these politicians lost a great deal of support in the country, and they were replaced by the more militant PKK. Not only politicians, but many young Kurds also flew to Europe as asylum-seekers following the military coup and they became an important political force in Europe, which sometimes destabilized Turkey's foreign relations with the host countries. The Kurdish population in Europe internationalized the Kurdish issue and, as will be explained, any criticism from Europe was regarded as "foreign support to the terrorist" by the Turkish authorities, especially by the military officers.

Finally, it is important to note another national symbol created by the 1980 coup: Diyarbakir military prison. As happened in 1960 and 1971, following the 1980 military coup, hundreds of Kurds were arrested, put into military prison in Diyarbakir and there they underwent intense torture. The members of the Apo Movement[49] who were tortured in this prison gained prestige among Kurds and proved their point clearly that the state discriminated against their Kurdish citizens. Although some argue that the state also tortured and executed its Turkish citizens as well,[50] with its Kurdish prisoners, this "fair" treatment would not prevent the Diyarbakir Military Prison from becoming a symbol for the state discrimination against Kurds. More importantly, several prisoners in this prison were unrelated to the activities of the Apo Movement or they were arrested because of indirect links such as giving money to the organization as a result of a threat. Rather than

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[49] "Apo" is the nickname of Abdullah Ocalan, the leader of the PKK. Until 1984, the organization under his leadership was known by this name.

[50] Kenan Evren stated that the torture was mainly the result of guards who were treated badly by the prisoners before the coup taking their revenge. He also pointed out that there had been torture even before the coup and they did not give soldiers and guards any order to torture to the prisoners, and even punished some of them. Finally, he argued that at that time Americans, British, Germans, everybody was torturing and some methods were used to make the prisoners talk (Bila 2007, 9-11). Although the prisoners' accounts confirm that the torture was mainly done by the guards, they also show that the soldiers who were responsible for the prison knew all about the torture and did nothing to prevent it (Cemal, 2008).

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accepting its failure to protect the Kurds from a violent organization, the state chose simply to punish them. However, this policy backfired and those Kurds who had never heard about the Apo Movement before the torture left the prison angry at the state and sympathetic to the organization. Therefore, the state torture in Diyarbakir military prison played a significant role in the Apo Movement's growing power by pushing many non-aligned Kurds into the ranks of the PKK after 1984 (Birand 1992, 119-20).

Undoubtedly, the emergence of the PKK cannot be explained only by military interference in politics. Nevertheless, it is difficult to ignore that after 1960, the military as an institution played a significant role in the continuation of the Kurdish question in Turkish politics. Although none of the military interventions were caused by the Kurdish issue, all of them were followed by strict security measures against the Kurdish population. What is ironic is that the military control of politics provided for the continuation of the repressive policies of the 1920s and 1930s although the Kurds were not rebelling any more. These policies backfired and created national symbols such as the Sivas Camp, Kurdish language, Diyarbakir military prison, etc. when a violent organization emerged in the 1980s. State repression slowly radicalized Kurdish groups, and those that had managed to adhere to their intention to solve the problem in peaceful ways were destroyed by the coup in 1980; only Abdullah Ocalan remained as he was out of the country when the coup took place. Finally, civilian politicians realized that the Kurdish issue was one of the red lines for the military and the best way to keep their power was not to deal with this problem using alternative solutions, but to leave it in the hands of the military officers. This is especially evident after the PKK violence started

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with the attacks on the gendarmerie station in Semdinli and Eruh on August 15, 1984.

3.2.2 Turkish Military on the PKK Conflict

The PKK is a militant organization that has fought an armed struggle against the Turkish state, with its original aim being to create an independent Kurdish state in the southeast of Turkey. In the beginning the PKK organized several raids against the military and gendarmerie posts as well as terrorist attacks on pro-government Kurds and Turks in the region. Between 1991 and 1993, especially, intense violence took place between the security forces and the PKK, which ended with the military victory of the Turkish security forces. After the defeat, the PKK changed its aim from creating an independent Kurdish state to recognition of cultural and political rights for Kurds. In 1999, its leader, Abdullah Ocalan, was captured in Kenya and the PKK activities stopped until 2004. Although the organization returned to its attacks on military posts in 2004, it failed to achieve any success and today its activities have been minimized because of both its decreasing military capability after 1993 and the JDP's undertaking a "Democratic Opening" campaign starting in 2009. Yet in thirty years, the conflict between the Turkish security forces and the PKK cost around 35,000 lives and more than 120 billion dollars from the state budget as direct costs.[51]

As mentioned, in the 1980s and 1990s, the Turkish military controlled state policies especially on two issues: Islamic fundamentalism and Kurdish separatism. Rather than making policies on these issues, the military officers simply monitored the civilian

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[51] With indirect costs, the number increases to 300 billion dollars (Sabah 2011a).

governments and interfered when they disagreed with civilians' policy choices.

Throughout this period, the main characteristic of the Turkish military mindset was to

separate the PKK violence and the Kurdish issue. Rather than seeing the PKK violence as

an indication of Kurdish grievances, similar to the founding fathers who linked the

Kurdish rebellions with foreign powers, Turkish military officers define the PKK as a

separatist terrorist organization supported by foreign states in order to weaken and divide

Turkey. For instance, Gen. (ret.) Altay Tokat, who served in the region in 1987-89 and

1995-97, argues that foreign states which could not forget that Turkey ruined the plans of

imperialist powers to divide Anatolia with the Treaty of Sevres, now support the

separatist terrorist organization because they fear the growth of Turkey in the region (Bila

2007, 174-75).[52]

While several states were blamed for supporting the PKK, from Syria to Greece to

Armenia to Russia (Saygun 2012, 335-37), the United States and the EU were particularly

criticized by the military officers for their help for the PKK. For example, during the most

intense conflict with the PKK in 1992, the military accused the United States of dropping

food by helicopter in the areas where terrorists were located (Milliyet 1992a). In another

event, an official report from the army staff, announced in December 2000, blamed the

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[52] According to Tokat (2013, 22-30), not only imperialist powers but also foreign states which had clashing
interests with Turkey, supported the PKK in the past. For example, he argues, Syria supported the PKK
because of the water problem at the end 1980s as well as its historical demand for the Hatay Province,
which was annexed by Turkey in 1939 as a result of a plebicite; Greece and Cyprus gave military education
to PKK members in order to turn the Aegean Sea into a "Greek lake" and gain its international prestige
back which was lost after Turkey's Cyprus operation in 1974; and even Serbia supported the PKK because
of its anger with Turkish policy during the dissolution of Yugoslavia.

EU for encouraging the PKK by promoting Kurdish education and broadcasting.[53]

Although the PKK greatly benefited from foreign support, as Abdullah Ocalan's statement during his investigation shows (Ugur 2011), it is clear that a "Sevres fear" was active in the officers' mind. Even the Western states' criticism of human right violations or their push for democratization was understood as hostile acts against Turkey. The negative effect of over-emphasis on foreign powers is that it prevents the military officers from seeing the domestic causes of the problem, as it did during the state-building process.[54]

With this mindset, the military officers do not see an identity problem but a security problem that could be dealt with first with the military defeat of the PKK and the next step would be to end the long-lasting feudalism in the region and promote its economic development. In this sense again it is difficult to talk about a difference from the policies adopted during the state-building process and the post-coup periods.[55] Gen. Dogan Gures, the CGS in 1990-94, frequently reiterated that Turkey does not have a

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[53] What is critical is that this report was announced when Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit was in Nice for a meeting with the EU representatives (Milliyet 2000).

[54] One of the rare military officers who pointed out the mistakes of the policies adopted in the past is Aytac Yalman, former Commander of the Gendarmerie (2000-02) and Commander of the Army (2002-04). Although Yalman also underscored the American usage of the PKK as an instrument to affect regional political developments, he admits that if the state had solved the problem at the "social level" before 1984 Turkey would not have faced this terror problem today. Yet, he states, they could not analyze social demands in the past since they were educated to believe that "there was no Kurd" and they are only a branch of the Turks (Bila 2007, 201-6). On the other hand, Necip Torumtay, the CGS in 1987-1990, disagreed with the idea that The West tries to divide Turkey: "I do not think that the West has any intention to divide Turkey. What would they do by dividing? It would cause trouble for them. Today [in 1997] Turkey and the West have common defense interests. As we defend ourselves we also protect the West. We are in such a location that no country would do that other than us" (Milliyet 1997).

[55] Indeed, Gen. (ret.) Osman Pamukoglu, the Commander of Hakkari Mountain and Commando Brigade in 1993-95, feels nostalgic when talking about this period because he said that Turkey followed policies independent of Western states only in Ataturk's period and then a little bit during the rule of Ismet Inonu (Cevizoglu 2004, 47).

"Kurdish problem" but a "Southeast problem" (Milliyet 1993c), while Ismail Hakki

Karadayi, the CGS in 1994-98, stated that "It is treason to part Turkey with identities"

(Bila 2007, 110). According to the military officers, the identity Ataturk created is ideal

for every ethnic group in Turkey and they opposed ethnic nationalism, including the

Turkish ultra-nationalism favored by Nationalist Action Party (NAP). They argue that

unlike other countries where Kurds live, a Kurd in Turkey can become the president,

prime minister, minister, CGS, ambassador, etc. and they can freely visit and work in

western Turkey (Tokat 2013, 29-30). Therefore, they conclude, there is no Kurdish

question in Turkey but security, social and economic problems in the southeast.

As a result, the military officers recommend two strategies to solve the "Southeast

problem": "combat terrorism," which is the task of the military, and "combat terror,"

which should be handled by civilian politicians (Tinc 1997). "Combat terrorism" points

to the military operations against the PKK and the military officers frequently argued that

they eradicated "terrorism" several times in the 1990s. "Combat terror," on the other

hand, indicates social and economic measures which were ignored by the civilian

politicians, the officers argue.[56] From this perspective, the mistrust towards civilian

politicians and party politics is significant in the officers' mindset. Turgut Ozal,

especially, is occasionally blamed by the military officers for not taking enough measures

when the PKK's military power was not significant enough to be a threat against the

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[56] Gen. (ret.) Necati Ozgen states, "The soldier does his job, eradicate the terrorist; however, the politicians do not do their part and we are again at the beginning. We always saw it" (Bila 2007, 99).

existence of Turkey.[57] According to the military officers, the issue should have been

above political competition (Torumtay 1994, 90) and the governments should have

created state policy which would be followed regardless of a change in the ruling party.

In other words, party politics was regarded as dangerous by the military in trying to

eradicate the problem.

In arguing that the problem in the southeast cannot be solved with the use of force

alone and social and economic measures are necessary, the military officers do not really

offer a different solution from the soldier-politicians during the state-building process. By

social measures, the officers pointed to the end of the feudal system and equal distribution

of the lands among the people. The officers also expected the civilians to build education

and health facilities, to decrease the growing population rate among the Kurds, appoint

skillful officials to the region and to foster state and private industrialization in the region.

Nevertheless, they strongly opposed the reforms centering on Kurdish identity. Any

attempt to recognize Kurdish identity in the Constitution or to allow Kurdish education

and broadcasting were met with significant opposition from the military. Gen. Dogan

Gures stated that first military measures and then social and economic measures should

be taken but there was no need to allow Kurdish education: "They are already speaking

Kurdish. What are they going to do with the Kurdish education? What happens if they are

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[57] Lt. Gen. (ret.) Nevzat Bolugiray (1993) accused Ozal of not taking the enemy seriously, by describing them as "three or five looters"; not purchasing military equipment that was critical to fight in the low-intensity conflict, such as helicopters or night-vision binoculars; not pushing investment in the region, but making people around him rich through "imaginary investments"; not prioritizing social and economic problems but political concerns by excluding districts governed by the opposition parties from the state budget; cooperating with the United States against Iraq and creating an uncontrolled area in Northern Iraq, among other things. Colonel (ret.) Erdal Sarizeybek (2010, 13), who served in Semdinli, one of the critical border cities in the region, as a troop commander in 1992-94, also criticized Ozal's Iraq policy and stated that the PKK is a "legacy of Ozal."

taught Kurdish? Are they going to give those who speak Kurdish a job? If a leader takes a step to bring Kurdish education, he will lose power. There is no favorable condition. There are sentiments" (Milliyet 1995b). Political solutions, such as federation or autonomy, are also strongly rejected by the military officers. According to them, the eventual purpose of the PKK is to establish an independent Kurdish state and the demands for Kurdish education and broadcasting, the recognition of Kurdish identity in the Constitution and/or Kurdish self-rule in an autonomous region are only intermediary objectives to reach the final objective (Tokat 2013, 32). From this perspective, the officers believe that if a government makes concessions on the unitary structure of the state it would only serve the aims of the PKK since the latter can use this for propaganda, claiming that the state stepped back as a result of its violent activities.

3.2.3 Military Control and Ethnic Policies in 1984-1999

From 1984 to 1999, with the exception of a brief period during Turgut Ozal's presidency, civilian politicians persistently adopted military solutions to solve the Kurdish question and entrusted the issue completely to the military; but they failed to implement social and economic reforms as the soldiers demanded. It is important to emphasize one more that during this period the military was a controlling institution rather than a policy-making one. Yet, the military control of politicians had a significant effect on the preferences of some prominent politicians on the Kurdish issue and on their Kurdish policies in this period.

Turgut Ozal (Prime Minister 1983-89, President 1989-93)

After the military coup in 1980, the military regime banned all pre-1980

politicians from politics other than Turgut Ozal, undersecretary to the former Prime

Minister Suleyman Demirel, because of his economic performance before the

intervention and the officers' unwillingness to get involved in economic issues. Ozal

served as the deputy Prime Minister in charge of economic affairs until his resignation in

July 1982 and after his party, Motherland Party (MP), unexpectedly won the elections, he

took the seat of prime minister in December 1983. Less than a year later the PKK started

its military activities and until he became president in 1989, Ozal mainly focused on the

economic affairs of the state and entrusted the security issue completely to the military.

From 1984 to 1989, the Ozal government mainly took security measures to

address the Kurdish issue. Among these measures, the most important were the

introduction of the "village guard system"[58] and "Regional State of Emergency

Governorate."[59] In addition, in December 1990, the MP government under the influence

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[58] This system was formed in 1985 and the village guards were chosen among the pro-state Kurds who
were armed by the state to fight against the PKK. Although it provided jobs for the Kurds and ground
intelligence for the army, the strategy had negative consequences. It divided the Kurdish population
between the state and the PKK and those Kurds who were pressured by both sides had to leave their lands
and move to Western Turkey. The system also enforced the feudal structure since it relied heavily on
landlords who controlled whole villages. Therefore, the money given to village guards was directly going
to landlords. These landlords also used the PKK threat and village guard system to eliminate rival tribes
either by using state weapons against them or casting aspersions upon rival tribes that they are pro-PKK.
Finally, some landlords secretly supported the PKK and the army and the money given to the village guards
were used by the PKK against the state. It is important to note that the village guard system was not a
strategy but a reiteration of the Hamidiye corps which operated against the eastern insurgents, mainly
against Armenians, in the late Ottoman period (Barkey and Fuller 1998, 147-48; Klein 2010).
[59] Regional State of Emergency Governorate, announced in 1987, replaced the eight-year-old martial law
regime in southeast Turkey and it had similar characteristics with the General Inspectorship adopted during
the state-building process. Nevertheless, even this relaxation from martial law to a state of emergency was
criticized by the military officers because of coordination problems in the latter. According to Gen. Dogan
Gures what they needed was the martial law regime since whenever a PKK attack took place, the Prime
Minister was looking at him rather than the governor, gendarmerie commander and the Minister of Interior
who were the responsible officials under the state of emergency. Nevertheless, Gures also admitted that

of the now President Turgut Ozal announced the Decrees of Censure and Exile. These decrees gave state officials the power to censure the press, newspapers and journals in the region as well as to empty the villages and move the people staying there as they wished. Nevertheless, while Ozal took some activist measures against the PKK, he also introduced some alternative ideas which made him the single reformer on the Kurdish issue at the beginning of the 1990s.

Starting from 1991 Ozal took moderate initiatives to address the Kurdish issue with the help of the Gulf War, which directed attention to the Kurds living in the region. First, Ozal took a step to remove the ban on Kurdish starting in early 1991. He stated that even in the most repressive regimes such as Russia and Albania there is no such ban and these kinds of bans are provocative. Ozal also maintained that there was no reason to fear from Kurdish since it is not widespread and even Ocalan distributed his speeches in Turkish (Cumhuriyet 1991a). When the military officers told Ozal that they were afraid that the demands for the removal of the ban on Kurdish would be followed by more demands and they saw these concessions as dangerous to national unity, the President stated that even if they give the Kurds the freedom to establish a state, they could not do it and that these kinds of regulations are necessary in the modern world (Milliyet 1991a). In the end, Ozal convinced all other political actors and on April 12, 1991, Law No. 2932, which forbade the use of Kurdish in the dissemination, printing, and expression of ideas was removed.

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when he give orders he did not consult anybody as if there was a martial law regime in place (Bila 2007, 43, 73-74).

In the next year, Ozal decided to enlarge his reforms on cultural issues and attempted to introduce Kurdish education and broadcasting. As a first step, in April 1992 he initiated a discussion on Kurdish broadcasting through the state channel. According to him, Kurdish broadcasting was a good way to fight against PKK terrorism by informing Kurdish citizens about state policies. He believed that the state should implement this policy when it is powerful against the PKK since if some negative developments took place and Kurdish broadcasting was allowed the PKK may use it to claim that the broadcasting was allowed as a result of its violent activities (Cevizoglu 2004, 105-6). Yet this offer met with the resistance of both Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel and the military. Demirel stated that Kurdish broadcasting was against the Constitution and he believed that such conciliatory steps may be understood as concessions to the PKK. Along a similar line, the Office of the CGS pointed to the 1982 Constitution and announced that Kurdish broadcasting was not compatible with the "fundamental aspects of the republic" (Aknur 2005, 123).

Against this criticism, Ozal maintained that the constitutional issue was open to interpretation and he believed that since the ban on Kurdish language was removed in 1991, Kurdish broadcasting was not against the constitution. Moreover, he argued that allowing Kurdish broadcasting had benefits in that it showed the Kurdish citizens that they are an inseparable part of the nation rather than being a minority and that the state looks after its Kurdish citizens (Milliyet 1992b). What is more interesting is that in late April 1992, when he was on a visit to the United States, Ozal stated that there were different views in the military on Kurdish broadcasting and that Gen. Irfan Tinaz,

Commanding Officer of the Navy, expressed positive thoughts on the issue. Yet Tinaz rejected Ozal's statement and the General Secretary of the Armed Forces, Hursit Tolon, stated that it is a political issue and the military expresses its official views in official institutions (Ozturk and Yurteri 2011, 74-75). Kurdish broadcasting was also met with resistance from other political parties and Ozal could not implement any cultural reforms other than removing the ban on Kurdish.

In addition to cultural reforms, Ozal also wanted to bring a political solution to the problem: "It was a mistake to approach the issue with a 'disciplining-mindset' in the periods after the National War. We think that this issue cannot be solved with the 'disciplining-mindset'. Major public reactions emerge over time. To us, it is necessary to solve the issue with politics, not with disciplining" (Cemal 2008a). Ozal believed that the Kurdish issue should be discussed from all perspectives even if it involves the idea of federalism. He stated that he is not in favor of federalism but all ideas should be discussed freely. Through discussion, he argued, it would be understood that a federal system is not a clever choice for the Kurds since in the case of federalism the state would not make such an investment as the government did at the beginning of 1990s. However, if the state rejects even to hear it, then it would forever stay as an option in the mind (Barlas 1994, 149-50). Nevertheless, Gen. Dogan Gures disagreed with free discussion on this matter and he expressed his discomfort with the word federalism. He told Ozal that the idea of a federal system is against the National Pact, *Misak-i Milli*, which is the political manifesto that was announced during the War of Independence and that clarified the borders of the present Turkish state. Gures insisted that the unitary structure of the state cannot be open

to discussion when terrorist activities were ongoing. Indeed, Ozal later stated that on the political solution of the Kurdish issue he "convinced everybody but Dogan Pasha" (Milliyet 1996c).

With his belief in a political solution to the problem, Ozal also attempted to form negotiation channels both with the representatives of the Iraqi Kurds and Abdullah Ocalan. During the First Gulf War, Ozal maintained that the Kurds in northern Iraq and southeast Turkey were relatives and Turkey would gain friends if it helped protect the Iraqi Kurds from Saddam's wrath (Barlas 1994, 152-53). This position contradicted with the preference of military officers who prioritized the unity of Iraq on the belief that if an independent Kurdish state was formed in Northern Iraq, it would set an example for the Kurds in southeast Turkey. When Ozal invited Iraqi Kurdish leaders Jalal Talabani and Mesud Barzani to Ankara, his policy caused a negative reaction both by the opposition parties[60] and the military. The CGS Necip Torumtay resigned as a result of Ozal's Iraqi policy and several military officers criticized the President for endangering the national security of Turkey for political ambitions (Bolugiray 1993, 76-91; Torumtay 1994, 101, 105-36; Sarizeybek 2010, 137-94).[61]

Yet Ozal became the first politician who formed a dialogue between the Iraqi Kurds and this contact also encouraged the government to establish indirect contacts with

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[60] Suleyman Demirel blamed Ozal for his "negligence and treason" whereas Erdal Inonu, the son of Ismet Inonu, but known for his moderate position toward the Kurds because he cooperated with Kurdish parliamentarians, criticized the irregular behavior of the government and argued that Turkey should not get involved in Iraq's domestic issues (Cumhuriyet 1991b).
[61] According to Torumtay, human rights and humanitarian thoughts could not have priority over national security and territorial integrity.

the PKK. In March 1993, Abdullah Ocalan sent a letter to the Turkish government through Jalal Talabani and announced a ceasefire on March 17. In the letter, Ocalan demanded official dialogue with the government, recognition of political rights for Kurds and economic development in the region whereas he dropped the demand for a Kurdish state (Milliyet 1993b). Yet on April 17, Ozal died as a result of heart attack and with the PKK's execution of 33 unarmed soldiers on May 24, the conflicts between the PKK and the security forces restarted.[62] One cannot know whether or not the Kurdish issue would have been resolved if Ozal had lived, but it is certain that after he died the use of force became the main policy of the state and until Recep Tayyip Erdogan no leader could take the steps he was willing to.

Then the question is why Ozal did not take these steps during his prime ministry but presidency when he had less ability to shape policy choices. Ozal points to the danger of a military coup and the presence of Kenan Evren as the president as reasons for the lack of initiative in the early years: "We could take a hand in the Kurdish issue earlier and look for a political solution. But do not forget, there was a struggle for a transition to the civilian regime during the first tenure of the Motherland Party. For approximately 1.5-2 years some of my ministers listened more to Kenan Pasha than me. They were daunted by him rather than me. Moreover, we first had to deal with a financial crisis and the problem of foreign currency. We had to do that to prevent new military coups in a country which

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[62] In his press conference on July 8, Ocalan stated that the addressee of the ceasefire was the late Turgut Ozal: "Ozal conducted the most extensive war with us. He even directed the military to develop the war with relatively convenient tactics. However, he understood that the problem could not solved by suppression. He grasped that the issue should be dealt with politics and, I think, he would have taken some brave steps" (Cemal 2008a).

recently left a military regime" (Barlas 1994, 147-48). Adnan Kahveci, a key adviser of

Turgut Ozal, similarly states that the MP could not take a step on the Kurdish issue until

1989 since the President Evren would veto any bill presented by the Party (Mercan 2006).

Here some may argue that the President cannot veto the same bill two times, yet one

should take the informal power of soldier-presidents and their links with the military in

the Turkish political system into consideration.

Therefore, although Ozal's moderate policies could not create permanent effects

on the Kurdish issue, he stayed as a "reformer" in the minds of the Kurdish people. It is

true that he took several strict military measures; yet at the same time he was the

politicians who "breached" traditional state policies and sought to solve the problem

through reforms and negotiations (Akcura 2011, 253). Ozal gave himself a mission to

break taboos in Turkey: "Don't say this, don't mention this, don't get involved in this,

what would the soldiers say? ... These kinds of thoughts do not fit with me. My fight is to

fight against these taboos, to eliminate them, to diminish them as much as possible if they

cannot be eliminated" (Cevizoglu 2004, 108). Although the military officers were not

happy with Ozal's "taboo-breaking" mission and they raised their objections against

almost every reform he intended to make, they could not totally control the political

decision-making because international conditions – the Gulf War – brought the Kurds

into the spotlight and protected Ozal's political power during his presidency. Yet, the

military took the control back after his death in April 1993.

Suleyman Demirel (Prime Minister 1991-93, President, 1993-2000)

When Suleyman Demirel came to power in November 1991, there were some

hopes that he could bring a civilian solution to the Kurdish issue. One reason for this

belief was that in the elections Demirel's TPP had allied with Erdal Inonu's Social

Democratic Populist Party (SDPP) that was known for its advocacy for Kurdish cultural

rights and that included some members from the pro-Kurdish People's Labor Party

(PLP). Second, a month after coming to power, in December 1991, Demirel and Inonu

visited Diyarbakir and there Demirel stated that they "recognize the Kurdish reality" and

that they will not allow the Kurdish citizens to be discriminated against because of their

ethnic origins (Cumhuriyet 1991c). Nevertheless, these positive developments led to a

reaction from the opposition parties and the military. Some parliamentarians from the MP

accused Demirel of treason and seeding the roots of separatism for the sake of power

(Milliyet 1991b) as if the founder of their party, Turgut Ozal, followed a different

discourse on the Kurdish issue. The speech also disappointed the military, although the

CGS Dogan Gures was there when it was made. Coskun Kirca, a parliamentarian who

was close to the military, stated, "The word of 'Kurdish reality' led to confusion. It was

not right. In fact, the soldiers warned Demirel and he never mentioned the Kurdish reality

again" (Cemal 2008b). According to Gen. (ret.) Hasan Kundakci, Demirel's speech was

disheartening and these kinds of speeches may lead the soldiers to start questioning the

reasons for fighting against the PKK (Cemal 2008a).[63]

In the same speech, Demirel also stated that in Turkey it is difficult to undertake

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[63] Indeed, after a terrorist attack on these days, Gen. Osman Pamukoglu reproached the governor of
Hakkari by criticizing the lack of spending on military barracks and asked, "Whose side is this
compassionate state on?" by referencing Demirel and Inonu's visit which was called the "visit of
compassion" in the press (Cevizoglu 2004, 28-29).

some initiatives the military does not embrace (Bican 2012, 64); therefore, it is not surprising that after the reaction towards his speech, Demirel claimed that his emphasis on the "Kurdish reality" was misunderstood and he only meant that the Kurdish identity can no longer be ignored. Indeed, after these first months Demirel never voiced moderate views on the Kurdish issue and, as mentioned, he consistently objected to what President Ozal proposed on the Kurdish issue between 1991 and 1993. For instance, when Ozal talked about the possibility of Kurdish broadcasting, Demirel opposed it by arguing that it is wrong to use the Kurdish issue in domestic politics and that this offer is against the Constitution (Milliyet 1992c).

The Prime Minister also opposed the discussion of a political solution to the Kurdish issue, both the discussions of a federal system in Turkey and negotiation with the PKK. What is interesting is that the first prime minister who brought the 'federalism' proposal to the Kurdish region was not Ozal but Demirel. Retired Admiral Vedii Bilget (1987) wrote in *Cumhuriyet* that in 1965, when Demirel first became the prime minister, the United States proposed to him a federal republic which connected Iraqi and Iranian Kurds and the oil-rich areas they settled to the Turkish state; yet, when Demirel brought this offer to the soldiers, the officers who "saw the intentions behind the offer" rejected it. In the early 1990s, Ozal started the federalism discussion in Turkey on the Kurdish issue by keeping in mind that Turkey may have attached the oil-rich Musul-Kerkuk areas to itself after the Gulf War, yet both the military and Demirel, who knew the position of the military from first-hand experience, opposed him.

Based on his experiences with the military, in the 1990s Demirel's approach to the Kurdish issue was similar to the military officers. For example, according to Demirel, the problem was not the discrimination against the Kurds but the glitches in the functioning of the state. He objected to the argument of discrimination by arguing that a Kurd could freely speak his own language and s/he could be a president, prime minister, CGS, force commander, parliamentarian, governor, judge or a famous person (Bila 2007, 281). Demirel believed that there was a terror problem in Turkey rather than a Kurdish problem and alternative policies on the Kurdish issue could not be followed until the terrorism stops.[64] Yet, after the PKK lost its fighting ability and was about to declare a ceasefire in 1993, the very same Demirel who conditioned the reforms with the end of violence stated that "the end of spilling blood does not necessitate us to do what the PKK wants" (Milliyet 1993a).

In addition, Demirel believed that the Western states attempted to revitalize the Treaty of Sevres: "I know what the West wants. They want Sevres. They want the lands beyond the Euphrates (the river separating southeast Turkey from the west and north). Whatever we do, we cannot satisfy the West" (Milliyet 1995a). Demirel shared the same view with the military that cultural and political demands were a disguise to hide the real objective which was to divide Turkey. From this perspective, Demirel believed that any concession to the Kurds would help the PKK which was supported by foreign states.

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[64] Cuneyt Arcayurek (2001, 73), the advisor to Demirel, made this point by underlining that the prime minister wanted to eliminate the terrorism before making reforms on the Kurdish issue: "[According to Demirel,] it was necessary to quell the terrorism before bringing a tangible approach to the Kurdish problem. In fact, I never saw Demirel change his mindset on the PKK. He believed that the PKK is a domestic problem trying to divide Turkey, but also that the 'friends' in the West want to revitalize Sevres by means of the Kurdish problem."

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Unlike Ozal who believed that cultural and political reforms could help to diminish the terrorism problem, Demirel's strategy was to eradicate the terrorism by force. As a result, security measures against the PKK became the single policy followed in his tenure.

Both as the prime minister and as the president Demirel followed a consistent line on the Kurdish issue and other than his Diyarbakir visit, he refrained from offering alternative policies to the military measures. As will be mentioned below, throughout his presidency he also played a significant role in preventing the civilian solutions of the prime ministers such as Tansu Ciller and Necmettin Erbakan. In this way, the military officers did not need to directly warn the politicians about the policies they disliked. It is likely that Demirel, who was overthrown from power by the military two times in the past, did not want to live through a third experience when he was President. Indeed, at the end of 1993 when the press frequently talked about the possibility of a military coup because of the PKK violence, his main concern was to prevent this possibility. When some politicians demanded the withdrawal of the military from the region in order to bring a civilian solution to the problem, Demirel spoke sharply: "Yes, the military withdraws. Then a year later they burst over the regime by saying, 'You cannot handle this task'" (Arcayurek 2001, 154-55).

To Demirel, removing the military from the task of dealing with the PKK issue would risk the stability of the political regime. It is true that as a politician who was removed from power two times by the military, he disliked military interference in politics. He even blamed the 1980 coup for the spread of PKK violence: "We have taken

back over and the terrorism in the southeast is far worse than when we left in 1980. Giving a break, suspending the regime, closing down the parliament; what were they good for? Those who terrorize Turkey were neither institutions, nor political parties, nor the parliament...Now we lost twelve years" (Milliyet 1992d). Furthermore, in private speeches Demirel was quite unhappy with some generals. For instance, when Gen. Dogan Gures told the press that they would end the PKK problem in 1993, he asked what if they can't (Arcayurek 2001, 325-26). He knew that if the military failed the responsibility would be on the civilian politicians. Yet, he refrained from criticizing the generals in public. The problem in his period was that Demirel always stayed between two problems, the Kurdish question and the military threat to the regime, and because of his former experience he always prioritized the latter over the Kurdish problem. As a result, other than the military measures against the PKK, he did not offer any suggestions to deal with the Kurdish issue.

Tansu Ciller (Prime Minister 1993-96)

Following the death of Turgut Ozal and the election of Suleyman Demirel as the president, Tansu Ciller was elected as the leader of the TPP and became the first female prime minister in the history of the Republic of Turkey. Ciller, who entered politics in 1990, was an inexperienced politician and as soon as she came to power in June 1993, she started voicing social and political solutions to solve the Kurdish problem. First, in the government program announced on June 30, Ciller promised to remove the village-guard system and state of emergency in the Kurdish region (Ibid., 509). Second, in the

following month, she offered Kurdish broadcasting and education as well as a civilian security council in order to diminish the military influence on Kurdish politics. Third, Ciller started to reach out to the political parties in opposition in order to find a common ground on the Kurdish issue (Cumhuriyet 1993a) and stated that she will "do everything to find a national solution under the roof of the parliament" (Milliyet 1993e). Fourth, the Prime Minister also attempted to form a Special Team Force to fight against terrorism, yet the main objective was to diminish the role of the military in Turkey's Kurdish politics. Finally, in October 1993 the press wrote that Ciller offered a "Basque model" after her conversation with the Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzales about the Spanish way to solve its ethnic problem. At the beginning of her tenure, Ciller dreamed of being the politician who solves the Kurdish problem and, as an economist, she wanted to divert the resources from the military to the economy.

Nevertheless, all sectors in the Turkish political system rebuffed these initiatives proposed by Ciller. First, Ciller's attempt to bring a civilian approach to the Kurdish issue was rebuffed by the hardliners in her own party. When Ciller presented a four-article proposal including Kurdish education and broadcasting as well as the establishment of a Kurdish Language Institution and Kurdish History Institution, the TPP Istanbul parliamentarian Coskun Kirca objected by stating that according to the constitution, these proposals "cannot even be offered" (Cumhuriyet 1993c). Some TPP parliamentarians were still loyal to Demirel rather than Ciller and according to them Ciller's policy would divide country. Second, political parties other than the coalition partner SDPP did not support her proposal to find a consensus on the Kurdish problem under the roof of the

parliament. In general, the leaders of political parties in this period were experienced

politicians such as Bulent Ecevit, Alparslan Turkes, Necmettin Erbakan etc. and these

politicians were aware of the concerns of key political actors, especially the military, on

the Kurdish problem. In addition, in the partisan structure of Turkish politics it was

difficult to find a consensus between political parties. For instance, Turkes, the NAP

leader, was supporting the military measures and advocated to keep the morale of the

military high (Arcayurek 2001, 265) whereas Erbakan, the WP leader, argued that the

solution was the end of the coercive regime (Calmuk 2001, 114-15). In this situation, it

was difficult to find any inter-party consensus in the parliament.

Third, President Demirel was against Ciller's attempts to find a political and

social resolution to the Kurdish issue. He objected to the proposal for Kurdish education

and broadcasting by stating that these policies would affect the morale of the soldiers:

"You can do what you think in Ankara. You can do, but after that those who are fighting

against the PKK in the East will drop their guns. And then everything will be ruined. You

would do the worst harm to Turkey. First, terror should stop and they drop their guns.

Then you will think about radio and television" (Bican 2012, 63-64). Demirel also

opposed the inter-party dialogue by arguing that "the terror could not be solved in

Ankara" (Milliyet 1993d). According to him, there was already a consensus and it was

the suppression of terrorism before initiating other reforms. The "Basque model" also

created a crisis situation between the prime minister and the president and Demirel stated

that the Basque problem of Spain is different from the Kurdish problem since the PKK is

supported by foreign powers. According to him, the discussions based on the Basque

model only lead to loss of time and cooling the struggle which were not in Turkish interests and there was no solution other than taking the guns of PKK terrorists (Milliyet 1993f).

It was clear that Demirel was echoing the military's views on the Kurdish issue; yet, the generals also made clear to Ciller that they would not accept any political and cultural initiatives on the Kurdish issue. On Kurdish broadcasting, a high-ranking general noted that this initiative is against the 1982 Constitution and that PKK attacks cannot be stopped through broadcasting. The officer also claimed that the recognition of Kurdish education and broadcasting would lead to more demands, including an independent Kurdish state by stating, "It should be guessed to where the organization's (PKK) demands would go once these rights are given" (Cumhuriyet 1993b). The military also objected to the Basque model and after the proposal hit the press, Gen. Gures made two unexpected visits to the prime ministry to explain the military's concern over the proposal (Aknur 2005, 164). In an interview to a newspaper after retirement, Gures made his views about the Basque Model public: "I absolutely do not accept the Basque model. Assume that we give autonomy, then you tell me the result. We will fall apart. Spain has two neighbors: Portugal and France. If one day the countries in our neighborhood become democratic, we can control the situation like Spain" (Milliyet 1995b). According to the generals, the PKK wanted an independent Kurdish state and that is why the sole solution was to increase the military measures and the Kurdish issue should be discussed in the NSC rather than in the parliament or in the press.

Due to increasing PKK attacks and the discussions on the political and cultural reforms, there was speculation of a military coup at the end of 1993. Arcayurek (2001, 88-90) summarizes the discontent of the military officers during this period in six points: (1) The public debates between Demirel and Ciller as well as between Ciller and Murat Karayalcin, the Deputy Prime Minister and the leader of the coalition partner SDPP, were criticized by the soldiers who advocated unity in the government during the fight against terrorism. (2) Parliamentarians of the pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DeP), the successor of the PLP which was banned in 1993, annoyed the officers with their speeches, acts, meetings within foreign countries, etc. (3) The soldiers believed that some journalists or TV commentators were damaging the military's struggle against terrorism. Gen. Gures defined these individuals as "pontificals drinking their alcohol across the Bosporus." (4) The officers believed that the Assembly functioned slowly especially in terms of passing the laws necessary for successful struggle against terrorism, especially the law on private TV channels. (5) Soldiers were critical of inexperienced leaders like Ciller and quite discontent with Demirel's rush to be the president. (6) The soldiers were annoyed with the proposals of political solution and democratic/cultural rights. The belief was that even a small concession would have negative consequences.

As can be seen, the military officers wanted to control almost all aspects of the Kurdish issue and in this picture, an inexperienced leader like Ciller had no option other than relying on the military to consolidate her power. Therefore, it did not take long for Ciller to leave moderate initiatives on the Kurdish issue and in a short time she turned into the most hawkish politician in Turkish political history. For instance, Ciller, who

once wanted to solve the Kurdish problem "under the roof of the parliament," was now

targeting the DeP parliamentarians by stating, "The time has come to take care of the case

of the PKK sheltering under the Parliament's roof. If behind the shield of immunity those

who have the blood of babies on their hands are protected in Parliament this has nothing

to do with democracy" (Nigogosian 1996, 40-41), Indeed, after a terrorist attack on a

military high school in Tuzla and a DeP parliamentarian's provocative speech about the

incident,[65] the immunity of the DeP parliamentarians was removed on March 2, 1994,

with the encouragement of Gen. Gures who stated, "Do not look for the bandit only in

Bekaa (where Ocalan hides). Unfortunately, some of them are under the roof of the

Assembly. They are using the financial and moral resources provided by Turkey. Not

only use, they also present these resources to those who are in treason against the state.

They see the Turkish soldier as an enemy soldier. If they are not traitorous, then who is?"

(Arcayurek 2001, 443). What was more damaging to the dialogue between the

government and the Kurdish political group was that the parliamentarians were taken

roughly from the Assembly by the police in front of the cameras and the event was called

the "March 2 coup" in the press.

Ciller simply realized that she could consolidate her power with the militarist

approach and she applied all the demands coming from the military. According to

Mehmet Agar, national police chief between 1993 and 1995, Ciller created a formula for

power: "She saw how to give the morale the security forces and the soldiers need. She

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[65] DeP Parliamentarian Hatip Dicle stated, "They (the military cadets killed in Tuzla) were in military uniforms and they were military targets. In the war such innocent people also die. According to the Geneva Convention, in the war belligerents hit military targets" (Arcayurek 2001, 442).

provided that. As you remember, once it was stated 'RPP+military=government'. Now

Ciller sees that, she catches that" (Cemal 2010, 163). Ciller believed that not only the

military, but also the public demanded a militarist discourse: "Whenever I say indivisible

unity (*bölünmez bütünlük*) on the stage the public rejoice. Whenever I say

democratization they go silent" (Ibid., 206) As a result, Ciller started believing that if she

ended PKK terrorism by force, especially if she caught Abdullah Ocalan, no one could

take her down.[66]

Ciller's militarist approach to the Kurdish issue was highly appreciated by the

military officers. The CGS Gures complimented Ciller by calling her "determinant and

brave in the struggle against terrorism" (Milliyet 1995b) and the general even entered into

politics in the ranks of her party after retirement. Yet the question was who controlled the

political decision-making on the Kurdish issue? If we look at the statements of Ciller and

the military officers, we see a picture that the Prime Minister was the one who made all

decisions on the Kurdish issue. The most well-known phrase underlining the relationship

between the prime minister and the CGS comes from Gen. Gures: "She says, I do it

instantly" (*Şak diye emrediyor, tak diye yapıyorum*). Nevertheless, it is difficult to

imagine a general like Gures, who stated that he did not consult with experienced

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[66] Indeed, after adopting the military's approach, Ciller's activism passed beyond imagination and in one instance, Ciller even attempted to start a war with Iran. During the days when Iran's support to the PKK disturbed Ankara, Ciller decided to make an air operation on Iran's territory. In the 1990s Turkey made several land and air operations in Iraq's northern territory which was not controlled by Baghdad after the Gulf War and even these operations in the uncontrolled area were criticized in the international arena. A similar operation would not only draw criticism, it may also turn into an international conflict with Iran and Turkey had not experienced this kind of operation before. This crazy attempt was prevented by President Suleyman Demirel; nevertheless, according to Mehmet Bican (2012, 264), who was the press counselor of the Prime Ministry, Ciller was quite happy with the situation because she proved that she is such a brave politician that could enter a war against Iran.

politicians like Ozal and Demirel when he gave orders (Bila 2007, 73), would wait for an

order from a leader who became a politician only three years before coming to power.

Indeed, journalist Yavuz Gokmen presents a more appropriate analysis for this

relationship. He points out that before making a decision Gen. Gures was visiting Ciller

and telling her, "We should do these in this stage of the war, we are waiting for your

orders." Ciller acted as if she did research on the issue and then told Gures, "Do what you

said yesterday" (Gokmen 1999, 84). Therefore, in appearance Ciller seems the final

decision-maker but in essence who made the decisions was the CGS. The cooperation

between Ciller and Gures provided military successes against the PKK, yet the Prime

Minister could not keep her power as she wished.

Necmettin Erbakan (Prime Minister 1996-97)

Elections held in December 1995 resulted in the victory of the pro-Islamist WP,

headed by Necmettin Erbakan, and the results led to a period of political ambiguity

because of the religious nature of the party. After the elections, the military officers

strictly objected to a government under an Islamist party and they urged Ciller and Mesut

Yilmaz, the MP leader, to form a coalition government (Ibid., 57). Although Ciller and

Yilmaz formed the government, it did not last long because of the cat-and-dog

relationship between the leaders and the Constitutional Court's cancellation of the vote of

confidence of the government. After this development, Ciller, who could do anything to

remain in power, agreed with Erbakan on a rotated prime ministry as if she did not label

Erbakan as a threat to the secular state in the pre-election period. On June 28, Erbakan

became the prime minister while Ciller took the seat of Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

One year under Erbakan's prime ministry was full of tension between his government and the military both in terms of secularism and the Kurdish issue. Erbakan was a popular leader in the southeast because of the religious and traditional population in the region. He and his party represented the other political ideology, with Kurdish nationalism, excluded by the state since 1923 and in the pre-election period he effectively used these similarities. In his speech to the Kurds in the Bingol district, he underlined the link between suppression of religion and the Kurds: "In the past, kids started school with Basmala (In the name of God). They changed it to "I am Turkish, honest, hardworking." If you make the kids say it, then others give themselves a right to say "I am Kurdish, more honest, more hardworking" (Akcura 2011, 296).[67] According to Erbakan, the Kurdish issue came into existence because of the nationalist, materialist and racist practices in the early years of the republic. He opposed the idea of federation and Kurdish nationalism because he supported the unity of Muslims, yet he equally objected to the military measures such as state of emergency in the region, village-guard system or the practice of emptying the villages. He proposed *ümmet doktrini* (the doctrine of religious community) to replace nationalism and argued that the problem can be solved through an "Islamic brotherhood." If there was one thing the military officers and Erbakan shared on the Kurdish issue, it was the "fear of Sevres." According to Erbakan, the United States

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[67] What is interesting is that after resigning from the prime ministry in June 1997, Erbakan, whose political ideology was mainly regarded as a threat against the secular state, was sentenced to imprisonment for one year and political ban for life in 2000 with the accusation of Kurdism and separatism because of this speech (Calmuk 2001, 8).

and Zionists (Israel) supported the PKK in order to divide the brotherhood among the Muslims in the Middle East in general and in Turkey in particular (Calmuk 2001, 156-61; TBMM Tutanak 1992).

As soon as he came to power, Erbakan started taking initiatives that differed from the traditional state policies on the Kurdish issue. First, he held a meeting with the Islamist author Ismail Nacar, who was in close contact with Abdullah Ocalan, and WP parliamentarian Fethullah Erbas at the office of Prime Minister. In the meeting Erbakan rejected direct negotiations with the terrorists yet he approved negotiations with the leaders of the pro-Kurdish political parties, which had organic links with the PKK, in order to diminish the tension in the region and provide for the PKK to drop their weapons. As a result, Erbas and Nacar met with Murat Bozlak, the jailed leader of the People's Democracy Party (another pro-Kurdish party which replaced the DeP banned in 1994) in Elmadag Prison in Ankara. In the meeting at the prime ministry, the participants also talked about a possible amnesty for the PKK members and Erbas stated, "those dissidents are our own citizens even if they are PKK members. They too have mothers who are crying for them" (Alphan and Albayrak 2010, 36-42). Finally, a decision for Kurdish broadcasting for two hours per day on the state-run channel was agreed on in the meeting (Bican 2012, 400).

This meeting, held in late July 1996, underlined the WP's preference for solving the Kurdish issue through indirect negotiations with the PKK and eradicating the conditions which gave birth to terrorism. Yet the press discovered the secret meeting in

early August (Sabah 1996) and a few days later NSC General Secretary Gen. Ilhan Kilic paid a visit to Erbakan to warn him about his Kurdish policy. Gen. Kilic made this warning indirectly by explaining Turkey's national security policies. He told Erbakan that there can be no negotiations with the PKK and Kurdish broadcasting cannot be allowed. After the meeting, Erbakan made a U-turn from his intention to offer radical measures to address the Kurdish issue and only emphasized the impossibility for negotiations with the PKK: "We do not make any concessions with our struggle against the PKK. Turkey by no means gives up the state perception of one country, one flag and the unitary state. We don't negotiate with terrorists" (Ozturk and Yurteri 2011, 95-96).

Nevertheless, within days, the BBC made an interview with Fethullah Erbas and in this interview, he stated that the military, too, prefers civilian solutions to the Kurdish issue: "They are all in the belief that only 30 percent of the problem can be solved by military measures and the remaining 70 percent can be solved through the initiatives of NGOs, persuasion and other methods" (Milliyet 1996a). In addition, in August 1996 Erbas went to the PKK camps in North Iraq to save eight soldiers kidnapped by the insurgents. Not only did Erbas fail to save the soldiers, but he also gave the PKK a chance to make propaganda as pictures of him and PKK members under the PKK flag emerged in the newspapers. These events were enough to anger the military officers and at a reception on Victory Day, August 30, the officers made it clear to the civilians that they are uncomfortable with the meeting of Erbas and PKK members and said that the State Security Court would do what was necessary (Milliyet 1996b). As a result, as soon as Erbakan came to the reception President Demirel took him into a corner and spoke in a

protesting tone for twenty minutes as the other visitors listened on (Bican 2012, 398-99).

After this event, Erbakan and the WP could not take the initiative on the Kurdish issue

since the party had already been under pressure because of its Islamist character.

Erbakan's tenure did not last long and he resigned on June 30, 1997. The first step

of the process leading to his resignation was the NSC meeting held on February 28, 1997

in which the commanders presented an 18-article NSC Paper, signed by Gen. Ilhan Kilic,

to the government. The paper was mainly a military memorandum against the pro-Islamic

government and declared the measures that should be taken to fight against anti-secular

forces. Nevertheless, one article in the memorandum was related to the WP's Kurdish

policy. Article 17 of the NSC Paper states, "Attempts to solve the national problems by

approaching with the term of *ümmet* (religious community) rather than *millet*

(nationality), and encouraging the separatist terrorist organization by approaching in the

same way, should be prevented by legal and administrative means" (Ozturk and Yurteri

2011, 194). Therefore, the military openly opposed the WP's initiative to address the

Kurdish issue by underlining the religious links between the Kurds and the Turks in the

most important document of Turkish politics in the 1990s.

After February 28, the relationship between the military and the government grew

tenser with each passing month and the tension also showed itself on the Kurdish issue.

For instance, in May 1997, the Turkish Armed Forces conducted a military operation

against the PKK in Northern Iraq, called Operation Hammer; however, the officers did

not give detailed information to the government before the operation. Although this lack

of informing the government is problematic enough in terms of civil-military relations, the military's reasoning was far worse. According to the news, the generals did not inform the government because they suspected that the WP politicians would leak the information to the PKK. In other words, the generals were concerned that two basic threats to the state, reactionaries and separatists, may cooperate against the military, and they believed that the operation owed its success to the "effect of surprise," which was based on not informing the government about the target, time and details of the operation (Yeni Yuzyil 1997).

It is true that Erbakan did not have a well-prepared plan to solve the Kurdish issue. According to Erbakan, the problem was a national question of Kurds rather than being a regional problem and there was an urgent need to recognize Kurdish nationality (Duran 1998, 115-17). His main intention was to use the religion as a common link between the Kurds and Turks but it is doubtful that common religious link would be enough to stop the ethnic conflict lasting more than ten years. Nevertheless, he attempted to start a negotiation process and took small steps to bring a civilian approach to the issue in the first two months of his tenure. Yet, the Kurdish issue was under the control of the military and officers would not allow a civilian to take the initiative from them. In addition, Erbakan's Islamist identity worsened the situation. Erbakan was aware of his reputation within the military and he did not want to draw the criticism of the officers because of the Kurdish issue. As Calmuk (2001, 44) points out, in Erbakan's political life pragmatism and cost-benefit calculations always stood in the forefront and a little while after he came to power in 1996 the WP started following the traditional policies by

concentrating on the economic problems of the region and ignoring the issue of cultural identity. The most important variable on the transformation of his preferences was the military's watch over politics.

Military control of politics is an important variable to explain the dominance of militarist policies in the 1980s and 1990s. In this period, although it seems that civilians were the ones who made the ethnic policies, they acted under the close surveillance of the military. While each politician tried to take some moderate steps in resolving the Kurdish issue when they came to power, soon they adopted the militarist perspective after being warned by the military or pro-military civilians. In this period, the Turkish public was also not supportive of the measures other than the use of force as the coffins of dead Turkish soldiers were coming from the southeast on a regular basis, sometimes reaching ten a day at the zenith of the conflict. Although, in the long-term, these casualties led to a public desire to change the Kurdish policy, in the 1980s and 1990s it mainly strengthened the right-wing opinion and the support for militarist policies. As a result of state discourse during the violent conflicts, the public generally adopted the notion that Kurdish identity is "absurd, unnecessary, and subversive" while those "who talk about Kurdish rights are terrorists and enemies of the nation" (Barkey and Fuller 1998, 116-18).

All in all, as military activism argues, during the most violent phase of the PKK conflict the military officers were more prone to use militarist policies than civilians and for the latter it was difficult to change the traditional state policies towards the Kurds because of the military control of politics. Only Ozal managed to take some bold steps on

the Kurdish issue during his presidency; however, his moderation did not last long and as soon as he died militarist state policies reemerged. After fifteen years, Erdogan's JDP also succeeded in offering alternative solutions; yet, first the civilians needed to end the military control of politics.

3.2.4 Civilian Control of the Military and Democratic Opening

Abdullah Ocalan was captured in Kenya on February 15, 1999 and soon after he ordered PKK militants to leave Turkish lands; yet, his capture and the end of violence did not bring reforms on the Kurdish issue as the military control over Turkish politics was ongoing. The generals kept objecting to Kurdish education and broadcasting as the civilian politicians were having a difficult time on these issues during the EU accession process. Moreover, the military did not involve the civilians in the questioning of Ocalan and from 1999 to 2005 only military officers talked to the PKK leader. The capture of Ocalan also did not bring then Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit a political success as once Tansu Ciller had dreamed and with the deteriorating economy and ill-health of aged Ecevit, the JDP, which was founded by the innovative and young members of the WP like Recep Tayyip Erdogan and Abdullah Gul, won the general elections in November 2002. Since the party leader Erdogan was banned from participating in politics during the elections Gul became the prime minister and after a legislative change Erdogan took the seat in March 2003 whereas Gul was appointed as Foreign Minister.

Erdogan's interest in the Kurdish issue started long before his coming to power. At the beginning of the 1990s, when he was in the ranks of the WP, he took two

independent initiatives, one relating to the Iraqi Kurds during the Gulf War and the other was on Turkey's Kurdish conflict. In April 1991, Erdogan led a charity campaign to help the Iraqi Kurds under the banner, "We must get our Kurdish brothers to eat what we eat, to wear what we wear" (Calmuk 2001, 29). While this campaign increased his popularity among the Kurdish citizens in Turkey, Erdogan also formed a committee to write a report on the Kurdish issue. This report, dated December 18, 1991, is important to understand Erdogan and the JDP's Kurdish policy after 2002. According to the report, the party (WP) should have adopted the following policies: (i) questioning the official state ideology which followed rejectionist, assimilationist and repressive policies towards the Kurds for seventy-five years; (ii) advocating the cultural plurality in Turkey; recognizing Kurdish identity; removing all laws obstructing the development of the Kurdish culture; preparing the conditions for the Kurdish education; giving the same cultural rights to other communities such as Laz, Circassian, Georgian, Arab, etc.; (iii) advocating equal political, social and cultural rights based on a voluntary brotherhood of all communities rather than being racist, assimilationist and repressive like Turkey's official ideology; (iv) developing policies sensitive to human right issues; (v) condemning state terror as criticizing the PKK terror; not adopting the same criticism method with the state by using terms such as 'separatist', 'terrorist', 'dividing'; (vi) equally opposing Turkish racism and Kurdish racism (Ibid., 67-70).

These proposals show that Erdogan rejected a nationalist-based ideology, whether Turkish or Kurdish. Instead, as the WP ideology provided, he emphasized a cultural plurality in which communities would be linked to each other through a religious bond.

By focusing not only on the Kurds but also the rights of the other minority groups, the

report indirectly rejected a specific "Kurdish question" because labeling the problem as

Kurdish has ethnic dimensions which may push the role of the religion to a secondary

role in defining identity. Indeed, as will be shown, Erdogan would have a significant

problem in defining the issue while trying to solve it. Another interesting point in the

report is its severe criticism of the traditional state policies which it called "state

terrorism." The report questions the party's silence towards human right violations and

the effectiveness of sole military measures while offering social, cultural and political

reforms to develop the conditions of the Kurdish citizens.

Yet when he came to power in November 2002, Erdogan did not start following

moderate policies on the Kurdish issue right away since he first had to deal the JDP's

legitimation problem in order not to face the same end as the WP. For instance, during his

official visit to Moscow in December 2002, Erdogan made his views on the Kurdish issue

known in public for first time through a discussion with a Kurdish construction worker in

Moscow. When the worker asked him to solve the Kurdish issue, Erdogan's reply was to

some extent in parallel to the traditional state ideology (Yavuz 2009, 132):

> You should not believe that there is a problem; you should believe that there
> is no problem. There is a problem only if you think that there is a problem.
> When you think there is no problem, the problem will disappear. We say
> that there is no such problem for us...We have to say we are all from
> Turkey...You would say "I am a Kurd"; a Turk would say "I am a
> Turk."...However, you would say we are all brothers.

At the end of the conversation, Erdogan gave the signal as to how he will deal

with the Kurdish issue by hugging the worker and telling him, "I love you for the sake of

Allah." As mentioned, to Erdogan, the solution to the issue was the emphasis on the religious bond between the Kurds and Turks while acknowledging cultural rights to all ethnic groups; however, by claiming that the problem will disappear if the people think that there is no problem, he was following the traditional state ideology adopted in the 1980s and 1990s. In addition to his emphasis on the religious bond, this can be explained with Erdogan's priorities in this period. In 2003 and 2004 Erdogan had a legitimation problem as some military generals were reportedly planning a coup against him as the Ergenekon trials would later reveal. According to the JDP, the easiest way to deal with this legitimation problem, which the WP could not pass, was the EU accession process and that is why Erdogan and his companions focused on making a date for starting accession-negotiations with the organization.

Not only would the EU accession provide democratization for Turkey and legitimization for the JDP, it would also bring a peaceful solution to the Kurdish issue since the EU would not accept Turkey with its military conflict with the PKK still ongoing (Kokce 2011, 158-59). Although the officers' suspicion about the EU was well-established in the Turkish military, the JDP was lucky to have liberal-minded Gen. Hilmi Ozkok as the CGS between 2002 and 2006. Although Ozkok believed that religion cannot always function as a bond between the Turks and the Kurds as Erdogan proposed and found it ingenious that Ataturk called all those communities that founded the republic as the 'Turkish nation," he supported the EU accession process because he believed that the Kurds would not want to separate from Turkey if their economic conditions improved

after Turkey becomes an EU member (Bila 2007, 225).[68] Therefore, rather than offering

alternative views on the Kurdish issue as the WP did as soon as Erbakan came to power,

Erdogan and the JDP refrained from that and focused mainly on the EU accession process

in 2003 and 2004.

Although in these years some of the reforms on the Kurdish issue were adopted in

order to meet the EU conditions, these reforms took place under military scrutiny. For

instance, in June 2004 Kurdish broadcasting started on TRT, the state channel, yet, the

news was starting with either Ozkok's message that the struggle against separatist and

fundamentalist activities will continue or with news about the protest of martyrs' families

against the terrorism and these news were getting reactions from the Kurdish political

groups. At the same time, the military officers raised their concerns with the EU policies

to the Western politicians when they had a chance. For instance, a Wikileaks (2004)

document dated on September 10, 2004, shows that in his conversation with American

Ambassador Eric Edelman, Gen. Ilker Basbug, then Deputy CGS, questioned the

intentions of the EU reforms and politicians. The conversation is also important to

understand the military's views on the cultural reforms, Kurdish politicians and the

Kurdish question in general at the beginning of the JDP rule.

> Basbug raised, without prompting [Government of Turkey's] EU-related
> minority rights reform effort. For the past two to three years, he said,
> parliament had passed many laws granting "cultural rights." The changes

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[68] The Kurds oppose this view linking the economic conditions and the Kurdish issue. For instance, Fadil Bedirhanoglu, the Mayor of Hakkari, states, "Even if the state makes all streets of Hakkari out of gold, it will not help. Peace will not knock on the door if the state rejects my Kurdish identity, my language. What will change as long as funerals pass through the gold-filled streets" (Cemal 2011, 247). Yet, they supported Turkey's EU accession process which would democratize Turkey and improve Kurdish rights.

were significant and he had no issue with what had been passed. "There is nothing left to be done or to be requested," he opined. Nonetheless, the EU keeps asking for more. They keey calling for more follow up on implementation. "What do they mean by this? What are the deficiencies?" he asked.

He said that recent events in Turkey's southeast "exceed the law," citing [Leyla] Zana's[69] tour of the region after her release from jail. Zana had spoken in Kurdish while participating in political activities, a clear violation of the Political Parties Law, he said. On September 7, the Diyarbakir mayor reportedly asked [European Commission] Enlargement Commissioner Verheugen whether this element of the law needed to be changed to meet EU requirements. The fact that the mayor asked the question demonstrated that he realized this was a violation when Zana was in his city.

Basbug also asserted that Turkish public opinion should not be neglected. He did not oppose Verheugen's visit too Diyarbakir because he needed to write the report on Turkey's progress on the Copenhagen Criteria. However, some other "unnecessary visits" are not well perceived by the Turkish public. When asked, he said this applied to the US, Europeans, "everybody."

Finally, Basbug noted that Zana had written to jailed PKK/Kongra Gel leader Abdullah Ocalan saying, "we will get our political, social and cultural rights through EU membership." If the EU is a vehicle by which Zana's supporters can achieve their objectives, then what more are they looking for, he asked. Two security forces members were killed in the southeast on September 7, he said. Tomorrow another may lose his life. Why are we asking these people to risk their lives, he asked. (Comment: His implication being that Zana and her supporters see the EU as a tool to partition Turkey.) "There is nothing else to give and we have given more than enough," he said.

Saying that he had just seen Verheugen's press conference in Diyarbakir, he complained that Verheugen referred to "Kurdish citizens." "Is that proper?" he asked. While Turkey had many citizens of Kurdish origin, he termed the idea of Kurdish citizenship as "completely wrong." Similarly, he believed referenced to Turkey's approval of "Kurdish education" to be wrong, believing that phrase to imply using Kurdish for education instead of Turkish. "The teaching of Kurdish" is what was approved.

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[69] Leyla Zana was one of the DeP parliamentarians whose immunity was removed in 1993. In 1994 she was imprisoned on a charge of treason and sentenced to 15 years. She was released from prison in 2004.

Gen. Basbug's remarks to the American Ambassador in Turkey shows that (i) the military officers was reluctant to give more concessions to the Kurds in parallel to EU reforms; (ii) they suspected the intentions of the European states; (iii) they opposed any re-definition of citizenship in Turkey which rests on Ataturk's formula that "Everyone bound to the Turkish state through the bond of citizenship is a Turk" as stipulated in the Article 66 of the 1982 Constitution; (iv) they opposed systematic Kurdish education in the state schools and they believed that learning in Kurdish in special schools or within the family is enough;[70] (v) they had a significant mistrust of the Kurdish politicians and the PKK which, the officers believe, aimed to divide Turkey through EU reforms rather than improving cultural, political and social rights of the Kurds in Turkey.

From this perspective, December 17, 2004 was an important date on which the Turkish government and the EU agreed on starting negotiations for Turkey's EU membership. This development gave confidence to the Erdogan government and in 2005 he took some symbolical steps to start civilian initiatives on the Kurdish issue. For instance, for the first time a non-military official, Emre Taner, the Deputy Secretary of the National Intelligence Agency (NIA), talked to Abdullah Ocalan at Imrali Prison. Before 2005, only military officers questioned the PKK leader and although Taner was accompanied by a military colonel during the meeting, according to Cemal (2011, 140-41), this development was critical in civilians' taking the initiative on the Kurdish issue. After the civilians started taking more control on the Kurdish issue after 2007, the NIA

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[70] Some PKK members point out that in the 1980s and 1990s the teachers were punishing those Kurdish children who spoke Kurdish even at home and asking the students to spy on whoever speaks Kurdish (Matur 2011). From this perspective, the teachers were acting like "idealist" officials as the government reports demanded whereas the PKK was organizing terrorist attacks to kill teachers working in the region.

played an important role in forming a dialogue between the government and the PKK as well as between the PKK and its imprisoned leader Abdullah Ocalan.

Despite being symbolic, the most important development in 2005 was Erdogan's speech in Diyarbakir on August 12. Contrary to his first public view on the Kurdish issue made in Moscow, in this unique speech, Erdogan stated, "Every state made mistakes in its past, it is improper for powerful states to disregard the mistakes committed in the past. A powerful state is the one which can talk about its mistakes. We are investing in the future by facing the past in Turkey." The Prime Minister continued "Turkey is Diyarbakir as much as it is Istanbul" and the "Kurdish issue is my issue before anyone else's" and he is determined to solve this problem "within one flag, one nation." In addition, Erdogan promised to deepen democracy in Turkey and showed his red lines to be ethnic nationalism, regional nationalism and religious nationalism. Erdogan also asked the Kurds not to be angry at the state because of the past as he is not although he was imprisoned because of a poem he read during his tenure as the Mayor of Istanbul. Finally, Erdogan stated that Turkish citizenship is the link binding everyone and they will solve all problems with further democratization (Sabah 2005).

The importance of this speech was that for the first time a Turkish prime minister recognized the mistakes committed in the past. Erdogan also identified the issue as a "Kurdish issue," rather than terrorism. Yet, in his visit to New Zealand in December of the same year, Erdogan said that "Kurds have no problems" and "the difficulties faced by Kurdish citizens were neither more nor less than those faced by Turks, Lazes or other

ethnicities in Turkey" (Ince 2012, 172). In this period, Erdogan also started a discussion on supra- and sub-identities by stating, "There are Kurds, Lazes, Circassians, Georgians, Albanians, Bosnians and Turks. These are sub-identities in our country. There is only one supra-identity, however, that is to be a citizen of the Turkish Republic" (Ibid., 173). Erdogan's confusion on the definition of the problem can be explained by his intention to solve the problem while refraining from creating a specific ethnic problem, which is contrary to the ideology shared by the JDP and its predecessor WP – although there was already a specific Kurdish issue. In addition, the JDP had nationalist elements within the party which were likely to be annoyed by the emphasis on the Kurdish issue while the party did not establish strong civilian control of the military. As a result of these factors, during this process only symbolic steps were taken on the Kurdish issue.

While some military officers criticized the discussion on identity and argued that it damages the unitary structure of the state (Kapmaz 2011, 345), the military's Kurdish policy slowly came under scrutiny in this period. For instance, in November 2005 two gendarmerie officers were caught in connection with the bombing of a pro-PKK bookstore in Semdinli and this event reminded the public of extrajudicial killings mainly occurring in the southeast during the tenure of Tansu Ciller. What is more critical is that rather than condemning the incident Gen. Yasar Buyukanit, the Commander of the Turkish Army, identified one of the suspects as a "good kid" and later denounced the trial of the officers as "unprecedented assassination of justice" (Korkut 2007). Although the court sentenced the officers to almost forty years in prison, the Supreme Court, which is known for its pro-military line, ruled a mistrial and announced that the trial should have

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been heard in the military court. Furthermore, Ferhat Sarikaya, the District Attorney who accused Buyukanit of having links with the suspects was dismissed by the Supreme Board of Judges and Prosecutors in April 2006 and the military court released the suspects. Sarikaya returned his job in 2010 and the suspects were retried and resentenced by the civilian court in 2012. Yet, the Semdinli event is important to see how the military was a powerful institution in the political decision-making on the Kurdish issue until 2007 despite the EU reforms transforming civil-military relations and Turkey's Kurdish policy.

In August 2006, Gen. Yasar Buyukanit replaced Gen. Hilmi Ozkok as the CGS. In the handover ceremony, Buyukanit repeated the traditional argument that to protect the secular and unitary structure of the state is the duty of the Turkish Armed Forces and this duty cannot be interpreted as an intervention in politics (Milliyet 2006). Therefore, in his first speech as the CGS, Buyukanit implied that the military will keep playing a decisive role in shaping the Kurdish policies of the state. According to him, Ataturk's formula for Turkish identity was ideal for all citizens and in his visit to Athens he stated that if Ataturk saw the discussions on ethnic identities in Turkey, he "would die of grief" (Ergan and Kirbaki 2006). Although Buyukanit was aware of the fact that the PKK cannot be eliminated by the use of force alone, he constantly proposed military operations both in Turkey and in Northern Iraq, claiming that these operations would benefit the country by striking a blow against the terrorist organization (CNNTurk 2007). Buyukanit shows his militarist line by stating that Turkey should struggle as it did during the War of Independence although the conditions today are not as negative as in the 1920s (Bila

2007, 306).

The e-memorandum released by the military on April 27, 2007 to warn the government about the secular identity of the Republic and oppose the nomination of Abdullah Gul as the president also showed the military's position on the Kurdish issue. Just as with the NSC Paper leading to the resignation of Erbakan government in 1997, in this secularism-oriented memorandum, the soldiers were highlighting their position on the Kurdish issue by stating, "whoever is against the philosophy of the Great Leader Ataturk "How happy is he who says I am a Turk" is the enemy of the Republic of Turkey and so will he stay" (Ural 2012, 729-30). Therefore, the military was showing that whoever does not agree with its concept of Turkish identity was the "enemy" and this statement was also a warning to the Erdogan government.

However, as mentioned before, the e-memorandum backfired by putting the Erdogan government in the position of the oppressed. In addition, the e-memorandum shaped Erdogan's rhetoric towards Kurdish citizens when the government decided for early general elections to protest the military intervention and to gain public support for Gul's presidency. As Yavuz (2009, 186) pointed out, before coming to power the rhetoric used by the JDP in the Kurdish region was: "We have suffered from this Kemalist ideological state and its associated military as much as you Kurds have. When we come to power, our first priority will be to redefine the state and deconstruct its Kemalist ideology." Under the military control of politics between 2002 and 2007, the JDP could not fulfill this promise and failed to develop any major policy change on the Kurdish

issue. Yet, the military threat to the government in 2007 renewed the link between the Kurds and the government as two oppressed groups and the JDP significantly increased its votes in the Kurdish region in the 2007 elections.[71]

The presidential crisis was followed by the Ergenekon investigation and these two developments strengthened the hand of the government to reforms to address the Kurdish issue, although Erdogan did not name the issue in that way. Therefore, it is not surprising that the most serious effort to solve the conflict started in 2009 after the military control of Turkish politics significantly diminished. As a first step, the government started secret negotiations with the PKK and the imprisoned Ocalan at what would be called the "Oslo meetings" when one of the meeting's records was revealed on the internet in September 2011 (Taraf 2011). In these meetings, the NIA carried messages between the PKK representatives and Ocalan in order to get the PKK to lay down their weapons. These meetings led to a positive atmosphere and in March 2009 President Abdullah Gul stated, "The solution for the Kurdish problem is within the country, soon there will be good things," whereas Ocalan said, "Mr. Gul's remarks are important. I will fulfill the responsibility on my part" (Taraf 2009). At the same time, in January 2009, 24-hour Kurdish broadcasting started in TRT-6 and these developments became the sign of a "Democratic Opening" as the government named it.

In August of the same year, Besir Atalay, the Minister of Internal Affairs, started the process of Democratic Opening. For a month, Atalay met the representatives of the

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[71] According to Hasan Cemal (2011, 202), the AKP's resistance against a military operation in Northern Iraq as Buyukanit demanded also played a significant role in its increasing votes in the Kurdish region.

political parties, twenty-two NGOs, eleven business organizations, twenty-four

associations representing the martyrs' families, and several individuals. According to

Atalay, his purpose with these meetings was to find a "common mindset" and he stated,

"We saw that there is a very clear and strong commitment within the society on the

necessity to solve the problem. Everybody wants the end of terror. Everybody wants the

rise of the democratic standards in our country. There is nobody against these." Atalay

also objected to those who argued that a Democratic Opening process would divide the

country, demolish the unitary structure of the state and create new minorities in Turkey:

"First of all, we need to quit the division syndrome. Nobody can divide our nation living

together for a thousand years because the essence of our nation is brotherhood." Although

Atalay claimed that this is a project of all regions, his remarks clearly show that the main

purpose was to find common ground on the Kurdish issue (Turkiye Cumhuriyeti 2009).

On August 15, Abdullah Ocalan made a move and gave a 55-page "road map" to

government representatives as a plan on which negotiations could take place. According

to his plan, the peace could take place in three stages: (i) The permanence of the non-

conflict situation: in this process both sides should not be provoked and Turkish and

Kurdish public opinion should be prepared for the peace process. (ii) An establishment of

a Truth and Reconciliation Commission: The issue of amnesty for PKK members will be

realized after the investigation of this commission. At the same time, the military forces

of the PKK will move out of the country. (iii) Constitutional and legal steps for

democratization: With this step, those Kurds who were exiled or had their citizenship

revoked will start coming back to Turkey (Candar 2011, 110). Unlike the military

officers, the government representatives thought that Ocalan has changed in prison by reading a lot and becoming anti-violence (ICG 2013, 1). Therefore, positive steps for the negotiations and dialogue were taken between the PKK and the government in 2009. In this period, Turkish public opinion also changed in favor of new initiatives on the Kurdish issue. The Turks were tired of years of conflict in the region and a poll conducted in this period showed that forty-three percent of the respondents supported the government's new Kurdish policy. Compared to public opinion in the 1990s, this was a promising development but the opposition to the process was big enough – thirty nine percent – to necessitate careful steps in solving the Kurdish question (Dagi 2009).

The main fear actually happened during the symbolic arrival of some PKK members from the mountain to the border gate in Habur. According to Murat Karayilan, the active PKK leader in the Kandil Mountain, the demand for symbolic arrival came from Erdogan to gain support for the peace process from the JDP members (Cemal 2011, 37). Yet, the arrival of the thirty-four PKK members on October 24 turned into a political demonstration by PKK sympathizers and the Kurdish political movement. PKK members turned up in their uniforms and the Turkish media showed the demonstration as a victory celebration when the crowd was chanting Ocalan's name and militants were making v-sign with their fingers. While Turkish officials believed that the PKK members would return in silence and felt betrayed after the demonstration, the Kurdish political movement claimed that it was a soft demonstration which was not under their control (ICG 2011, 8). Whoever the fault lies with, the Habur Event struck a blow in the JDP's effort to convince the Turkish public of the benefits of the Democratic Opening.

Although its exact date is unknown – estimated some date after April 2010, the "Oslo Meeting," whose records were revealed on the internet, shows that the government maintained its dialogue with the PKK even after the Habur Event. In the conversation, Afet Gures, the Deputy Secretary of the NIA, states that Habur became the breaking point of all the effort the government had spent for two and a half years and criticized its being a political demonstration. The Turkish officials also told the PKK representatives that they need to manage public opinion and that the process cannot be completed in three, five or eight months (Taraf 2011). These remarks show that the government was determined to solve the problem although the Habur Event affected public support for the process. Yet, the political atmosphere around the 2011 general elections increased the tension between the government and the PKK. On May 4, the PKK attacked Erdogan's election bus in an attempt to assassinate the Prime Minister, but he was not onboard; a police officer was killed in the process. Around the same day, the military took action against the PKK in the southeast resulting in the death of 19 PKK members (ICG 2011, 3). A few days before the elections, the tension increased more with Erdogan's remark that he would hang Ocalan if he was the prime minister in 1999 and that there will be no improvement in the PKK leader's imprisonment conditions (Haber 5 2011). In addition, the arrest of KCK[72] (*Koma Civaken Kurdistan*, Group of Communities in Kurdistan) members and the Supreme Electoral Council's decision to drop Hatip Dicle's, a parliamentarian from pro-Kurdish Peace and Democracy Party (PDP), deputyship cut the

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[72] KCK functions as a congress of PKK and it involves political and military wings of all PKK-related Kurdish groups in Iran, Syria and Iraq. The organization supports Ocalan's political ideology "democratic autonomy/confederalism." Between April 2009 and October 2010, around 1800 KCK members were arrested and accused of infringement on the unity of the state, being a member of terrorist organization and aiding and abetting a terrorist organization (Durukan 2010).

negotiation between the government and the Kurdish political movement in the pre- and post-election period.[73]

As a result of these developments, in the post-election period aggressive discourse became dominant on both sides. PDP parliamentarians refused to take the swearing-in oath in the assembly to protest the Hatip Dicle decision and organized their group meetings in Diyarbakir which increased fear in the Turkish public that the PDP members were trying to create a parallel assembly and conditions for autonomy. On the other hand, the level of violence significantly increased and in the first three months after the elections sixty-two Turkish security forces and a hundred-and-seventy PKK militants were killed in the conflicts. In 2011, when Erdogan constantly stated that there is no Kurdish issue but there are "problems of my Kurdish brothers" and kept the PKK and PDP out of the reform process (Aksam 2011), the latter group criticized the Prime Minister for doing everything himself and not taking major steps such as constitutional change on the identity of the state, removal of laws showing every activity as a terror act, start of the two-language education system in state schools, the improvement of Ocalan's imprisonment conditions, etc.

Nevertheless, all these developments can be read as efforts to improve the bargaining power at the table. In the end, both the JDP and PDP were sharing the Kurdish votes almost equally and there was an electoral rivalry between these groups. Damaging

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[73] Article 76 of the Constitution states that a person who has been sentenced to a prison term totaling one year or more because of involvement in acts of terrorism, or incitement and encouragement of such activities shall not be elected as a deputy. On June 9, three days before the elections, Dicle was sentenced to one year and eight months in prison for making propaganda for the terrorist organization (NTV 2011a).

the other side without totally eliminating it may offer electoral gains. The government

was aware of the fact that they needed the support of the Turkish public to continue the

Democratic Opening process and some activist language may be necessary to prevent

harsher reactions. The PKK/PDP, on the other hand, knew that the majority of Kurds

were not pro-independence and their presence in the Turkish parliament was sine qua non

to realize their demands. Therefore, at the beginning of October 2011, the PDP

parliamentarians took their oath in the parliament and a new process of negotiation

between the government and the Kurdish movement publicly started in March 2013.

At the beginning of 2013, the government and the Kurdish movement agreed to a

three-stage plan for the "solution process." The first stage is the silencing of weapons and

the withdrawal of the PKK forces from the Turkish lands. For this purpose, during the

Nowruz (New Year Feast) celebrations on March 21, Pervin Buldan, the deputy chairman

of the PDP, read Abdullah Ocalan's message in Kurdish. In the message Ocalan

announced that the process of democratic politics had started and asked for the

withdrawal of PKK forces out of the border (BBC Turkce 2013). As a result, on March

23 the PKK declared a ceasefire and announced that the withdrawal will start as soon as

possible. Around the same day, Erdogan gave the PKK members a guarantee that during

the withdrawal there will be no attacks on the militants.[74] The second and third stages

after the withdrawal involved the management of the process and normalization which

point to cultural, social and political reforms as well as the integration of the PKK

members into society.

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[74] Erdogan also pointed out that they will not allow any political show like Habur (Berberoglu 2013).

In the next step, the government formed the "Group of Wise People," a group of sixty-three individuals composed of authors, artists, academics and representatives of NGOs. These individuals are separated in seven groups (nine in each group) to learn about public opinion on the Kurdish issue in seven geographical regions in Turkey. The formation of this group shows the dialogue between the government and Ocalan since it was Ocalan's idea. He was aware that the government may have a problem with taking the PKK or himself as a partner at the negotiation table (Kapmaz 2011, 441). In two months, the "Wise People" met with over sixty-thousand people and organized three hundred meetings and presented their report on the solution process to Erdogan in June.

Nevertheless, once again the process was damaged by the lack of trust between the government and the Kurdish movement. Erdogan stated that the second stage did not start since the PKK did not keep its promises and only twenty percent of its forces, mostly women and children, left Turkey (Bektas 2013) whereas PDP co-leader Selahattin Demirtas claimed that eighty percent of the forces left their position and were moving to the borders and that the state should not wait for the withdrawal of the last PKK militant to initiate reforms (Turk and Bulut 2013). While the political struggle between the JDP and the Kurdish movement was ongoing and both sides tried to be the main representative of the Kurdish citizens, at the end of September the Prime Minister announced the "Democracy Package" which involved those propositions on Kurdish political and social rights: (i) change of the election threshold;[75] (ii) state aid to the political parties which get

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[75] The existing election threshold keeps the political parties out of the parliament if they get less than ten percent of all votes. This rule keeps the pro-Kurdish political parties out of the parliament since they receive six-seven percent of all votes on average. As a tactic to pass this rule, Kurdish politicians enter the

more than three percent of all votes in the elections; (iii) allowance of co-leadership in the political parties; (iv) allowance of political propaganda in non-Turkish languages (Kurdish, in other words); (v) increase of the punishment for hate crimes; (vi) removal of the laws which forbid the usage of q,w,x which are present in the Kurdish alphabet but not in Turkish; (vii) education with native language in non-state schools; (viii) the removal of the student oath in elementary schools;[76] (ix) the change of the village names to their original version (Radikal 2013b).

It is not surprising that the Kurdish political movement, which demands the emphasis on the Kurdish identity in the constitution, the Kurdish education in state schools, and amnesty for the PKK members, especially for Abdullah Ocalan, found the package unsatisfactory for Kurdish political and social rights. Indeed, Demirtas argued that the democracy package does not contribute to the solution process since the government did not seek the views of the Kurds – he meant the views of Ocalan, PKK and the PDP (Balikci 2013). While it is true that the package alone is far from an end to the Kurdish issue, it is important to note that the package is only the first step of the reforms as the JDP highlighted and the government needed to balance the concerns of the Turks and the Kurds at the same time since any radical move may cost the government

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elections as independent candidates and form a group in the parliament after being elected. In the democracy package, Erdogan offered three alternatives on the election threshold: (i) keeping the existing threshold; (ii) regional election system with five percent threshold; (iii) regional election system with no threshold.

[76] In elementary schools, students started the day with the following recitations originally written in 1933: "I am a Turk, hardworking and true/My principal is to protect those younger than myself, to respect those older than myself, to love my country and my nation more than myself/My ideal is to rise higher and to move forward/O Great Ataturk! I take an oath to walk unceasingly, along the path you have opened, toward the goal you have shown/May my existence be a gift to the Turkish existence/How happy is the one who says 'I am a Turk'" (quoted from Yilmaz 2013, 203).

the votes of Turkish nationalists and the process may collapse. Here it is important to note that in the post-2007 period a reform and dialogue process has started and the civilians took the initiatives on the Kurdish issue which was owned by the military for decades. Although this development does not guarantee peace, today the Kurdish issue can be discussed in the parliament and the media and it is not taboo anymore as it was in the 1980s and 1990s.

In the post-2007 period the military became a reluctant observer of the JDP's Kurdish policies although some hawkish generals such as Ilker Basbug and Isik Kosaner occupied the seat of the CGS. The main reason for the military's passive position throughout this period was the growing power of the JDP after the presidential crisis in 2007 and the Ergenekon investigation which led to the arrests of hundreds of military officers. As Brig. Gen. (ret.) Haldun Solmazturk observed, the military was "in the condition of being suppressed. An army, which could not react against the arrest of several of its members, will not show a reaction to anything" and they could not oppose the JDP's Kurdish policies in this condition (ICG 2013, 12).

In this period, the military did not directly oppose the JDP's Kurdish policies yet they did not refrain from making their red lines public in some instances. For example, in August 2009 when the Democratic Opening process was started by Besir Atalay, Gen. Ilker Basbug made a Victory Day speech which showed the position of the military towards the process. In the speech, Basbug stated that Turkish Armed Forces (i) does not accept any move that damages the nation- and unitary-state; (ii) is respectful of cultural

differences yet does not accept the politicization of these differences; (iii) will not be involved in any activity that leads to interaction with the terrorist organization and its supporters; (iv) does not accept the clemency for terrorist organizations, which violates the basic right to live of those living in a democracy; (v) believes in caution in choosing methods; (vi) believes that freedom of speech should not involve subjects that may lead to polarization, conflict, and risks against the well-being of the state (NTV 2009). Yet, this speech which involved messages to the government, the PDP and the process, did not create any significant tension between the institutions and the government continued the process which temporarily stopped not with the military warning but with the Habur event.

During the same period, Gen. Hasan Aksay, the newly-appointed Commander of the Air Force, also stated that the fight against terrorism would last "until the last terrorist dies." Yet, unlike the governments in the 1990s, the JDP did not remain silent toward the militarist discourse of the officers and without giving the general's name, Bulent Arinc, the Deputy Prime Minister, criticized his remarks by stressing, "You can be deterrent with bombs. But the terror did not end with weapons and bombing alone. Terror is the result. We need to remove the reasons that create the result" (Berberoglu 2009). The important point in this reply is the emphasis on the causation which indirectly criticizes the former governments and the military for following rejectionist and military policies and leading to the creation of the PKK. Another point is that the government recognizes that military measures will not be the sole policy to end the conflict and it would follow political, social and economic measures to remove the causes that lead to terror.

During the tenure of Basbug as the CGS between 2008 and 2010, the government

and the military did not come into direct confrontation but there were some important

differences in their understanding of the problem. First, while the government saw the

terror as a result of militarist policies of the past and Erdogan publicly apologized for the

Dersim massacre (Milliyet 2011),[77] Basbug (2011, 55) did not believe that the Turkish

state followed assimilationist policies towards the Kurds in the past and he defined the

state policies as integrationist. According to the general, there was a terrorism problem

and its basic causes were the underdevelopment of socio-economic conditions and a poor

education system within the region (Efegil 2011, 34). Second, when the government

representatives broke some taboos and uttered the word "Kurdistan" (Haberturk 2009),[78]

Basbug did not use this term even for the Kurdish region in north Iraq.[79] Despite being

rhetorical, this difference shows how the actors in Turkey approach the ethnic

communities and their values.

Third, officials started a dialogue with Ocalan and the PKK and argued the

possibility of change in Ocalan's intentions whereas Basbug was pessimistic about the

PKK leader and he regarded Ocalan's orders of withdrawal of PKK forces out of the

country as a tactic of the organization to reverse its diminishing power. According to

Basbug, the state does not negotiate with terrorists in democracies since negotiation

[77] "It is important to note that in this apology the main target was Ismet Inonu and the RPP, the ruling party in 1937 and the main opposition party in 2011. Yet, a state apology for the massacre was welcomed by the Kurds.

[78] Erdogan claimed that even Mustafa Kemal used this term in the First Assembly and asked if he is separatist too (Radikal 2013c).

[79] Instead the CGS preferred the term "North of Iraq" not to emphasize the Kurdish identity of the region. Journalist Cengiz Candar notes that in his two-and-a-half hour meeting with the CGS in September 2008, the general did not pronounce the term "Kurd" even one time although the subject was the Kurdish issue (Candar 2012, 32).

means the acceptance of the political aims of the organizations and the public cannot accept this situation (Basbug 2011, 160). Finally, this pessimism on the "nature of the enemy" also showed itself on Basbug's resistance to collective rights towards the Kurds and he argued that any constitutional change that allowed the recognition of Kurdish identity would be the first step toward an independent Kurdish state. Basbug also opposed Kurdish education in state schools for the same reason and believed any concession would be followed by others and it cannot be controlled after that (Elekdag 2011).

In August 2010, Basbug passed the seat of the CGS to Gen. Isik Kosaner, and during the handover ceremony, Basbug highlighted that the fight against PKK terrorism was well-implemented until 1999 but it increased again after 2004. According to Cemal (2011, 224-26), this was an indirect criticism to Erdogan government and the EU, since in 2003 and 2004 the government adopted some reforms in line with EU demands. The new CGS Gen. Kosaner also shared the concerns of Basbug, but during his tenure his priority was the Ergenekon trials which, he believed, decreased the prestige of the Turkish Armed Forces. In this period, one of a few reactions on the Kurdish issue came in December 2010, when the military made a statement that they followed the discussion on the two-language system anxiously and the military will keep being a party in protecting the nation-, unitary- and secular-state (NTV 2010). Yet, this announcement, which may have led to a crisis in the 1990s, again did not cause any crisis. Later, in July 2011, Kosaner and the Commanders of the Army, Navy and Air Force resigned because of the disagreement on the Ergenekon trials. Gen. Necdet Ozel, the Commander of Gendarmerie, did not resign with his counterparts and he assumed the post of the CGS

after a week. Since this date, the military and the government have not publicly clashed on the Kurdish issue.

3.3 Conclusion

Historical institutionalism manages to explain military control of Turkish politics over decades. Military control of Turkish politics started when the soldier-politicians and the military dominated the political decision-making structure during the state-building process. In the 1950s civilian politicians came to power after the multi-party system was introduced but this period did not last long as the military as an institution started controlling politics with the military coup of 1960. After this first experience, each military interference in 1971, 1980 and 1997 strengthened the military's dominance in politics. In this political structure, civilians could rarely follow their policy preferences if they contradicted with the military's preferences, especially on Kurdish and secularism issues. As historical institutionalism predicts, once military control of politics was established during the state-building period it was difficult to reverse it in the following decades. The JDP government succeeded in breaking the military control of politics in 2007 but it is difficult to claim that military control of politics will not take place again in the future because of Turkey's minimal experience with real democracy.

Historical institutionalism also explains the stickiness of militarist policies against the Kurds over time. During the state-building process, the ruling-elite, composed of soldier-politicians, adopted militarist measures to suppress the Kurdish rebellions and we see that starting with the 1960 military coup, the military as an institution followed the

same policies to suppress Kurdish political activities until 1980 and the PKK insurgency after its first attack in 1984. The military officers rejected Kurdish identity and Kurdish language for a long time as the founding fathers did, and after these policies became impossible to pursue, they still objected to any political and cultural reforms in Turkey; they used PKK terrorism as an excuse. In this process, although civilian politicians attempted to solve the problem through different means, they could not breach the traditional state policies and military's control over the security issues and for different reasons, they adopted the military measures as a single way to end the Kurdish issue. This persistence of the security policies makes 'path dependence' an important concept for explaining Turkey's Kurdish policies Especially when violence breeds more violence between the state and the PKK, transforming the traditional state policies was a difficult task for the civilian politicians and all of them failed. Even Turgut Ozal, who had radical proposals during his presidency, could not reverse these policy preferences and after his death, security measures became the dominant policies in political decision-making. Although the Erdogan government brought moderation on the Kurdish issue after ending military control, it is again too early to talk about a permanent peace between the government and the Kurdish groups.

Consistent with military activism, it is also clear that the military officers were more inclined to use force to solve the ethnic problem in Turkey. Although there were some civilians who equally advocated the use of force and sometimes they were even more radical, the military officers were more homogenous in advocating military measures and objecting to cultural and political reforms. The two arguments of military

activism theory – organizational interests and the military mindset – have explanatory power for the Turkish soldiers' preference for military measures. First, organizational interests can explain the position of the Turkish military in the sense that the military as an institution gained important benefits during the PKK violence although they wished for the end of the conflict. The military officers controlled the political and security structure through the Kurdish conflict; they improved the military ammunition and weaponry;[80] and, developed new strategies to fight against the guerillas. Turkish experience with the PKK conflict made it one of the most powerful armies in the region, although it is unlikely that the generals deliberately pushed it for this purpose.

Secondly, and more important, military mindset played an important role in the officers' preference for military measures. In examining the Turkish military mindset, it is necessary to start with the institutional ideology. As soon as they entered into the military schools, Turkish soldiers were educated to protect the Kemalist values and fight against two domestic threats: Kurdish separatism and fundamentalist Islam. In Turkey the military is not a place in which the cadets are educated only militarily but also ideologically. As he should protect the country from external threats and know the art of war, a soldier is expected to be full of love of country and nation; not to accept any ideology other than Kemalist principles; and to detect and fight against separatist and fundamentalist movements (Birand 1986, 60). As a result, although there is nothing preventing a Kurd from becoming a military officer, even the CGS, those who do not

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[80] For instance, during the intense conflict at the beginning of 1990s, the military bought Cobra helicopters as well as M-60 and Leopard-1 tanks from the Western countries (Bila 2007, 41-42, 47-48).

adopt Kemalist ideology could not raise to the higher ranks during their military career. In the Turkish military soldiers socialize with others who share the Kemalist ideology and the military enlists those who think that protection of the Kemalist identity of the state is a fundamental task of the military. This institutional ideology significantly affected the soldiers' mindset and their preferences on the Kurdish issue.

The general characteristics of the military mindset, in the way military activism shows, also explain the Turkish Armed Forces' preference for addressing the Kurdish issue with the use of force and its reluctance to implement cultural and political reforms. According to the Turkish generals, any concession to the Kurds would lead to the formation of an independent Kurdish state and division of the territory because soldiers tend to have a pessimistic worldview on the intentions of others. In keeping with Huntington's emphasis that between good and evil, the military ethic emphasizes evil, Turkish soldiers believe that the PKK's rhetoric after 1993, which underlines cultural and political rights rather than an independent Kurdish state, is only a deception. According to this mindset, recognizing cultural rights such as Kurdish education and broadcasting or political negotiations only prolongs the existing problem. Turkish soldiers seem to believe that if they put an end to the PKK problem they could impose their conditions on the Kurds, although this strategy did not work when Kurdish rebellions in the early republic were successfully repressed. When one takes into consideration that the majority of Kurds did not want to form an independent Kurdish state, it seems that the Turkish military exaggerated the PKK problem and saw the efficiency of the use of force in an optimistic way.

Military conservatism explains little about Turkey's Kurdish policy. During the PKK conflict, there were mainly two politicians that can be classified as militarist: Tansu Ciller and Abdullah Turkes. Turkes was a retired officer and he was in the military junta in the 1960 coup. He did not assume any key government post but remained as an opposition leader in this period and his activism was ideological rather than resulting from political ambitions as military conservatism predicts. On the other hand, Ciller was an ambitious leader who would do anything to remain in power. She followed militarist policy because she believed that it would give her the support of the military and public to keep her in power. Yet, if one takes into consideration that Ciller started her tenure with proposals of cultural and political reforms and she changed her discourse only after her proposals were opposed by all political actors, we could not rely mainly on the theory of military conservatism to explain her preferences.

Chapter 4

MILITARY PARTICIPATION AND THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

Contrary to Turkey where the military controlled political decision-making

through the governmental and constitutional framework and, as we will see, Pakistan,

where the military officers directly ruled the country several times in its short history, an

analysis of the Israel Defense Forces' (IDF) influence on politics is quite a challenge.

This challenge is based on two facts. On the one hand, despite being surrounded by

hostile states and being in a constant 'state in war', Israel has never witnessed a military

coup or interference; therefore, it has been a case disapproving Lasswell's (1941)

'garrison state theory,' which argues that the external threat environment may lead to

dictatorial authority of soldiers.[81] On the other, comparing to democratic countries, the

IDF's influence on political decision-making is quite significant. The military officers

have always played an important role in shaping the political decisions; they have served

as Prime Minister, Defense Minister and taken other key government posts after

retirement, and they have formed close relations with Israeli society.

This dual situation has always been an interesting topic to analyze for scholars

who are interested in civilian control of the military and military influence in Israeli

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[81] On the other hand, it seems that Israeli case fits to Desch's (1999) 'threat environment' theory arguing that civilian control of the military is easier when the threat is mainly external.

politics. In the literature, a group of scholars approach the high military influence in Israeli politics in a positive way and, by focusing on the lack of a military coup, praise the Israeli political system for protecting its democratic nature despite of negative conditions. For instance, Dan Horowitz (1982) and Moshe Lissak (1998) reject the label of 'garrison state' for Israel because of its "civilianized military in a partially militarized society" and argue that Israel's partial militarization does not negate the fact that civilian democratic control of the IDF is sound. Amos Perlmutter (1969) holds the same line by pointing out that rather than being an obstacle to democracy, both the organizational autonomy of the army and its role expansion at the institutional and societal levels are important elements that guarantee the subordination of the military to civilian institutions and structures. The emphasis made by these scholars is that whatever the disagreements between the civilian and military echelons are or however effective the military is in the political decision-making, the last word always belongs to the civilian governments.

In recent decades, however, a critical school has emerged in the literature and its proponents criticize the civilian control of the military and military-society relations from different perspectives. Yoram Peri (2002; 2006), for instance, defines Israeli politics as a "political-military partnership" as Perlmutter does, but different from the latter he argues that the growing autonomy of the military in security issues is problematic in the sense that it makes the civilians reluctant to get involved in the decision-making process on these critical issues. Kobi Michael (2007b), similarly, emphasizes that since the civilian echelon in Israel is dependent on the knowledge and systematic staff work of the military, the IDF became the "epistemic authority" on security issues, a situation that affects both

civilian control of the military and military-society relations. On the other hand, Eva

Etzioni-Halevy (1996) criticizes the blurring line between political and military elites,

especially the latter's easily parachuting into the political arena after retirement, by

claiming that this situation, which involves rational relations and mutual benefits for both

sides, detracts from the quality of Israeli democracy although does not destroy it. Finally,

there are some scholars who focus on the militaristic values and norms within Israeli

politics and society and how they shape Israel's relations with the external world,

especially with the Arabs, in the negative way (Kimmerling 1993, Ben-Eliezer 1998).

Even this brief literature review shows that analyzing the IDF's influence on

political decision-making necessitates careful evaluation. Although we cannot talk about

military rule as in Pakistan or military control as in Turkey, it is difficult to ignore the

extensive IDF influence on Israeli politics and society. In this chapter, I will analyze the

historical foundations of this influence, which I term as military participation, by

focusing on three variables: civilian control of the military, soldier-politicians, and

military-society relations. Following this, I offer examples that will show how the

military officers played a significant, yet auxiliary, role in shaping Israel's Arab policy

during the state-building period.

4.1 Military Participation in the Israeli State-Building Period

4.1.1. Civilian Control of the Israeli Military in the State-Building Period

For several centuries, Jews had frosty relations with military institutions and the

use of force. Although they were the victims of numerous pogroms, expulsion,

humiliation and threats of extinction throughout their long history in the Diaspora, they refrained from adopting counter-violence and forming military structures mainly because of their religious and cultural belief which saw the suffering and exile as "a sense of atonement" and rejected making radical changes in the circumstances through the use of force (Luz 1998, 57-59).[82] At the end of nineteenth century, this situation started changing with the establishment of defensive Jewish gangs in Russia, under the wings of the *Poale Zion* (Workers of Zion) party, after the pogroms following the assassination of Czar Alexander II in 1881 (Bowden 1976, 2). These pogroms, as well as the Kishinev pogrom of 1903 and pogroms formed after the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, led to an additional development by initiating a series of *aliyah*s, which refers to Jewish immigration from the Diaspora to Palestine, or Eretz Israel in Hebrew. The first Jewish military establishments in this area were the result of these two phenomena.

As soon as Jews moved to the region, tension formed between them and the Palestinian Arabs. Rather than being nationalistic, the first conflicts were the result of land disputes and it took place between small gangs rather than big groups. By imitating its predecessors in Russia the Jewish settlers first founded Bar Giora (named after a leader in the Great Revolt against the Romans) in 1907, and then HaShomer (the Guard/Watchman) in 1909, for defensive purposes - to protect the settlements. Although these groups were small, defensive and dressed like Arabs – therefore without having nationalist symbols, they were important in being "the first to take the military road not

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[82] Some right-wing Israeli politicians disagree with this argument. For instance, Benjamin Netanyahu (2000, 26) argues that even centuries after the Roman destruction of Jerusalem, in 614 the Jews were "still fighting for independence, raising an army that joined the Persians in seizing Jerusalem and ousting the Byzantines from Palestine."

merely as a means to a military end but with the explicit goal of shedding the supposed characteristics of the Wandering Jew, replacing him with a new, hardy, and courageous type who would take up arms in defense of himself, his settlement, and his country" (van Creveld 1998, 17).

The next chain in the transformation of the Israeli military establishment from local gangs to a national army was the Haganah (Defense) which was formed in 1920. Rather than an army, the Haganah was a loose federation of local Jewish militia groups operating in Palestine under the British Mandate. Haganah was headed by the Jewish Agency and Histadrut (General Federation of Laborers in the Land of Israel) and in its early years it followed a policy of *havlaga* (restraint) against both Britain and Arabs. As a result, it developed a semi-legal status in the eyes of the British Authority and helped the latter to provide order in the area. Yet, not all groups were satisfied with this policy and soon divergences emerged within the Yishuv (Jewish community).

First, in 1931, those who were called Revisionists and who advocated a more offensive policy against the Arabs split from the Haganah and formed Irgun, which is also known as Haganah B, National Military Organization, and Etzel. This organization was led by Zeev Jabotinsky who was famous for his essay called *The Iron Wall*. In this essay, Jabotinsky argued that unlike the wishes of the Jewish Agency, the voluntary agreement between the Jews and Arabs to live together was impossible since "[t]he native populations, civilized or uncivilized, have always stubbornly resisted the colonists, irrespective of whether they were civilized or savage." Since Arabs were not different in

this sense and they would object to the Jewish settlements and immigration, the only way to survive was to use force and follow a policy of separation which puts the native population, the Arabs, behind an iron wall that they cannot breach (Jabotinksy 2014). By attacking the Arabs and not recognizing the authority of the Jewish political organizations, Irgun represented the first division in the Yishuv.

Further polarization within the Jewish military establishment came with Jabotinsky's death in August 1940, and those, led by Abraham Stern, who favored more offensive policies against the British Mandate founded Lehi (Israel's Freedom Fighters). Although this group was smaller even than Irgun and composed only a few hundred fighters, its terrorist attacks against the British Mandate, according to the Jewish leadership, harmed Jewish interests in the region. As a result of this polarization within the Yishuv, Jewish groups found themselves in a political and military struggle in the pre-independence era. The antagonism between the three groups was so severe that they attacked each other, burned other groups' vehicles, raided arsenals, and kidnapped and tortured the members of other groups (van Creveld 1998, 55-56). Especially in late 1944 and early 1945, the conflict was at its zenith as the Haganah initiated the infamous *saison*, or the hunting season, by arresting hundreds of Irgun and Lehi members and handing them over to the British authorities in order to protect its close relationship with the latter (Ben-Eliezer 1998, 115-28).

As previously mentioned, critical junctures are brief time periods during which new sets of rules and norms are formed. In these periods, several actors struggle to

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maximize their self-interests and try to shape institutions, norms and rules in accord to these interests. The Israeli state-building process, in this sense, can be counted as a perfect example of a critical juncture, better even than Turkey, because of the political and military diversity between several autonomous groups and their struggle with each other right after the establishment of the State of Israel was declared by David Ben-Gurion, the head of the Jewish Agency, on May 14, 1948. From the beginning, Ben-Gurion was aware of the fact that the power rivalry between the autonomous military groups had political implications and the result of this rivalry would shape the future of the state. He wanted to transform the Yishuv into *Mamlakhtiut* (statehood) and in his plans the private armies had to be terminated for the professionalization of the military units. The multiplicity of the military forces was contradicting with his "one front-one authority" policy (Ibid., 163). In addition, the leaders of these paramilitary groups – Menachem Begin (Irgun), Yitzhak Shamir (Lehi) and Yigal Allon (Palmach, a military unit in the Haganah) – presented a threat to his political leadership and to the consolidation of his political power, so Ben-Gurion declared an unofficial war against these groups.

Ben-Gurion was determined in the task to dissolve the private armies and he did not hesitate to use force against these groups if necessary. The first confrontation took place between Ben-Gurion and Irgun, led by now Menachem Begin, in June 1948 with the Altalena Affair. Although on June 2, Begin agreed to send Irgun members to the IDF, founded on May 26, an Irgun ship, *Altalena*, carrying a large quantity of arms caused problems between Ben-Gurion and Begin. Ben-Gurion demanded the guns to be handed

over to the IDF whereas the Irgun leader wanted to keep 20 percent of the arms for the

Irgun battalions in the military. Contradicting with his intention to monopolize the

authority, Ben-Gurion rejected Begin's demand and ordered the military to shell the ship

with the crew on board. The event ended with the loss of sixteen lives and the sinking of

the arms. Although the Altalena Affair had the potential to turn into a civil war, Begin did

not pursue this road[83] and Irgun was fully integrated into the IDF (Strober and Strober

2008, 85-89).

The dissolution of Lehi also had the potential to create conflicts when one takes

the violent-prone nature of the organization into consideration. Nevertheless, the Lehi

violence brought the end of this paramilitary group. On September 17, Count Folke

Bernadotte, a Swedish diplomat who worked in Israel as the United Nations (UN)

mediator, was killed by Lehi members because his proposal to resolve the conflict offered

a smaller Jewish state than the UN Resolution of November 1947 as well as granted Arab

refugees, who had fled their homes during the intense conflict between the Jews and the

Arabs since the announcement of the UN resolution, the right of return. Despite being

equally dissatisfied with the proposal, the Jewish government used this event to dissolve

Lehi by arresting its two-hundred members in a few days (van Creveld 1998, 89).

Already a small group, this event brought Lehi's end.

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[83] Begin had refrained from using force against "brothers" as a principle and prevented the danger of civil war even before the Altalena Affair. During the "saison" (hunting season) when the Haganah members arrested, tortured and handed the Irgun members to the British authorities from November 1944 to May 1945, he had shown restraint by stating: "You shall not raise your hands, nor use weapons, against young Jews. They are not to blame. They are our brothers. They are being deceived, misled…There shall not be a war of brothers" (Bar-Zohar 2013).

Finally, Ben-Gurion managed to integrate Haganah's elite military force, Palmach, into the IDF in November 1948. Palmach was founded in May 1941 and became the first full-time professional military unit of the Jewish military structure. Palmach's importance lies with its providing several officers who would serve within the IDF after independence including Moshe Dayan, Yitzhak Rabin, Yigal Allon and Chaim Bar-Lev. Although it functioned under the Jewish leadership, this military force was quite political because of its ideological devotion to the principles of socialism and the kibbutz movement which may have contradicted with the professional army in the post-independence period (Perlmutter 1969, 35-40). In comparison to Irgun and Lehi, Palmach's integration into the IDF took place in a smooth way, although several Palmach members left the army since they regarded the decision to dissolve the Palmach as a political decision to eliminate the power of Palmach and its leader Yigal Allon who played a significant role in the defeat of the Egyptians in Negev (Ibid., 52).

Therefore, Ben-Gurion managed to take several autonomous paramilitary units, with their politically-motivated leaders, under civilian control only six months after independence was declared. Integrating Palmach and Irgun into the IDF and dissolving Lehi did not only help Ben-Gurion to weaken his possible competitors for the leadership, it also prevented the danger of military rule in the conflict-prone post-independence period and provided for civilian control of the military. Aside from these rational reasons, nevertheless, we also need to take an ideological factor into consideration in order to understand Ben-Gurion's insistence on controlling the military groups. It is important to note that socialist-Zionism, the political ideology of Ben-Gurion and his party Mapai

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(Workers' Party of the Land of Israel), also emphasized civilian control of the military.

Socialist-Zionism was significantly affected by the spirit of the Russian revolution, and like there, the power-center in this ideology was the Party. All Mapai leaders shared the Marxist-Leninist approach that the Party should lead the society and all other institutions, including the military. As Yoram Peri (1983, 47) puts it, subordination and acquiescence to the Party was the rule in civil-military relations and "[t]he military appeared to the party leaders a potential challenger that must be contained, manipulated and controlled at all times in order to prevent a serious threat to the party monopoly of power." This understanding started during the times of HaShomer and party-military relations were shaped when the Yishuv gradually transformed into a nation and state. Indeed, the party leaders responded harshly when they believed this principle on party-military relations was violated. In early 1940, when Ben-Gurion adopted "militant Zionism" against Britain because the latter published Land Regulations which limited Jewish settlement in the region, two emissaries of the Haganah begged Ben-Gurion to stop the demonstrations which, they believed, would bring disaster. According to an eye-witness, even this "begging" was enough to frustrate Ben-Gurion: "He stormed at them like a flood of lava, upbraiding them for their timidity and their misguided comprehension of the political situation. He boiled with anger and concluded by declaring that the Zionist executive alone was responsible for implementing political policy, and it was up to the Haganah to obey or resign" (Bar-Zohar 2013).

Military subordination was one of the main principles of socialist-Zionism and it

is likely that if another ideology had dominated in 1948, for instance a right-wing party's

such as Irgun, there may have been another scenario for the civil-military relations. This

possibility makes that short-period from May to November 1948 important as a critical

juncture. With the establishment of the state, military subordination to the party turned

into subordination to the state and the IDF was designed as a state instrument which was

detached from the party pressures. Military subordination to the state was made clear by

Ben-Gurion with the following statement he made in October 1949 (quoted from Drory

2005b, 40):

> The army determines neither policy, nor the regime, the laws, or
> governmental proceedings in the state. The army does not even determine
> its own structure, its procedures, or type of operations. And of course it
> does not decide on matters of war or peace. The army is nothing but the
> executive arm, the defense and security arm, of the Government of Israel.

4.1.2 Military Participation in the Political Decision-Making

While military subordination to the state was relatively true, the military was

more than being "nothing but the executive arm." Indeed, the military and its officers

have been one of the main actors in Israeli political and societal life for several reasons

during the state-building period. First, the "need for security" necessitated active

participation of the officers in Israeli political life. Here, it is important to note that the

"need for security" in Israel's policy can be interpreted in two different ways. The

defensive security interpretation of Israel's policy, which was shared by the majority of

Israeli politicians and the security establishment in the state-building period, points out

that Israel is a small state surrounded by hostile Arab states which aim to wipe the

newborn Jewish state out of the Middle Eastern map. In his article published in *Foreign*

Affairs, for example, the CGS Maj. Gen. Moshe Dayan (1955, 250) stated, "There is no other state in the world community whose very right to existence is so persistently challenged by all its contiguous neighbors." This assumption of an existential threat was furnished by comparisons with the Holocaust and it was argued that if the Israeli state dropped its guard, its end would not be different from those Jews in the hands of Adolf Hitler. In a letter written to American President John F. Kennedy in 1963, Ben-Gurion emphasized this comparison by stating that the "liberation of Palestine" as demanded by the Arab states, meant the total destruction of the Israeli state or a new Holocaust but "the people of Israel are not in the hapless situation of the six million defenseless Jews who were wiped out by Nazi Germany" (Cohen 1998, 120). It is important to note that this interpretation justifies Israel's expansionism because of the external threat.

The offensive security interpretation, on the other hand, criticizes expansionism by arguing that despite being real the external threat was not as grave as Israeli politicians and officers argued. Gil Merom (1998) argues that in Israel "militarist thinking, military strategy, and IDF generals were vastly preferred to alternative political solutions, conflict resolution diplomacy, and foreign ministry diplomats" basically because of the self-created "siege mentality" which takes its root from "exaggerated perception of inferiority, threat and hostility." According to Merom, the threats Israel faces are not quite different from the threat environment of several states such as Finland, Lebanon, Turkey, Kuwait, etc. at some point in their history. In addition, some researchers claim that the Israeli founding fathers deliberately created this "siege mentality" to excuse their ambition for territory and state power. Livia Rokach (1982) argues that "security needs" and the "Arab

threat" were myths created by the Israeli state to engage in military confrontation against Arab states with the goal of "transforming the Zionist state into the major power in the Middle East." This argument is not baseless since even Ben-Gurion's official biography, written by Michael Bar-Zohar (2013), clearly shows that even after the armistice agreements were signed with Arab states following the 1948 Arab-Israeli War the "Old Man" had "liberating" more territory in two or three generations in mind. Therefore, according to the offensive security interpretation, the driving force of Israeli policy during the state-building period was expansionism, not an external threat.

Whether the driving force was an external threat or expansionism, the "need for security" necessitated the military officers' active participation in Israeli political decision-making during the state-building period. The political role of the military officers in this period significantly exceeded their counterparts in other countries. For instance, during the 1948 Arab-Israel war Moshe Dayan was the one who held secret meetings with King Abdullah of Transjordan to reach a peace agreement whereas Yitzhak Rabin experienced the first test of his diplomatic skills with the 1949 Armistice talks in Rhodes. Military officers also joined the discussions in political institutions. For example, during the 1948 Arab-Israeli War Dayan participated in meetings in Mapai's Central Committee and even addressed its members. Soldiers' participation in political decision-making did not bring harm to civilian control of the military; nevertheless, as will be explained later, it significantly affected the results of the political disagreements between politicians and officers found more opportunity to influence the political decisions in accordance with their preferences.

While military officers actively participated in the Israeli political decision-making structure during the state-building process it is important to note that, compared to the Turkish case, soldier-politicians did not play a significant role within the same period. The biographical information on the Knesset webpage gives important information about the participation of soldier-politicians in politics in the first two decades. For example, within the First Knesset (1949-1951) there were only three members – Israel Galili, Yizhar Harari, and Eliyahu Lankin (a member of Irgun) - who had command-level military careers.[84] None of these figures served as minister in the years between 1948 and 1967 and only Galili became cabinet member as minister without portfolio in 1967. Among these three only Harari served in the Second Knesset (1951-1955) while Shalom Zysman, a former major in the IDF and the deputy head of the Publicity Department, entered politics. The number of former military officers in politics rose within the Third Knesset (1955-1959) as Yigal Allon, Joseph Aharon Almogi, Yohanan Cohen, Israel Galili, Yizhar Harari and Aharon Remez – first Commander of Israeli Air Force – served as Knesset members without posts in the cabinet. The Fourth Knesset (1959-1961) introduced new former military officers such as Gideon Ben-Israel and Avraham Drori, but most importantly, Moshe Dayan as the Minister of Agriculture. Finally, in the Fifth Knesset (1961-1965), there was no major change and the same names such as Allon, Dayan, Galili, Harari, etc. took a seat in the Knesset without a major government post (Knesset 2014).

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[84] Here I exclude those who had short-term and insignificant military experience such as Moshe Sharett who joined the Turkish army and served in Macedonia and Syria or Shlomo Lavi who had joined the British Army during the Second World War at the age of 60.

While it is a fact that soldier-politicians did not play an active role in Israeli politics between 1948 and 1967, the military officers of this period became key figures of Israeli politics in the following decades. Dayan, as the most important military figure in the state-building process, served as Minister of Agriculture (1959-64), of Defense (1967-74) and of Foreign Affairs (1977-79). Yigael Yadin, the second CGS of the state (1949-52), formed the Democratic Movement of Change Party and served as Deputy Prime Minister between 1977 and 1981. More importantly, some military officers such as Yitzhak Rabin and Ariel Sharon even rose to the post of Prime Minister in the following decades. The importance of this period, therefore, lays in its seeding the roots of soldier's parachuting into politics. Nevertheless, during the state-building period the military officers played an active role in Israeli politics as long as they were within the military. It is also important to note that this active role did not have a decisive character because of the strong civilian control under the leadership of Ben-Gurion. As I will show later, their effect was mainly auxiliary in supporting Ben-Gurion's security policies against moderates within the Israeli political structure.

The second factor leading to military participation in Israeli politics in this period was the difficulties of the newborn state, which provided close relations between the military and society. The main difficulties of this period were immigration and settlement. According to the founding fathers, these two phenomena, which started with the pogroms in Imperial Russia, were critical since they believed that immigration and settlement would strengthen state security against the proportionally strong Arab population after independence. Nevertheless, the state's resources to meet the burden of

these tasks were limited, especially in the middle of the conflict with the Arabs. In addition to the excitement of the establishment of a Jewish state, the Holocaust in Europe and Arab-Israeli War in 1948 led successive waves of immigrants to the new state from Europe and other Middle Eastern states. According to the numbers given by Bar-Zohar (2013), who analyzed Ben-Gurion's notes in detail, the newborn country received 686,748 immigrants within the first four years, a heavy burden for a country which needed to spend an enormous portion of the budget for security. Moreover, these new immigrants did not have any common characteristics other than being Jewish and their integration within the new state necessitated significant work. Here, the army played an important role by carrying out non-military tasks in the areas of immigration, assimilation, education and settlement. Both Ben-Gurion and Dayan shared the belief that the army should play the pioneering role in the nation-building process. Even at the zenith of the War of Independence, Ben-Gurion emphasized that the army would be the center of creating Jewish unity and brotherhood among different people (quoted from Drory 2005b, 39):

> The single place in which youth from all walks of life without exception can meet is the army. Here are joined together workers and farmers' sons from the collective and cooperative settlements, high school students and students from schools of higher learning with youth from poor neighborhoods, and from all the communities the common people who do not know how to read or write. They are provided with a rare opportunity, unique in its kind, to join the seams of this patchwork quilt, to eradicate the deep differences and unite our public under conditions of equality, conditions which create unity and Jewish brotherhood.

For Ben-Gurion, the mission to unite all Israelis within the army was related to security. The need to become a nation was urgent and Israel did not have a hundred years

for this task since there was a fight on their doorstep: "There should be a desire to fight, and an ability to fight. In order to want to fight, there must be a nation, and we are not a nation" (Ben-Eliezer 1998, 195). To create a nation, the army should not have only defended against the enemy and defeated it, the soldiers were also needed to play the role of the "pioneers" and lead the people in a wide array of areas from education to agriculture. It is true that there were some in the IDF who believed that the army's involvement in non-security issues would damage its professionalization; yet, at the end Ben-Gurion was the prime decision-maker and his perception of the army was supported by Dayan who rejected the "non-educational call 'the country will not be built with weapons'." Dayan stressed the role of the army in shaping the nation by stating, "The paratroops, the pilots and the armored crews were fine examples of pioneering. They determined the country's borders, and in so doing contributed to the realization of its destiny and existence more than any other human gathering in Israel" (Pedatzur 1998, 154).

Similar to the founding father in Turkey, Israeli politicians during the state-building process were significantly affected by the concept of "nation-in-arms," albeit with the difference that their interests were based more on the security needs of the state rather than military education. The concerns for security and creating a nation were interlinked and required the militarization of society to fight and work for the nation at the same time. As a result, soldiers played a significant role in different non-military areas. For instance, the IDF became involved in the settlement tasks and following the foundation of the state "the establishment of conquest settlements" was put into action in

the borders areas. The Israeli military doctrine, Plan D (*Tochnit Daleth*), prepared by

Yigael Yadin and launched on March 10, 1948, suggested offensive actions such as the

destruction of Arab villages by fire, explosives and mining and in the event of resistance

destroying those who resist and expelling the local population from the state. The next

step after the demolition of Arab villages and expelling their populations was to replace

them with Jewish settlements which provided the function of fortified strong points for

the military, with their armed settlers. According to Kimmerling (2003, 24-25), this plan,

which seems a limited military doctrine, covered "far-reaching measures that would lead

to a complete demographic, ethnic, social and political transformation of Palestine from

an Arab land to a Jewish state." With the foundation of the Nahal (Fighting Pioneer

Youth) program in 1948, the military service and the task of establishing settlements

were combined furthermore and voluntary soldiers made their military service by

working in the development of settlements as a way of protecting the new lands against

Arab infiltrators.

In addition to the settlement policy which formed close relations between the

Jewish settlers and Israel's security establishment, the military also played an important

role in the education of the immigrants who had belonged to different nationalities before

1948 and helped to foster a new culture and inject a love of the country into the Israelis.

Female soldiers were mainly tasked with the education of the new immigrants in the

ma'abarot, the camps where the immigrants were housed in 1950s. In the ma'abarot, the

soldiers also assumed other responsibilities from dispensing medical aid to supplying

food and clothing, from maintenance work to laundry and communication. In sum, the

military was significantly involved in the daily life of society during the state-building process (Ben-Eliezer 1995, 272).

It is true that the use of the military in non-security issues may be seen as necessary in the Israeli state-building process because of the lack of resources and the urgency of security needs. As mentioned, even some well-known scholars on Israeli civil-military relations such as Horowitz, Lissak and Perlmutter see this role expansion as a positive development since involvement in civilian affairs, they argue, civilianizes the military and prevents the danger of praetorianism and military coup in Israel. Nevertheless, it was a risky policy because in a highly militarized and hostile geography such as Israel resides in, civilianizing the military by having it do non-military tasks may have reinforced the view that the military officers could have run the state as happened in Pakistan. Although Israel avoided this trap, as Ben-Eliezer (1998, 195) argues, militarism and peaetorianism are different concepts and while Israel did not experience a military coup, it has a highly militarized politics and society. "[T]he blurring of the boundaries between the army and society," Ben-Eliezer states, "attest to the society's militarization rather than the army's civilianization" and those scholars who supported the role expansion of the IDF "preferred to deal with the army's integrative role and to ignore its instrumental role as a means of organized violence." Indeed, the society's militarization obstructed several incentives of the Israeli politicians who wanted to solve the political problems with the Arabs and Palestinians without the use of force and eased the military solutions offered by some military officers and politicians.

Finally, a few words should be spared for David Ben-Gurion's personality as a

factor that lead to military participation in policymaking during this period. Although

being a civilian, the founding father was intensely interested in military affairs because of

his belief that the independence of the Jewish state would bring conflict between the Jews

and Arabs. When the War of Independence against the Arab states was on the horizon,

Ben-Gurion focused purely on military affairs and he spent most of his time reading and

analyzing the works of the military theorists, military handbooks and Haganah

publications. He became the sole military authority and made critical changes to the

Haganah command during the 1948 Arab-Israeli War as the CGS Yaakov Dori was

suffering from failing health and spent most of his time in sickbed. In some cases, his

involvement in purely military affairs created unrest among the professional soldiers; yet,

the soldiers, who generally admired and respected his ingenuity, obeyed Ben-Gurion's

orders; a situation which seeded the root of civilian control over the military in future

decades. What contributed to Ben-Gurion's authority over the soldiers were his relatively

accurate decisions on military issues even when the soldiers opposed his ideas. For

instance, in May 1948 when Ben-Gurion ordered the military to seize control of the

Jerusalem-Tel Aviv road by an assault with a large force, the entire Command, which

prioritized the threat from Egypt, opposed his position yet obeyed the orders. Although

the campaign resulted in two-hundred casualties, the victory in Jerusalem had important

political and social implications for the future of Israeli politics. Years later Yigael

Yadin, who was the Head of the Operations during the campaign and regarded it as a

catastrophe right after the event, approved the decision as well as underlined Ben-

Gurion's authority over the military during these years (quoted from Drory 2005b, 21):

> The final responsibility resided with Ben-Gurion and if, heaven forbid, I had been mistaken in my evaluation, and Jerusalem had fallen, it would not have helped him to say 'but Yadin told me such and such'. He who undertakes the final responsibility does so whatever the outcome.

Because of his interest in military issues, it is not surprising to see that Ben-Gurion's best confidant and assistant after independence was Moshe Dayan who had a similar worldview and ideology as the Old Man. Ben-Gurion had complete trust in Dayan and he furthered Dayan's career several times. Ben-Gurion appointed him to senior positions in the army though many opposed this move by claiming that Dayan was a "man of politics" in peacetime and he "might turn the General Staff into a political body." In his last act before retiring from leadership in 1953, Ben-Gurion appointed Dayan as the CGS, thereby maintaining his ability to affect the policies of moderate Prime Minister Moshe Sharett. Indeed, the disharmony and disagreements between Sharett, Dayan and Defense Minister Pinhas Lavon hastened Ben-Gurion's return to politics in 1955. After his second and final retirement as the Prime Minister in 1963 and his separation from Mapai, Ben-Gurion insistently asked Dayan to join his opposition party, Rafi (Israeli Workers' List); and finally, when the 1967 War was at close, Ben-Gurion gave his full support for Dayan's appointment as the Minister of Defense. According to Weitz, Ben-Gurion's trust in Dayan and other military officers such as Ariel Sharon was based on his admiration of the military heroes which separated him from Sharett and Levi Eshkol, the other two prime ministers during the state-building period (Weitz 2011, 857-58).

Likewise, Dayan appreciated his relationship with Ben-Gurion and the latter's mindset. In his memoirs, Dayan defines himself as an "enthusiastic 'Ben-Gurionist'" and admitted that he always admired Ben-Gurion's political wisdom. Dayan stated that when he was the CGS, he carried out Ben-Gurion's orders with an easy heart even when he considered the Old Man mistaken since in the end Ben-Gurion might well turn out to have been right. Nevertheless, the "ideological Ben-Gurionism" in Israeli was not similar to the Kemalism in Turkey. Although Israeli soldiers respected and appreciated Ben-Gurion's role in the foundation of the state, they did not equate his political personality with the state as the Turkish military did for Kemal Ataturk. Indeed, when Ben Gurion remained out of power between 1953 and 1955 and after 1963, some politicians wanted to call him back to power, it only worked in 1955 but in 1963 Dayan himself opposed this call since he believed that Ben-Gurion had an imperfect vision of the Israeli situation before the Six Day War (Dayan 1976, 348-49).

Although strong civilian control and high military influence in Israeli political decision-making resembles the conditions in the Turkish state-building process, the differences between the two political systems led to "military participation," rather than "military control," in Israel. First, the establishment of democratic norms and civilian control occurred differently in both countries. Unlike Israelis, Turks had a long history of military interference in politics in the pre-independence period. After the state was established, the founding fathers managed to control the military but their main priorities were to prevent the soldiers from cooperating with the opposition as well as creating a homogenized nation with the help of the military. From this perspective, the

establishment of democratic norms and rules was less of a concern than providing order

and security. Therefore, it was not surprising that after the founding fathers died or lost

their political power, the military reemerged as a political power. On the other hand, with

the lack of an independent state, Israel had no history of military interference and even in

the pre-independence period the politicians managed to control the Haganah. The

problem was to control the paramilitary organizations and the Jewish leadership

successfully dissolved these groups in the first six months after independence. In the

state-building period, Ben-Gurion involved the military officers in Israeli political

decision-making similarly to how Kemal Ataturk did for Turkish politics; nevertheless,

civilian control was frequently emphasized both by civilian leaders and military

officers.[85]

In addition, unlike their Turkish counterparts, the Israeli founding fathers did not

have military careers; in other words, they were pure civilians. Therefore, it was difficult

to form a special relationship between their legacies and the military as happened in

Turkey. Turkish soldiers saw themselves as the heirs to Ataturk and the other founding

fathers, but Israeli soldiers could not make the same claim given that the Israeli founding

fathers were civilians. As a result, even after the founding fathers left the political arena,

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[85] Muhareb (2011, 21-22) points out that a letter written by Ben-Gurion to then CGS Yigael Yadin on October 1949 and underlining civilian control of the military had been "ceaselessly reiterated and stressed within army circles, in officers' training, the Command and Staff College, and the National Security College whenever the relationship between the army and the political leadership is brought up." In this letter, Ben-Gurion states, "The army does not decide on matters of policies, the regime, laws, or the government's role in the state. As a matter of course, the army cannot even decide on its structure, regulations, and fields of action. The army does not decide on matter of war and peace…The government is responsible for the demarche of the army towards the elected representatives of the people in the Knesset, and the army is subordinated to the government in all matters, and is a mere executor of the political line and the orders it receives from the legislative and executive establishments: the Knesset and the government."

civilians continued to have the last word in Israeli political decision-making and the soldiers obeyed their orders albeit they influenced politics in different ways.

The involvement of soldier-politicians in the political system also shows some differences. Although retired soldiers easily "parachuted" into the Israeli political system in the first two decades, this involvement is not as intense as the case in Turkey between 1923 and 1938 and in Israel after 1967. During the Israeli state-building process, there was no soldier-politician who was the Prime Minister, Defense Minister (Dayan took this task in 1967), party leader or city head (Goldberg 2006). Nevertheless, during the state-building process a tradition was started and military officers retired at early ages, which pushed them to pursue civilian careers. Among Israel's military heads Yaakov Dori retired at the age of 50, Yigael Yadin at 35, Mordechai Maklef at 33, Moshe Dayan at 43, Haim Lakov at 42, Tvzi Tzur at 41, and finally Yitzhak Rabin retired in 1968 when he was 46. Soldiers who retired early and pursued civilian careers generally chose to enter into politics in which they had specific knowledge. Early retirement and the charm of the political world decreased the possibility of military control of Israeli politics in the early years. On the other hand, in the Turkish case, the presence of soldier-politicians in the top government posts was high during the state-building process though this was due to a lack of resources rather than the charm of the political world. Because of the historical culture, soldiery was holier than politics and the former was regarded as a full career. The significant drop in the number of soldier-politicians after the founding members died clearly reflects this fact.

Even at the society level, the difference between participation and control is evident as military-society relations evolved differently in both countries. Although both states attempted to create a new identity in their populations and applied the concept of "nation-in-arms," in Israel military-society relations were more solid than in Turkey. From the time Israel was founded, the political leaders found themselves in a hostile environment and mobilization and harmonization of the society became the main concern. The IDF and the new immigrants became integrated with each other in several ways from the settlement movements to the reservist system which kept Israeli citizens in a constant state of war with one month of military service every year until the age of fifty-five. Indeed, Yadin defined the Israeli citizens as soldiers "on eleven months annual leave" (Gal 1986, 39). This close relationship between the military and society gave the military democratic means to affect political decision-making without sacrificing democratic rules. During the state-building process in Turkey, on the other hand, all segments of society cooperated with the military mainly during the independence war. After the external threat was removed, the politicians focused on bringing order and stability and internal groups such as Islamists and Kurds were regarded as the main threat to the state. Therefore, homogenization rather than harmonization were given priority, which led to the intensification of conflicts between the state and some marginal groups. After clarifying these differences, now I will show how military participation in Israel affected Israel's Arab policies in the state-building period.

4.2 Military Participation and Israel's Arab Policy

4.2.1 The IDF and Ben-Gurion-Sharett Conflict in 1948-56

As previously stated, the emphasis on civilian control should not mislead one into ignoring the military's role in Israeli national security decision-making. Since the State of Israel was founded on May 14, 1948, the IDF has been one of the most important actors shaping Israel's Arab and Palestinian policies. The most notable indication of this fact is that from 1948 to 1966, the Arabs in Israel lived under the military government. During this period, the Israeli authorities were mainly guided by security and Jewish-Zionist considerations in their approach to the Arab minority, which numbered around 150,000. While security considerations saw the Israeli Arabs as a fifth column that would ease the Arab invasion when neighboring states attacked, the Jewish-Zionist considerations pointed to the Jewish character of the state, under which a large Arab minority posed a threat (Ghanem 2001, 18-19). As a result, Israeli Arabs were put under the military's watch. After the declaration of military government in 1948, some political groups, especially communist activists, objected to this decision and argued that the decision did not serve any military needs and was made due to political consideration. In addition, some politicians in the government such as Minister of Foreign Affairs Moshe Sharett, Minister of the Treasury Eliazar Kaplan and the Director General of the Foreign Ministry Walter Eitan warned that Israel should follow positive and affirmative policies towards its Arab citizens. Yet, Ben-Gurion and the security establishment objected to all efforts to cancel the military regime by pointing out its necessity in convincing the Arabs to move to neighboring Arab states and preventing the refugees' return to their villages (Gelber 2013, 72). In the end, Ben-Gurion's preference triumphed and the military controlled the

lives of Israeli Arabs until 1966.

Nevertheless, more important than this institutional role, the military officers played a critical role in shaping the state policies towards neighboring Arab countries. During the first twenty years, Palestinians did not take the leading role in resisting Israeli rule since they expected the Arab states to fight against the Israeli state and save them from the occupation. Therefore, ethnic conflict between the Jews and the Arabs in these years took place as an international conflict rather than a domestic one. Although it is generally assumed that against this external Arab threat Israeli political decision-making was united under the leadership of David Ben-Gurion between 1948 and 1963, recent analyses of this period, especially after Moshe Sharett's personal diary was published by his son in 1978, show that on security policy there were significant differences and conflicts in this period among the politicians, who can be divided into two groups: "school of retaliation" headed by Ben-Gurion and "school of negotiation" led by Sharett (Shlaim 1983, 200). In the conflict between these two groups, the military officers openly supported Ben-Gurion's "school of retaliation" and analyzing how they affected the balance between these two groups is critical to understanding military influence in politics and its limitations as well as the politicization of the military officers. Below I will show the differences between Ben-Gurion/IDF and Sharett/Foreign Ministry on two topics: territorial expansion and reprisal policy as the main forms of use of force in the first eight years of the state.

Territorial Expansion

Since the foundation of the state, each school of thought has had different assumptions about the necessity of enlarging Israeli territory in order to provide effective security. In the pre-independence period Ben-Gurion held the belief that Jewish-Arab peace and cooperation is possible only once the Jewish people demonstrated their will and power to establish and defend their state (Shalom 2002, 34). However, after the War of Independence in 1948 he abandoned this optimistic evaluation and stressed that the Israeli state stood against a threat to its existence and that a 'second round' of war between Israel and Arab states was inevitable. According to him, the problem between Israel and its neighbors was neither a border nor a refugee problem, who numbered 750,000 at the end of the war, but "a problem of physical existence;" therefore, he believed, the problem could be solved, on the part of the Arabs, only with the removal of Israel from the "map of the Earth" (Pedatzur 1998, 145-46). With this realist worldview, Ben-Gurion gave special attention to Israel's lack of territorial-depth. He wanted to keep open the option of changing the territorial status-quo and, for this reason, he opposed specifying the boundaries of the state in the Proclamation of Independence; he was of the belief that the state should not bind itself to a certain territory in case of Arab aggression (Bar-Zohar 2013).[86] Ben-Gurion was aware of the fact that territorial expansion had little efficiency because even if the Jewish state had ideal borders, it would be a small state in a vast ocean of Arab lands and its population would always be the minority in the region (Shalom 2002, 14). Yet, this evaluation which can be explained by two terms, *i katan be-toch yam arvi* (a small island in an Arab sea) and *meatim mul rabbim* (the few against the

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[86] Morris (2004, 15) argues that Ben-Gurion accepted the partition of Palestine lands in May 1948 without leaving his commitment to Jewish sovereignty in all Palestine as an ultimate Zionist goal.

many), strengthened the inevitability of war, which was expressed with the concept of *en brera* (no choice; there is no alternative), and made territorial expansion necessary when an opportunity arises (van Creveld 1998, 125-26).

Indeed, in several instances Ben-Gurion did not hide his intention to extend Israel's borders. For instance, after King Abdullah of Transjordan was assassinated in 1951, Ben-Gurion proposed the occupation of the West Bank, especially if Iraq invaded Jordan (Sheffer 1996, 594; Shindler 2013, 105). Later in March 1954, when he was not in the Cabinet, Ben-Gurion demanded the occupation of Jordanian territory and threatened to leave the Mapai party leadership if his demand was rejected after an Arab ambush cost the lives of eleven civilians at Scorpion's Pass in the Negev desert (Giladi 1992, 62). A month after he returned to the Cabinet as the Defense Minister in 1955, Ben-Gurion first authorized the infamous Gaza raid, called Operation Black Arrow, during which thirty-eight Egyptian soldiers were killed and then proposed the annulment of the armistice regime, renewal of the war with Egypt, and occupation of the Gaza Strip while the Arab world was divided and Egypt had not yet signed an agreement with the United States or Britain (Rokach 1982, 50-51). Nevertheless, it is important to note that Ben-Gurion supported territorial expansion for security reasons and pushed it when an opportunity arose. As will be pointed out in the next chapter, although his arguments were repeated by right-wing politicians during the intifadas, his support for territorial expansion was less aggressive than those politicians who claimed all lands in Eretz Israel for nationalist and ideological reasons. Ben-Gurion's demand for territorial expansion was mainly based on the belief that the Arabs would make peace with Israel to gain their lost territory back;

a rational argument which influenced left-wing politicians during the intifadas.

Although his reasoning was rational, all these efforts by Ben-Gurion for territorial expansion were enough to frustrate Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett. He was equally worried about Israel's security and had no intention of accepting the Arab demand of withdrawal to the borders drawn by UN Resolution 181 of November 1947, but Sharett objected to a new war to complete the territorial achievement of the War of Independence. He had several reasons for his objection. First, he claimed that the war in 1948 had been imposed on the Israelis and Arab aggression provided complete dedication of the Yishuv and Diaspora as well as support from big powers. Sharett was worried that a "war of choice" would put the Israel in a complex political and economic situation without the dedication of Israelis and support from the major powers (Sheffer 1996, 733-34). Second, Sharett questioned the logic of territorial expansion because he believed that new lands would exacerbate the refugee problem in Israel. Similar to Ben-Gurion, he did not want the return of Arab refugees into Israel and criticized the Arab states for not settling these refugees in their own lands; yet, he equally opposed a further expulsion of the Arabs from Israel or new population movement with territorial conquests. According to him, new military adventures would deteriorate the refugee problem in particular and Arab-Israel hostility in general. For example, when Ben-Gurion offered the abolition of the armistice agreement with Egypt and the conquest of the Gaza Strip, Sharett pointed out that this plan would cause domestic and international problems (quoted from Rokach 1982, 44):

Let us assume that there are 200,000 Arabs in the Gaza Strip. Let us assume that half of them will run or will be made to run to the Hebron Hills. Obviously they will run away without anything and shortly after they establish for themselves some stable environment, they will become again a riotous and homeless mob. It is easy to imagine the outrage and hate and bitterness and the desire for revenge that will animate them. And we shall still have 100,000 of them in the Strip, and it is easy to imagine what means we shall resort to in order to repress them and what waves of hatred we shall create again and what kind of headlines we shall receive in the international press. The first round would be: Israel aggressively invades the Gaza Strip. The second: Israel causes again the terrified flight of masses of Arab refugees.

Finally, as a reflection of his profession as the Foreign Minister, Sharett was afraid that each military adventure would negatively affect the international reputation of Israel. Being a newly-born state constantly in conflict with its neighbors, gave Israel no luxury to damage its relations with major powers and institutions, especially the United States and UN, which had played an important role in Israel's development, security as well as its legitimacy as a sovereign actor. Unlike Ben-Gurion who believed that Israel owed its existence and foundation to its army and military power and that foreign powers' words are of little value compared to the security needs of Israel,[87] Sharett prioritized Israel's relations with the UN since he held the idea that the establishment of the Israeli state was "a direct result of international support and acceptance." Moreover, he was fully aware that the state was in desperate need of financial and military aid from the United States and it was contradictory to be in need of help from this country while ignoring its sensitivities for stability in the region (Bar-Siman-Tov 1988, 332).

In this political confrontation on the territorial status-quo, the military officers

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[87] Although international conditions sometimes put restraints on Ben-Gurion's dreams, one of his most famous aphorisms was, "It's not important what the goyim (non-Jews, meant international actors in Ben-Gurion's discourse) say; what's important is what the Jews do" (Peres 2011, 83).

backed the Prime Minister and they gave their full support to his militarist line in the state institutions and at a public level. Not different from Ben-Gurion, the IDF officers believed in the inevitability of a second round of war and the necessity to enlarge Israeli territory to provide enough security for the state. As mentioned, Plan D, the military doctrine in the first Arab-Israeli War, aimed at the demographic, ethnic, social and political transformation of Palestine from an Arab land to a Jewish state. While this plan emphasized the role of enlarging the Israeli territories more than the one proposed by the UN Resolution of November 1947, the lack of territorial depth always remained a problematic issue for the military officers even after the Armistice Agreement signed in 1949. Indeed, Sharett, who was aware of this problem and the presence of hawkish generals in the military, did not keep himself from warning the military officers in favor of expansion. In May 1950, in front of a large gathering of officials he stated, "This generation must be content with that part of Palestine which we have redeemed and liberated. Moreover, I can't guarantee that even the next generation will liberate the rest of the country, therefore now we do not initiate any offensive moves, and we are maintaining and fortifying the territory that we hold." The main reason for this restraint he said, "[Enough] blood has been shed" (Sheffer 1996, 539).

Yet, this warning and reasoning did little to alleviate the concerns of the soldiers about the lack of territorial depth. Moshe Dayan (1955, 250) highlighted this problem in 1955 by comparing Israel's territorial vulnerability with the Arab states as follows:

Three-quarters of the population of Israel lives in the coastal plain, running from north of Haifa to south of Tel Aviv, with a slender salient

branching off to Jerusalem. This densely settled area has an average width
of no more than twelve miles between the Mediterranean and the
Jordanian border…Scarcely anywhere in Israel can a man live or work
beyond the easy range of enemy fire…[T]he Arab states are in no such
position. Border tensions affect a narrow fringe of their territories, beyond
which stretch deep hinterlands entirely remote from the hazards and
strains of frontier life.

Here it is important to note that military officers had different attachments to the

territory in accordance with their political views. For example, Sharon advocated

territorial expansion because of his ideological position which regarded all of Palestine as

an integral part of biblical land (Barari 2004, 18). On the other hand, Yigal Allon's main

concern was security and, as he made clear after the occupation of the Territories in 1967,

he was willing to concede those territories heavily populated by Arabs in return for a

peace treaty (Allon 1976). He furthered this view with a plan named after him, the Allon

Plan, which was proposed in July 1967 and suggested not annexing all of the West Bank

in order to protect the Jewishness of the state of Israel (Barari 2004, 16). Moshe Dayan

was somewhere in between these two approaches. He was not as radical or *sabra*[88] as

Bar-On points out, as Sharon, but at the same time he was unwilling to recognize national

rights for Palestinians, including on the land (Bar-On 2012, ix). Yet, these differences

would matter only after Israel occupied the West Bank and Gaza in 1967 and decided

what to do with them in the future. Until that time, the common point among the military

officers was that the Arab-Israeli borders drawn in the 1949 Armistice Agreements were

not set in stone and there was a necessity to extend the borders when the opportunity

arises.

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[88] Sabra, which is also a type of cactus, refers to those Jews who were born in Israel and who "grew up socialized to violence with the local Arabs with whom they jousted over land and grazing rights." (Tyler 2012, 11).

As a result, military officers, especially Dayan as the most influential one, supported Ben-Gurion in his political confrontation with Sharett on the territorial status-quo and sometimes even pushed the Old Man not to "miss opportunities" when he was hesitant. The most well-known example of this "pushing" took place during the pre-Suez War period as Dayan tried to convince Ben-Gurion of the necessity of attacking Egypt. He proposed three options to Ben-Gurion - capture the Sinai Peninsula up to the Suez Canal and establish international control of the waterway; capture Sharm el-Sheikh and lift the blockade of the Aqaba Gulf; or take over the Gaza Strip (Dayan 1976, 183) – and later he pushed him to agree with England and France to attack Egypt. Distrustful of the British and worried about American action, Ben-Gurion was indecisive, but Dayan believed that if the opportunity was missed, Israel "would have to fight alone in the future and [its] casualties might be much higher" (Ibid., 223). Dayan's effort brought a result especially after Sharett, who could have affected Ben-Gurion despite of their differences, resigned. Indeed, it is not an exaggeration to claim that on the Israeli side Dayan was the architect of the Suez War even though the final decision was made by the civilians.

Reprisal Policy

More than the disagreement over the territorial status-quo, the difference between Ben-Gurion/IDF and Moshe Sharett/Foreign Ministry in terms of Israel's Arab policy shows itself in the reprisal policy which was the main type of force used in the 1950s and through which the military directly influenced state policies with its acts during the operations. This policy began in February 1950 when Moshe Dayan, then Chief of the

Southern Command, was ordered to organize sabotage operations and plant mines against Arab states in retaliation for the acts of violence committed by Palestinian infiltrators or Arab agents in Israeli border areas. Although most incidents of infiltration in the early years were committed by unarmed Palestinian refugees who wanted to return home, the Israeli security establishment saw it as a threat to the Jewish state and incidents of violence gave them an excuse to initiate a reprisal policy. The logic of the reprisal policy was based on the belief that "the only language the Arabs understand is force" and "for every Arab assault, there must be a reaction."[89] The operations were based on collective punishment and although this characteristic was morally problematic, Dayan argued that it was the most efficient way to prevent Palestinian and Arab violence against Israeli citizens and property because of the lack of manpower to efficiently guard the border (Kuperman 2001, 3). The main purpose of reprisal attacks was to push the Arab governments to strictly control its borders because Israeli attacks would raise the costs of infiltration so high that Arab citizens would pressure their own governments to stop the infiltrations.

It is important to note that even those Israelis who opposed strict security measures did not question the necessity of the reprisal policy given that the state's borders were frequently infiltrated by refugees and violent mobs and Israeli citizens living in the border area were in danger. For example, Walter Eitan stated that against these infiltrations, which numbered 7,850 up to the Suez War in 1956, Israel had no

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[89] After his retirement, Sharett (2014) criticized this mindset in his speech at Beit Berl, Labor Movement's study center, in November 1957. The speech was published in the Jerusalem Post on October 18, 1966, only after Sharett died.

alternative but reprisal, especially when the Mixed Armistice Commission did not take any preventive and deterrent action and it was impossible to complain to the Security Council over the heads of this institution (Eytan 1958, 105-10). Similarly, Moshe Sharett often had to authorize reprisal attacks because after subsequent Arab attacks on the border kibbutzim, reprisal was necessary to boost public morale. Although Sharett opposed several requests for reprisal action as the Prime Minister, when the cumulative effect of the infiltration attacks passed a threshold he permitted it; even over a small incident as happened in January 1955 when a tractor driver was killed in Mevo Betar. He believed that a complete rejection of reprisal attacks would damage his intention to transform the militarism in the Israeli public: "I must not test the public's patience, it must be calmed, and if it is not, there will be an outburst of anger to which many of my comrades will be party and thus I will fail in the effort of a grand educational conception of our people, and achieve the opposite" (Drory 2005a, 55). Sharett was afraid that an overburdened public would switch their votes to more nationalist and activist parties if the government did not conduct a reprisal attack once in a while.

Rather than the presence of reprisal policy, the disagreements between the schools of negotiation and of retaliation were over the frequency, intensity and timing of these attacks. Sharett and his supporters proposed that reprisal attacks should not be conducted after each infiltration case, but should be applied after the accumulation of such incidents, in order not to damage Israel's international reputation and its negotiations with the Arab states. To control the frequency of reprisal attacks, they demanded that the Cabinet or the Committee for Foreign and Security Affairs authorize these attacks and upon becoming

the Prime Minister, Sharett formed a committee, known as *Haverainu*, composed of five

Mapai ministers for this purpose (Kuperman 2001, 7). Behind Sharett's objective to

control the reprisal attacks, there was his doubt about this policy's efficiency. According

to him, military confrontation in any form was "adding fuel to the fire of hatred" as well

as weakening those who want peace in the Arab world. Yet, Ben-Gurion and his

supporters as well as the military did not share his thoughts. Ben-Gurion pointed out that

Israeli security comes before peace with the Arab world. He stated that peace is the

ultimate objective but there is no way to reach this objective while infiltrations are

ongoing: "For if Jews are killed, we must kill Arabs; when our herd is stolen, we should

steal back. I am not implying that this policy is conducive to peace, but I don't see how

the Arabs will change for the better if we stop our reprisals" (Sheffer 1996, 641). Pinhas

Lavon, the Defense Minister under Sharett's government, was also an active supporter of

the reprisal policy (quoted from Shalom 2002, 124):

> Sharett has stated that military response intensifies Arab hatred against us.
> This is somewhat imprecise. In what way has tension heightened? How
> can it be measured? Before the reprisals, were the Arabs willing to sit
> down and negotiate with us? Is it only now that their willingness to do so
> has abated? Does anyone among us really believe that the Arabs were
> ready to talk with us, but our reprisal acts deterred the peace momentum?

While Sharett was trying to do his best to lessen the frequency of reprisal attacks,

the more serious problem was the intensity of these attacks, which was mainly under the

control of those who were in the field. Some infamous attacks such as the Qibya Affair of

1953 – cost the lives of sixty-nine civilians, mostly women and children, Operation Black

Arrow, or the Israeli retaliation against Syria on the Sea of Galilee in December 1955,

which ended with the death of seventy-three Syrians, were disproportional to the infiltration and military attacks leading to the reprisal operations. According to the supporters of reprisal policy, disproportional attacks were legitimate when one takes into account the imbalance of population between Arabs and the Jewish people in the region. In this mindset, while even an attack with few casualties may have disastrous consequences for Jewish morale, a reprisal with the same intensity would be a drop in the ocean for the Arabs at best. Yet, Foreign Ministry officials believed that it is impossible to justify the disproportional attacks to the foreign powers with this reasoning. After the Qibya attack, Sharett wrote in his diary on October 17, 1953 (quoted from Khalidi and Caplan 2002, 84):

> Katriel [Solomon, Israel's military attaché in London] tells me that Rosser, the chief British military attaché in Israel, had talked to him in an agitated mood about the impression in England made by events. There they understand an eye for an eye, but not definitely fifty eyes for an eye; an outburst for an outburst, but not a planned military response for the rampage of a gang.

In addition to the disproportional attacks, Sharett was also bothered by the civilian protection of the military and its officers after these events. After the Qibya attack Ben-Gurion proposed to paint the event as a vengeance attack committed by border area citizens whereas Sharett believed that this kind of attempt would not help anything but would show them as "prevaricators and deceivers." According to Sharett, the military officers should know what their actions cost to the political standing of the Israeli state. For instance, after a reprisal attack which cost several civilian Arabs' lives, Sharett agreed to take Moshe Dayan to the UN with him in the hope that Dayan "might learn

something of the harsh realities of [Israel's] political position" with a first-hand

experience "at the very front of [Israel's] international struggle" (Ibid., 86).

Finally, the timing of some reprisal attacks was problematic as Foreign Ministry

officials were seeking Western support to relieve the security burden on Israeli shoulders.

For instance, Abba Eban (1977, 198), then Israeli Ambassador in the United States,

claimed that the Israeli action on the Sea of Galilee in December 1955 came when the

United States was considering offering political and military support to Israel and he

criticized the disproportional attack which pushed the Israeli state more into the isolation:

> In all military reaction, there is some need for "proportion." The Syrians
> had not caused any Israeli casualties in their December 10 attack, but
> when Israeli forces crossed into Syria the next night, they left behind
> seventy-three dead Syrians, Six Israeli dead and many others wounded or
> missing. It was a shocking spectacle of carnage with very little attempt to
> give world opinion any warning of its necessity or dimensions. This action
> at Kinneret naturally killed any chance of a favorable reply to our arms
> request from the United States, even if such a reply was in the offing.

According to the supporters of reprisal policy, on the other hand, Israel's isolation

was unrelated to this policy. After Operation Black Arrow, Ben-Gurion wrote Sharett,

"Our isolation is not a result of the operation; it came about earlier, when we were as pure

as doves" (Bar-Zohar 2013). According to him, the Western states were acting in accord

to their own interests in the Middle East and restraint in security measures would have no

effect other than endangering Israeli security. He also believed that Israeli security

measures played no role in the Arab-Israeli conflict since in the beginning it was Arab

states that were determined to erase Israel from the Middle East map.

On the reprisal policy, the military again played an auxiliary role by supporting

Ben-Gurion's line. Indeed, the military's preference on the reprisal policy did not always prevail and this situation sometimes led to a crisis between the foreign ministry and the IDF. The main disagreement between these two institutions was the hierarchy between them. The ministry proposed equal relations between both institutions and demanded that they coordinate their actions. Since he believed that some military actions hardened the ministry's activities to provide external support or deteriorated its chance to come to dialogue with the Arab states, Sharett requested CGS Yigael Yadin to inform the Ministry before conducting any military action that may have any consequences on Israel's foreign policy or that may affect Israeli relations with major powers, the UN, and/or neighboring Arab countries (Sheffer 1996, 528). For Sharett, the ministry was equally responsible for the security of the Israeli state and its efforts should not be nullified by the actions of the military.

According to the military and Ben-Gurion, who was the head of the security establishment as the Defense Minister, the role of the foreign ministry was only to explain the rationale of Israeli military actions, after the fact, to the major powers and the UN (Bar-Siman-Tov 1988, 337). The difference again was based on dissimilar evaluations of the role of the foreign powers in bringing Arab-Israeli peace. In addition, the IDF did not trust the ministry. Yadin blamed the foreign ministry for passing classified information to foreign attaches in Israel as well as showing the military's reprisal attacks as actions sabotaging the government's Arab policy (Sheffer 1996, 575). Nor did he approve of the Foreign Ministry's conciliatory and compromising attitude towards the Arab states. For instance, on controversial issues with the Arab states, Sharett

wanted to use the Mixed Armistice Commission to find a solution to the existing

problems while the military preferred unilateral actions. This kind of controversy took

place in the Hula drainage crisis[90] of February 1951 when Yadin effectively pushed the

ministry into an inactive situation and made the Commission an ineffective channel

between Syrians and Israelis. The result was military clashes between the two countries

in April (Drory 2005a, 55).

The meaning of reprisal attacks was also disputed by Sharett and the military

officers. To Sharett, the main target of the reprisal attacks was domestic public opinion.

These military operations were necessary to relieve the frustration of a public who faced

Arab infiltration and to keep them out of the arms of radical right parties. For the

military, on the other hand, the function of reprisal attacks was to make the Arab states

bear the consequences of allowing infiltrators from their border region. According to

Dayan, reprisal actions were the basic element of Israeli security policy and to follow this

policy he was even willing to reject a security pact with the United States if it would tie

their hands: "The security pact will only handcuff us and deny us the freedom of action

which we need in the coming years. Reprisal actions which we couldn't carry out if we

were tied to a security pact are our vital lymph" (Rokach 1982, 41). The belief that Arabs

will understand only the use of force and that self-interested international actors could not

relieve the security burden on Israel made Ben-Gurion and military officers' proponents

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[90] The crisis began on February 12, 1951, when Israel's Palestine Land Development Company began work on the Hula drainage project in the demilitarized zone north of the Sea of Galilee. According to Syria, the project was a violation of the Armistice Agreement and it would change the balance of power between the two states by leading to Israeli control over the productive areas whereas Israel claimed rights on the area which is legally under Israeli sovereignty (Brecher and Wilkenfeld 1997, 272-73).

of reprisal policy and unilateral actions.

In addition to their role in stopping the Arab states' terrorist attacks and infiltrations, Dayan believed that reprisal attacks offered significant benefits in terms of organizational interests. According to him, following the War of Independence the military and soldiers lost their efficiency by failing in several missions and getting involved in non-military activities such as developing agricultural settlements and educating new immigrants. Since Dayan regarded the "second-round" in Israeli-Arab warfare to be inevitable, he prioritized the injection of some military values and norms such as commitment to the mission, planning and aggressiveness, the rescue of brothers-in-arms, etc. into the military mindset (Drory 2005a, 67-69). To Dayan, Unit 101, which was established for the task of reprisal attacks under the command of Ariel Sharon, would realize these objectives. Although at first he was uncertain about the effectiveness of this unit, he later confessed that Unit 101 became an example for other military units by showing uncompromising dedication to these values and norms when operating the reprisal attacks (Dayan 1976, 73). After 1953 Dayan supported the reprisal actions of this unit even when the soldiers were involved in serious human right violations during the operations.

Reprisal actions led frequently to serious crises and tension between politicians and the officers when the politicians needed to cancel some of these attacks because of political conditions or unwillingness to increase the tension. For example, in late-August 1955, Sharett called off a reprisal attack, which he had approved before, because U.S.

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles announced the Anglo-American Alpha Plan which gave Israel assurances about its borders and assistance in obtaining an international loan to pay compensation to the Arab refugees. Sharett believed that a reprisal action after this announcement would damage this development. Moreover, in this period Sharett was in indirect touch with Egyptian President Jamal Abdul Nasser via Elmer Jackson, an American Quaker, in order to resolve the conflict between the two countries. Yet, cancelling the action frustrated Dayan and he submitted his resignation to Ben-Gurion complaining about the "discrepancy between the security policy which has recently been set by the government and the security policy which seems to [Dayan] essential." In this confrontation, then Defense Minister Ben-Gurion backed the general and asked the Cabinet to choose "[e]ither Sharett's line or Ben-Gurion's line." As a result of this development Sharett stepped back and approved the reprisal attack on the Khan Yunis police station, which resulted in the deaths of seventy-two Egyptian soldiers and left fifty-eight wounded (Karsh 2000, 38-39). This operation, which followed the Operation Black Arrow of February 1955, played a negative role in the possibility of negotiations between Israel and Egypt.

Consequently, the cooperation between Ben-Gurion and the military played an important role in bringing the resignation of Moshe Sharett as Foreign Minister in June 1956 and increasing the tension between Israel and Egypt to the point of war in November of the same year. While it is true that the military mainly acted under civilian orders even during Sharett's short-term rule in 1954-55, the officers did not refrain from expressing their preferences at the institutional and societal levels and supported a

militarist ideology in the decision-making structure. It is a fact that the reprisal policy was a success in the eyes of the military officers. Some disproportional reprisal attacks pushed the Arab states to control their Israeli borders effectively as the Qibya attack did for the Jordanian government. Similarly, reprisal attacks deterred the Syrian regime and the latter even avoided participating in the Suez war from fear of Israeli reprisal (Drory 2005a). Nevertheless, military success came with political failure as the reprisal attacks deteriorated the possibility of a peace settlement. By controlling the intensity of the military operations, even sometimes intentionally distorting the given orders and leading to high numbers of casualties on the Arab side as the Unit 101 leader Ariel Sharon did several times, the military managed to influence the Arab-Israeli conflict directly.

4.2.2 The IDF and the Six Day War

The politicization of the Israeli military and its influence on national security decision-making can also be understood by analyzing the pre-Six Day War period during which Ben-Gurion, an important factor in the military influence during the first eight years, was not in power. Although the military victory in the Suez War brought some stability to the Israeli-Egypt border with the deployment of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) in the area from the Suez Canal to the Armistice Demarcation Lines between Israel and Egypt, the demilitarized zone between Israel and Syria continued to be a source of tension in the region. This continued especially after the Arab League summit conference held in January 1964, whose main purpose was to coordinate Arab action in response to Israel's diversionary works on the River Jordan. The water

problem led to exchanges of artillery and mortar fire within the demilitarized zone

several times between 1964 and 1967, yet it did not turn into a serious conflict throughout

the period. Nevertheless, border attacks frustrated the IDF under CGS Yitzhak Rabin, and

the officers, especially the Commander of the Air Force Ezer Weizman, demanded a

large-scale operation against Syria. Similar to Dayan who opposed American mediation

so as not to tie Israel's hands to organize reprisal attacks, during this period Rabin put

pressure on Prime Minister Levi Eshkol's government not to accept an American

proposal for a collaboration agreement for research and development of defensive and

preventive measures since he feared that American interference would weaken the army's

demand for offensive action against Syria. Nevertheless, Eshkol, who was afraid of the

possibility of heavy civilian casualties, managed to refuse the army's demand for a large-

scale operation and decided instead for "a few serious knocks" that would teach the

Syrians a lesson (Gluska 2007, 99-100).

The analysis of Israeli politics in the 1950s shows that military operations may

have political implications and military officers may be able to shape the political process

from the battlefield even when it functions with restrictions from the political echelon.

This is exactly what happened on April 7, 1967. On that day, Syrians opened fire at

Israeli tractors to stop diversionary works and after early exchanges of artillery, Eshkol

approved the deployment of the air force "if there is no alternative" (Ibid., 100). Yet, the

military operation exceeded its purpose in the field when six Syrian MiGs were shot

down and Israeli aircraft circled over Damascus. While Israeli aircraft flying over the

Syrian capital was a significant event in and of itself, the intensity of the attack had its

main effect on Israel-Egypt relations. During this period, the Egyptian army was struggling in North Yemen and after the fight on April 7, Nasser told Syrians that Egypt will not "come to [their] aid because of some limited incident" within their borders and "[a]s long as Israel does not perpetrate an all-out attack on Syria, [Egypt] will not be drawn into war prematurely" (Rabin 1979, 67). Yet, Nasser, who was a former soldier with a realpolitik mindset, was aware that if he wanted to claim the leadership of the Arab world, he needed to make some moves; otherwise, he would be blamed for hiding behind the safe borders controlled by the UNEF while Syria was facing off alone against Israel.

On May 14, the Egyptian government took a bold step by first moving its troops to the Suez Canal and then asking U Thant, UN Secretary General, to pull the Emergency Force, which had played an important role in stabilizing the Israeli-Egypt border for a decade, out of the Sinai. Unexpectedly, U Thant agreed to the request and on May 19, the commander of the UN force informed the Israeli government that the force had ceased to carry out its functions and from now on it was only responsible for its own safety (Eshkol 1969, 80). When Nasser announced the closure of the Straits of Tiran to Israeli shipping on May 23 and the Syrians started increasing their forces on the Golan Heights, it was clear that war was coming.

Against the Arab threat, the Israeli political system was divided into two groups. On the one side, there were those who wanted immediate military action against Egypt. Compared to Ben-Gurion, Eshkol was a weak leader and he felt obliged to declare a

national unity government on June 1 by bringing Moshe Dayan, as the Defense Minister, and Menachem Begin, as the Minister without portfolio, into the government to strengthen his political position. With Yigal Allon, the Minister of Labor, the former military leaders demanded immediate military action and believed that what was at stake was the survival of Israel and that trying diplomacy first through American mediation was a waste of time. Dayan argued that the closure of the straits was an act of war and that Israel should shoot first as the first shot "would determine which side would suffer the heaviest casualties, and would assuredly change the balance of forces" while Allon proposed a new territorial enlargement by capturing the Gaza Strip and transferring all Palestinians to Egypt (Dayan 1976, 338-49).

On the other side, some politicians believed that there was no need to rush to war and that Israel should first exhaust all diplomatic methods of solving the problem through the mediation of the United States, not negotiations with the enemies. Prime Minister Levi Eshkol and the Foreign Minister Abba Eban were the forerunners of this group. On the same day Nasser announced the closure of the straits, American President Lyndon Johnson told Eshkol not to initiate any military action without consulting the United States. Indeed, from May 23 to June 5, the day the Six Day War started, Eshkol did his best to resist the pressure from hawkish politicians and military officers for an immediate military action. During this time Eban was flying between Washington and Tel Aviv to get both an American guarantee for the security of Israeli shipping and approval for Israeli military action in accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter, which included a provision about an inherent right of self-defense (Eban 1992, 380-81). More moderate

than Eshkol and Eban, Moshe Chaim Shapira, the Interior Minister and the leader of the National Religious Party (NRP), was also against the initiation of war against Egypt and blamed the Eshkol-Rabin team for rushing into a war which even the Ben-Gurion-Dayan team had not done when the straits were closed in 1950-51 (Rabin 1979, 81). During the crisis, the ministers of the NRP even threatened that Eshkol would be forced to resign if the cabinet decides to go to war (Ibid., 91).

The supporters and opponents of the military action within the cabinet were so balanced that in the cabinet meeting taken on May 28, after Eban came back from the United States and asked the ministers to give more time to the American attempt to open the straits, nine ministers, including Eshkol, voted in favor of the war with nine against. In this political deadlock, the influence of the military was at its zenith and from the day the crisis started the officers pushed for an immediate military action. According to the military officers, Nasser's actions, especially the closure of the Straits, was an act of war whether or not Nasser had belligerent intentions. Although many in Israel, especially intelligence services, believed that all Nasser wanted was "victory without war" (Eban 1992, 395) it was assumed that if Israel had not applied military action, its deterrent capacity, which was as important as its actual military power, would be damaged. In his answer to Shapira's accusation that he was rushing into a war, Rabin (1979, 81) made this mindset clear:

> Nasser has presented us with a grave provocation. If we don't face that challenge, the IDF's deterrent capacity will become worthless. Israel will be humiliated. Which power will bother to support a small state that has ceased to be a military factor? Why bother with a state whose neighbors

are growing stronger and subjecting it to humiliating pinpricks? We're going to war over freedom of navigation. Nasser has threatened Israel's standing; later on his army will threaten Israel's very existence. I don't want to go to war either, but there's no way out if the American political efforts fail.

While the army reluctantly obeyed the orders from the political echelon and waited impatiently for the results of the American mediation efforts, the military did not refrain from pressuring to the government for a military action, to the point that one may question who controlled who. For example, when Eban was in the United States Rabin himself wrote a cable to Eban and asked him to push the American government to give an immediate answer – positive or negative but an immediate answer not to delay the military operation anymore – to the Israeli request that any attack on Israel is equivalent to an attack on the United States (Ibid., 89-90) without taking into consideration that, as Eban (1992, 382-83) pointed out in his memoirs, this kind of guarantee "would have had to undertake a national debate in the Senate and in the public forum for weeks or months." In another instance, the Air Force Commander Ezer Weizman, one of the most hawkish generals in the military, burst into Eshkol's office and shouted into his face: "The country is being destroyed, everything is being ruined! Eshkol, just give an order and the IDF will fight and win the war. What do you need Dayan for? Who needs Allon? We have a powerful army, waiting only for your order. Give us the order and we shall win and you will be the victorious Prime Minister" (Lebel 2008, 40). Ariel Sharon, then the commander of one of the southern divisions, also attacked the government's diplomacy-first strategy when Eshkol met with generals to explain the cabinet's decision of May 28. "Today we shredded with our bare hands the deterrence power of the IDF,"

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Sharon said. According to him, the reliance on diplomacy and waiting for America was a grave mistake. He stated that the army is "ready like never before to totally destroy the Egyptian forces" (Tyler 2009, 92).

When the politicians are equally divided into two groups, it is difficult to ignore the effect of this pressure on the national security decision-making, especially when soldiers' arguments support one faction, the pro-war group, over those who did not want to fight and/or wanted to exhaust diplomatic means. Moreover, in the Israeli military system where the reserves were instantly called into military service and they witnessed the concerns and disappointment their commanders had with the politicians, the military easily affected society too. Therefore, it is not surprising that the society also demanded an immediate military action against the Egyptian threat, especially after Eshkol's infamous radio speech during which he constantly stumbled when he was talking about the military threat. The next day an editorial criticized Eshkol for not being "capable of navigating the ship of state in these critical days" and proposed Ben-Gurion to be entrusted with the premiership and Moshe Dayan with the Ministry of Defense while Eshkol would be responsible for domestic affairs (Dayan 1976, 333). Indeed, behind Eshkol's decision to form a national unity government was his weakness in not being the strong and charismatic leader demanded by the society and the military. In the end, after being pressured by pro-war politicians – which he brought to the government – the military and the society, moderate politicians had no choice other than going to war on June 5 after it became clear that the United States would not give a guarantee for Israeli shipping and security but also would not get involved if Israel decided to go alone.

Similar to the first eight years of the state, the military influence on Israeli national security decision-making during the pre-Six Day War period was not decisive but auxiliary. Nevertheless, by being able to affect the balance between hawks and doves – or lesser hawks – military participation in political decision-making had a significant role in shaping Israeli policies.

4.3 Conclusion

As a critical juncture, Israel's first two decades constitute the time period during which the military's role in the decision-making structure was shaped. Unlike the cases of military control and military rule, the IDF influenced politics through participation in these years. This means that military officers served under strong civilian control, yet they had significant autonomy in security issues and they were able to affect the political decisions through interactions with the politicians and society. Critical decisions were made by civilian politicians and soldiers felt that they needed to follow politicians' orders even when these orders were against their preferences. It is true that sometimes soldiers exceeded the orders as they did several times in carrying out the reprisal attacks, but these actions did not reach a level that threatened the civilian control of the military. The military officers were quite autonomous in their actions and in constant interaction with the politicians; however, civilians were the ones who had the last word in political decisions.

Military participation did not threaten civilian control of the military but it had detrimental effects on Arab-Israeli relations. As seen in the Ben-Gurion-Sharett

confrontation and the pre-Six Day War period, the IDF had an enormous influence on politics by supporting one political ideology over the other. The dominant security norms in the Israeli military mindset such as the concern over the lack of territorial depth, the importance of retaliation and deterrence power of the state and the distrust of international powers on the issues critical to Israeli security, pushed the soldiers to support hawkish politicians over to pro-negotiation ones. By supporting civilian hawks in the government and affecting the balance between different political factions, military officers simply left little room for the pro-negotiation politicians to succeed in ending the security problem on peaceful terms. Through this influence, the military officers managed to conduct several reprisal attacks and persuaded the politicians to enter into war against Arab states both in 1956 and 1967.

All in all, the military officers in these years were more hawkish than civilians as the former group acted homogenously in pursuing militarist policies while there was a significant divergence among the civilians in terms of Arab policy. As military activism argues, the military officers were more prone to use force, they had little faith in negotiation and dialogue, and they were pessimistic about the intentions and capabilities of the Arab states. Their organizational interests also favored militarist policies as they supported reprisal policies to strengthen military values in the army. In addition, the victories in wars during this period opened up political careers for several officers including Dayan, Weizman, Rabin and Sharon.

In the Six Day War, the military officers reached their ultimate objective to

enlarge Israeli territory which diminished the territorial vulnerability of the Israeli state as well as granted them important leverage against Arab states. Nevertheless, the Six Day War was more than a military victory; it was a new critical juncture with two developments. First, at the end of the war the Israeli state gained new territories – the West Bank, Gaza, the Golan Heights, Sinai, and East Jerusalem – which increased the polarization of the Israeli political system by making the territories an important subject of political debates in later decades. Second, during the war a new tradition was introduced and a soldier-politician, Moshe Dayan, took a vital seat in the government as the Minister of Defense. After the military victory in 1967, the generals of this war would continue holding important posts, even the prime ministry. The result of these two developments was more politicized and more ambitious military generals, who remained faithful to a certain political ideology on the territories and, after retirement, joined the ranks of a political party, which reflects this ideology. As the next chapter shows, these developments had a significant effect on military participation in Israeli politics as well as soldiers' and soldier-politicians' preferences during the intifadas.

Chapter 5

MILITARY PARTICIPATION AND THE PALESTINIAN CONFLICT

5.1 Military Participation in Israeli Politics

5.1.1 Military Participation in the Pre-Intifada Period

During the twenty years from the Six Day War to the First Intifada, military influence in Israeli politics continued in spite of several military crises which had the potential to diminish this influence. As mentioned, the Six Day War and the quick victory against the armies of Egypt, Syria and Jordan increased the prestige of the military and its commanders in the Israeli political system. The generals fighting in this war turned into "objects of sweeping admiration and emulation" (Ben-Eliezer 1998, 225) and the success of the experiment to appoint a former general – Moshe Dayan – to a key government post eased their parachuting into Israeli politics in the future. Indeed, several commanders taking part in this war such as Yitzhak Rabin, Ariel Sharon, and Ezer Weizman would enjoy the fruits of this victory when they entered politics after retirement from the military service.

The war also increased the responsibilities of the military as it resulted in the occupation of the Sinai Peninsula and the Gaza Strip from Egypt, the West Bank from Jordan, and the Golan Heights from Syria. All these lands, which will be called

"territories"[91] hereafter, were put under the control of the military. As a result, the military's importance as a political actor increased and similar to the pre-1967 period, the military officers kept participating in cabinet meetings and taking part in negotiations with foreign states about the territories. By taking the military's role in the initiation of the Six Day War with these post-war conditions into consideration, the IDF's influence in Israeli politics grew so much after 1967 that, with Zeev Schiff's (1999, 438) words, "many wondered whether this was a country that had a strong army, or a strong army that had a country."

The Yom Kippur War in 1973, on the other hand, had the opposite effect on the prestige of the military. For Israel, this war was not a military defeat but a military catastrophe. The war did not cause a loss of territory but Israel had 2,687 dead, 7,251 wounded and 314 prisoners, a casualty rate significantly higher than the 800 who died in the Six Day War. In addition, the military intelligence (AMAN) significantly failed to prepare the IDF for a likely war. Although the Egyptian army prepared for a war against Israel between October 1972 and October 1973 and Egypt and Syria coordinated their war plans during this process, AMAN did not expect an all-out war from Egypt because of Israel's air superiority and expectation that Syria would not go to war without Egypt. As a result, in the first two days of the conflict, until the IDF organized itself, Israel

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[91] In parallel to their ideology, these lands are labeled as "Occupied Territories" by Arabs and "Liberated Territories" by Israelis. At the end of the Six-Day War, Justice Meir Shamgar, the legal adviser of the Israeli security establishment, found a compromise and called the lands "administered territories", which, according to Shlomo Gazit,(2003, xix) is a neutral statement devoid of any emotional or political meaning. Yet, in this study I prefer to use "territories" as a further attempt to diminish emotional and political meaning.

suffered from military attacks and witnessed "the worst defeats in its history" (Bar-Joseph 2010, 516-17).

As a result, the Yom Kippur War brought the ambiguous characteristic of civil-military relations and the IDF's influence on political decision-making into question. Nevertheless, the institutional measures taken after the war were far away from making revolutionary changes in these issues. After the war a commission headed by Shimon Agranat, the president of the Supreme Court, was formed to investigate the army's performance in the Yom Kippur War. In its report, the committee recommended the end of service of several military officers including then CGS David Elazar and Eliahu Zeira, then chief of intelligence in the General Staff. In addition, the report showed the blurring lines between the political and military echelon, especially between the Defense Minister and the CGS. The report stated that Defense Minister Moshe Dayan "was not responsible for the operational details of the deployment of forces" and it was "under the jurisdiction of the chief of staff" whereas, in his reply to the report, Elazar pointed out that "[a]ccording to the standing authority, the defense minister is the operative authority above the chief of staff, and all operational plans and questions were brought to him for approval before the war" (Rabinovich and Reinharz 2008, 278-84). Therefore, the informal civil-military relations established during the state-building process caused a "responsibility problem" in the first military disaster the Israeli state suffered.

The Agranat Commission recommended that this complexity be streamlined and two years later, the Basic Law of the Army was passed in the Knesset. However, the law was literally quite basic, only six articles and eighty-one words in Hebrew (Muhareb

2011, 15). The law simply stated that the CGS is subject to the authority of the Government and subordinate to the Minister of Defense and that the CGS shall be appointed by the government upon the recommendation of the Minister of Defense. The law merely put on paper those words that had been stated by the politicians and military officers in public since independence, but it did not answer the question of the informal relationship between the political and military echelons and the military officers' excessive participation in Israeli political decision-making.

Not only did these issues remain answered, but the war also increased the prestige of soldier-politicians in the Israeli political system. In the first elections after the war in December 1973, the number of soldier-politicians in the ministerial posts increased from three to five in Golda Meir's cabinet. Nevertheless, in early April 1974 Meir resigned as a result of public protests and in the next elections Yitzhak Rabin became the first soldier-politician to enter the office of prime minister. In the 1970s, retired officers also started heading political parties as Rabin led the Labor Party – established in 1968 as the result of a merger of Mapai, Rafi and Ahdut HaAvoda, Yigael Yadin founded the center party Dash, and Ariel Sharon founded the Shlomzion Party, which would be merged with Gahal, the National List, the Free Center and the Labor Group for Greater Israel to form the right-wing Likud party before the elections in 1973. Furthermore, in February 1974 Shlomo Lahat became the first soldier-politician who was elected as the head of one of the large cities in Israel and what was interesting in this case is that this city was Tel-Aviv, which was regarded as "the capital of antimilitarism in Israel." Shlomo Lahat stayed in this position for twenty years, until 1993 (Goldberg 2006, 383-88). All in all, in

spite of the military catastrophe and the Agranat Commission report, the Yom Kippur

War only increased the military influence in Israeli politics as soldier-politicians started

replacing civilian politicians who did not have a military background and who were

regarded as "being a person without values, without knowledge, hypocritical, not

speaking the truth and very often corrupt" (Ibid., 390).

When one looks at the top decision-makers in the next war in which Israel

engaged, the Lebanon War in 1982, it is clear that the occupation of the security mindset

was well-established in Israeli politics. Despite being civilian, both the prime ministry

and foreign ministry were held by former paramilitary leaders, Menachem Begin and

Yitzhak Shamir, respectively. At the same time, former commander Ariel Sharon was the

defense minister and the CGS Rafael Eitan was an active participant in the decision-

making process. Sharon especially played a significant role in initiating this war which

was originally declared to be a 48-hour operation to clear the Palestinian bases out of

Lebanon but turned out to be an attempt to change the regional map through military

means. Sharon tried to conquer Beirut, remove the PLO, which was founded in 1964 with

the purpose of creating an independent Palestinian state, and its leader Yasser Arafat

from there, change the leadership of Lebanon and appoint military commander Bashir al-

Jumayyil as the president, and strike a serious blow against Syria. The result was the

failure of the operation, assassination of al-Jumayyil in Beirut and a three-year long IDF

deployment in Lebanon ending with an embarrassing withdrawal. As Schulze (1998, 215)

puts it, "Lebanon had become Israel's Vietnam."

Similar to the Yom Kippur War, a military catastrophe like the Lebanon War would be a chance to change the norms facilitating the military influence and the occupation of the military mindset in Israeli political decision-making. Yet, this was not the case. Sharon was found responsible for the Sabra and Shatilla massacres by the Kahan Commission – another commission founded because of the military catastrophe and targeted individuals rather than the decision-making system – and resigned as the defense minister but stayed in the cabinet as a minister without a portfolio. Nevertheless, this event did not end the political career of Sharon and in the future he served in several ministerial posts including the prime ministry. The CGS Rafael Eitan, another advocate of the war and who was also found responsible for the bloodshed by the Kahan Commission, retired in April 1983 and jumped into the political arena by establishing his ultra-nationalist party, Tzomet (Crossroads), and served in important positions in the Israeli government, including Deputy Prime Minister between 1996 and 1999. Therefore, even after the military catastrophes, which could have been important critical junctures, the Israeli state did not scrutinize its informal civil-military relations structure and the participation of the military officers, active or retired, in the political decision-making.

5.1.2 Military Participation during the Intifadas

Contrary to the argument that the military influence is a persistent fact in Israeli politics since the formation of the state and has not changed even after the military catastrophes, some scholars have pointed out that since the Yom Kippur War, military influence in Israeli politics has been decreasing. For instance, Stuart Cohen (2006, 772)

argues that since the late 1970s the balance between the political and military echelons has changed in favor of the civilians:

> What has changed in Israel in recent years has been the predominant course of contemporary interactions between the civilian and military spheres. Gone, it seems, are the days when the IDF constituted the principal beneficiary of the porous state of Israel's 'fragmented' boundaries, which allowed it to increase military influence over civilian areas of government. It is now the civilian constituents of the civil-military equation that are able to exploit the 'fragmented' boundaries in order to intrude upon what were once considered exclusively military spheres.

Micha Popper (1998) similarly argues that an erosion of the IDF's charisma took place since the Yom Kippur War and this erosion increased with the Lebanon War and Intifadas. However, a close analysis of the Intifada period from 1987 to 2005 shows that, opposite to this argument, these years are the times when the military as an institution and retired officers as policy-makers dominated political decision-making in Israel. Starting with the latter, in this period, there were three soldier-politicians who served as prime ministers (Rabin, Barak, and Sharon – out of six prime ministers including Peres' interim service after Rabin's assassination), five defense ministers (Rabin, Yitzhak Mordechai, Barak, Benjamin Ben-Eliezer and Shaul Mofaz – out of seven defense ministers including Peres' interim service after Rabin's assassination) and several political party leaders (such as Rabin, Sharon, Barak, Eitan, Ben-Eliezer, Amram Mitzna etc.). This domination was to the degree that, as Goldberg (2006, 387) shows, the average party control by soldier-politicians in this period was forty percent. These numbers indicate that, opposite to Popper's argument, the "charisma" of the military and its officers was not in decline and Israelis wanted to see security-men in power during the Intifadas.

Not only were the soldier-politicians dominant in the political system, the military was also an active participant in the national security decision-making during the intifadas. Both in the Oslo process – although the military did not take place in the initiation of the negotiations – and during the Second Intifada when the use of force was adopted, the military's preferences were effective in shaping policies towards the Palestinians. In addition to the normalcy of the military influence on Israeli politics, there were some reasons that necessitated the officers' participation. First, the Intifadas took place in the territories which had been under military rule since Israel occupied these lands in 1967. Shlomo Gazit (2003, 14), the first coordinator of activities in the territories, argues that while the military influence on policy in the territories was marginal for the first thirteen years, this situation changed overnight in 1980 when Ezer Weizman resigned from the office of Defense Minister and the Prime Minister Menachem Begin gave the responsibility for the territories to the CGS Rafael Eitan. After this date, Gazit continues, the military influence in the territories became the norm and the military considerations overwhelmed the political and civilian-economic considerations. Therefore, when the intifada began the military has more knowledge and experience in these territories than any political institution.

Second, as Freilich (2012, 4) points out, in general the military has "by far the most highly developed policymaking capabilities in Israel" in terms of situational assessment, policy planning and implementation. It is true that some major decisions were taken without the IDF's knowledge or over its objections, but in the end civilians know that they need the military's help for successful policy implementation. For

example, although the negotiations with the PLO started as a civilian initiative and the military left in the dark when the Declaration of Principles signed with the PLO in 1993, once details in the future autonomy plan came to the table, Rabin made the officers active participants in the negotiations and appointed the Deputy CGS General Amnon Lipkin-Shahak as the head of the negotiating team.

Third, the personality of the political leaders is a factor that increases the military influence on politics during the Intifadas. As mentioned, from 1987 to 2005 half of the prime ministers were soldier-politicians and these politicians liked to work in the military style while they would be sitting at the top of the hierarchical relationship. Rabin was a typical example of this personality and, when talking about his leadership style, he stated, "Advisers? Okay, but they are not a channel you work with. I work by means of a military system. There are channels of command." Barak also stressed the effect of his military experience on his leadership style by saying, "I do not need experts and I do not need advisers to know what Israel's defense needs are. I know that myself" (Ibid., 54). In this kind of leadership style, political institutions such as the Cabinet and Knesset, where the decisions are made as a result of discussions, play a lesser role in decision-making since leaders only need the military officers who follow the orders they got from the top. Nevertheless, this leadership style was not only the product of the military system; it also had historical roots as Ben-Gurion adopted the same strategy as he preferred direct contact with Moshe Dayan when handling security issues over bringing these matters to the Cabinet or Knesset.

Fourth, some politicians' reluctance to make politically-risky decisions can also

be counted as a factor that gave a free hand to the military officers in terms of policymaking. Although Rabin successfully controlled the military officers, who respected his military career, and shaped the negotiation process, after his assassination, political leaders understandably had a difficult time committing themselves to the peace process. Following Rabin, politicians simply refrained from issuing clear policy directives on the territories; however, they did not want to bear the responsibility for the failure of the peace process by simply leaving the negotiations. In this purgatory, soldiers frequently found themselves in a position of decision-maker as Shlomo Yanai, the head of the IDF strategic planning section from 1998 to 2001, states (quoted from Peri 2005, 330):

> In the course of peace talks, we were asked to prepare the strategic plans, but there was no willingness on the part of the political branch to tell us explicitly what its territorial policy was. There was no open and frank dialogue with us. We had to estimate, to guess, to predict the intentions of the principals. We also knew that if a political problem arose, they would absolve themselves of responsibility for the documents we were preparing. Indeed, this happened on more than one occasion.

In the absence of clear policy directives, the military officers easily transformed the intentions of the politicians with their preferences and influenced the political decision-making not only from the battlefield but also from the negotiation table, in which they frequently participated. Moreover, within the informal civil-military relations structure in Israel, the military officers and politicians assumed that the lack of clear policy directives was a normal phenomenon and characteristic of Israeli civil-military relations. Yitzhak Eitan, former Chief of Central Command, states that the lack of a clear directive to the military "is the nature of the relations between the political level and the

military level, and understanding the directive required interpretation and effort,"
whereas Dan Meridor, who was Minister of Justice and Finance in different Likud
governments, recognized that the military "is sometimes required to fill a vacuum left by
the political level" (Michael 2007a, 106). Yet, sometimes this freedom in interpreting the
government orders on the battlefield and at the negotiation table may be used deliberately
against the intentions of the politicians, as happened when Ehud Barak ordered the
reopening of the Gaza airport which was damaged at the beginning of the Second
Intifada. Under the ongoing conflict, the military realized the order but set up a roadblock
leading to the airport and let no one enter, a decision which made the government
decision impractical (Tyler 2012, 430-31).

Finally, close military-society relations can be counted as the fifth factor that
increases military influence on political decision-making during Intifadas. During this
period, the public kept giving special attention to the military officers' viewpoint more
than to the civilian ones. That is why before the elections in 1988, under the shadow of
the intifada, both Labor and Likud introduced former generals into their election
campaigns in order to bolster their views on the territories as Labor generals argued that
security did not necessitate holding the entire West Bank and Likud generals emphasized
Israel's lack of territorial depth (Barari 2004, 44). Active officers similarly played a
critical role in explaining the state policies to the public and as Kobi Michael (2007b,
423) points out, they played the role of "epistemic authority" during the intifadas: "When
military officers appear at television and explain the reasons and the logic behind the
military operations, they conduct a direct dialogue with the public and the political

echelon does not exist; the public likes them and trust them contrary to the mistrust demonstrated toward the politicians."

As a result of these factors, the military and its officers, active or retired, were significantly important actors in the political decision-making during the intifadas. One of the rare serious efforts to remove this influence in Israeli politics came under the leadership of Benjamin Netanyahu between 1996 and 1999. There were two issues in this period. First, as the leader of the right-wing Likud Party, Netanyahu was not pleased with the peace process initiated by the Labor Party and supported by the military. Second, and related to the first issue, Netanyahu was quite discontent with the military influence on political decision-making. As a result, he introduced reforms and institutions to remove the military officers from all aspects of the decision-making process. The most important development from this perspective was the establishment of the NSC in 1999. The institution was affiliated with the Prime Minister's Office and responsible for preparing consultations and analyses on national security issues and presenting them to the prime minister and the government. The chair of the council was under direct instructions from the prime minister (Muhareb 2011, 11). Therefore, unlike its counterparts in Turkey and Pakistan, the NSC in Israel was the product of civilians trying to control the military influence on national security affairs.

Netanyahu's attempt to diminish the military influence on politics was not limited to the establishment of the NSC. The military was excluded even from discussions directly affecting the military, such as the security budget or the policies in the territories under the military rule. For instance, in the same year Netanyahu came to power, the

military was first kept in the dark when the Hebron withdrawal plan was discussed in the cabinet and then military officers did not receive any information about the timing of the opening of the Western Wall (Bar-Or 2006, 368-69). These kinds of critical decisions in the past were made with the military officers and their exclusion in 1996 was a deliberate attempt by Netanyahu to increase his influence in security affairs.

However, it is important to note that Netanyahu's struggle to diminish the military influence in Israeli politics was not based on concerns about institutional relations or democracy in Israel. Instead, what bothered him was the political ideology behind the soldier's statements and acts. In this period, there was a conflict between the military and the Prime Minister as to how to approach the Palestinians and the military tried to continue Rabin's peace process whereas Netanyahu preferred aggressive action against Palestinian groups. Indeed, in one instance during a cabinet briefing, Netanyahu silenced the CGS Amnon Lipkin-Shahak, Rabin's right hand in the Oslo negotiations, stating that it was not the general's role to provide political analysis (Peri 2006, 87-88). The confrontation between the government and the military turned into a crisis in the 1999 elections and retired officers joined opposition parties or formed new ones only to topple Netanyahu from the government through democratic means. As Enderlin states, the military officers "ha[ve] mobilized not just against Netanyahu the man, but also against his political philosophy" (Enderlin 2003, 104-106). The result was the replacement of Benjamin Netanyahu with Ehud Barak who promised to continue Rabin's peace process as the prime minister. There can be no better proof to show the military influence on Israeli politics, politicization of the soldiers and their influence on shaping the decisions

of the public in elections than this "democratic putsch."

In fact, after Netanyahu's failed attempt to diminish the military influence in Israeli politics, the soldiers, active or retired, started playing a more dominant role in national security decision-making. In terms of soldier-politicians, former CGS Ehud Barak replaced Netanyahu with his epaulet as "Mr. Security" while his cabinet included retired officers such as Yitzhak Mordechai and Binyamin Ben-Eliezer as Deputy Prime Ministers, Amnon Lipkin-Shahak as Minister of Tourism and then Minister of Transportation, and Sphraim Sneh as Deputy Minister of Defense. At the military level, on the other hand, military officers were involved in the political decision-making more as the Second Intifada broke out in 2000. In this period, both growing military influence and Barak's leadership style pushed the civilian political institutions away from the decision-making process. Indeed, the Israeli cabinet did not convene a single meeting on Israel's military objectives during the first three years of the Second Intifada. Moshe Ya'alon, the CGS from 2002 to 2005, describes the politicians in this period as "in distress, looking for options, grabbing at every phone call and iota of information that someone came up with" and in this atmosphere the military was able to shape the political decision-making to conform to its preferences (Freilich 2012, 29-31). Nevertheless, it is important to mention that, similar to the state-building period, this institutional military influence was not decisive in the political decision-making. Throughout this period, politicians were the prime decision-makers and they were able to make political decisions in opposition to the officers' preferences; for example, Barak's decision to withdraw from Lebanon and Sharon's disengagement plan from Gaza.

In sum, it is difficult to dismiss the military influence on political decision-making as an important factor to explain the policies followed during the intifadas. The important point here is that, similar to the state-building process, the military remained subservient to the political echelon while the officers supported some political ideologies over others. Contradictions between the political and military echelons were observable especially during Netanyahu's tenure and, to some extent, the Second Intifada; however, these contradictions never led to military control as seen in Turkey. Instead, the military influence in Israel took place in the form of participation. This form of military influence not only provided for civilian control of the military, but it also prevented a homogenous preference structure within the military. As the politicians were divided into different camps as to how to provide peace and security after the occupation of the territories in the Six Day War, the military officers who participated in politics supported different ideologies throughout the intifada. The next section will deal with this division, which significantly affects the explanatory power of military activism and military conservatism theories in the Israeli case.

5.2 Military Participation and the Intifadas

The analysis in the following pages will show that unlike Turkey where soldiers and soldier-politicians categorically advocated more hawkish policies towards the Kurds during the PKK conflict than civilians, in the Israeli case it is difficult to make such a categorization since, as Yoram Peri (2002, 13) points out, what is observed in Israeli political decision-making is "a coalition of officers and politicians versus another coalition of officers and politicians" rather than "politicians versus officers." This is

mainly the result of the Six-Day War, which created division amongst politicians and the society on how to reach peace and security. By socializing with these groups through participation, the soldiers as well were divided on this issue throughout the Intifadas. As a result, while a group of soldiers and politicians argued that negotiation with the Arab states and then Palestinians is possible with the formula of "land for peace," hawkish soldiers and politicians supported the "peace for peace" formula, which rejects the withdrawal from the territories and accepts military strength as the main determinant in the Palestinian conflict.

5.2.1 Military Conservatism and the First Intifada

As pointed out, the concern the lack of territorial depth and the necessity for territorial expansion were the main pillars of Israeli security mindset in the formation years of the state. Founding fathers of Israel believed that once the Israeli state shows its strength and the Arab states understand that they cannot remove the Jews from the region by force, they would sit down to the negotiation table with Israel and peace would come. In accordance with this belief, after the Six-Day War and occupation of the Golan Heights, Gaza Strip, Sinai, West Bank, or Judea and Samaria as they were called in Israel, and East Jerusalem, the Israeli government announced that they would be willing to exchange some of these lands to Arab states in return for peace With Moshe Dayan's famous phrase, now the government was "waiting for a phone call" from the Arab states to impose peace conditions (Peters and Newman 2013, 84). Yet, the Arab states' reaction to Israel's offer was the Khartoum Resolution of September 1967 which announced that there should be "no peace with Israel, no recognition of Israel, no negotiations with it,

and insistence on the rights of the Palestinian people in their own country" (Roberts 2008, 1287-88).

Instead of bringing peace with Arab states, the occupation of new lands created two problems for the Israeli state. First, it created polarization in the Israeli political structure. While some left-wing Israeli politicians pursued the "land for peace" formula and waited for an Arab reply, right-wing groups refrained from emphasizing territorial concession in favor of peace. Although the only territorial concession in this period was made during the right-wing Likud government when Prime Minister Menachem Begin signed the Camp David Accords with Egypt on September 17, 1978 and withdrew the military and civilian presence from the Sinai peninsula, right-wing politicians was determined not to make concessions on the West Bank, Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem where the Palestinian question lies.[92] It is a fact that even within the left-wing political groups, especially the Labor leadership, there were different views about the future of the territories. While some supported the Allon Plan of July 1967 and accepted the division of the West Bank between Israel and Jordan, others, such as Moshe Dayan, were more inclined to establish Israeli governance on these lands. As the territorial problem remained unsolved for years, the issue created polarization in the Israeli political system.

Second, Israeli governments had to deal with a hostile population in the territories. Right after the Six Day War, Moshe Dayan's Defense Ministry prepared a political plan to govern the territories and the Palestinian population living there. The

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[92] The Camp David Accords envisioned the establishment of a self-governing authority in the West Bank and Gaza and transitional arrangements for a period not exceeding five years. Nevertheless, neither the Israeli nor Egyptian government was serious about Palestinian self-rule in these territories. Indeed, as Peres (1995, 254) writes, the agreement was mainly designed to provide Israeli-Egyptian peace while leaving Palestinian, Jerusalem and refugee issues to "various cosmetic accords and side letters."

political plan was not oppressive in the sense that it envisaged an "invisible" military administration in which possible signs of the Israeli presence – such as Israeli military administration buildings, the Israeli flag, Israeli military patrols, etc. – would be minimized. In addition, Dayan proposed an open bridge policy which provided a connection between the Arab population in the territories and the surrounding Arab countries (Gazit 2003, 44). Nevertheless, the Israeli government was reluctant to recognize Palestinian national identity and political rights. Furthermore, no matter how "invisible" it was the Palestinians who were living under the military occupation in which they were passing through military checkpoints everyday to go in and out of the Israeli cities. They were witnessing the establishment of Israeli settlements in the territories and comparing their life conditions, especially those living in refugee camps, with the Jews surrounding them. The military conflicts between Israel and the Arab states as well as the PLO were also increasing their national consciousness, especially when Israeli military actions ended with civilian massacres, such as the Sabra and Shatilla massacres during the 1982 Lebanon War. Although the military administration from 1967 to 1987 was relatively easy and without a major conflict, there was a growing frustration in the territories. The signs of intifada were evident as in 1987, compared to the previous year, there was a 133 percent rise in the number of demonstrations and riots, 178 precent in tire-burnings, 140 percent in stone-throwing and 68 percent in road-blocking in Gaza (Schiff and Yaari 1990, 30).

Despite the growing Palestinian frustration, the polarization in the Israeli political system prevented any solution. This polarization was evident even under the unity

government which formed between Likud Party leader Yitzhak Shamir and Labor Party leader Shimon Peres in 1984. In 1987, Peres, as the Foreign Minister, approached King Hussein of Jordan and on April 11, eight months before the eruption of the intifada, Peres and Hussein agreed to convene an international conference in order to find a solution to the Palestinian issue (Peres 1995, 314-15). Nevertheless, Shamir, as the Prime Minister, rejected the Peres-Hussein agreement because of his disinterest in sharing the West Bank with Jordan.[93] Although it is difficult to know if the Peres-Hussein agreement would solve the Palestinian issue, the growing frustration in the territories and the Israeli politicians' inability to offer a political solution to the Palestinian issue were ominous signs of a major confrontation.

The Palestinian uprising, or intifada (shaking off) in Arabic, broke out on December 8, 1987, when an Israeli truck hit a car at the Jabalya refugee camp in the Gaza Strip, killing four Palestinian laborers in the car and injuring others. As the final straw that broke the camel's back, this small incident triggered major demonstrations in the form of throwing rocks, road-blocking, and closing shops as a rumor spread among the Palestinians that the truck driver deliberately killed the Palestinians in retaliation for the stabbing of an Israeli two days ago. Soon the riots and demonstrations spread to the West Bank and East Jerusalem and according to the numbers given by B'Tselem (2014), the Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories, within the six

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[93] Indeed, political disagreement between the Labor and the Likud parties on the future of the territories was so grave that Peres had to ask George Shultz, the American Secretary of the State, to offer the agreement to the Israeli government as an American initiative. Shultz replied positively to this strange request and phoned Shamir to tell him that he might visit the Middle East to present the principles. Through his aide Elyakim Rubinstein, Shamir informed Shultz that he was not interested in the idea and told him kindly that he did not need to come to the Middle East (Barari 2004, 26-27).

years until the signature of the Declaration of Principles which officially started the peace process, the uprising cost 1,124 Palestinian lives in the occupied territories, including East Jerusalem, whereas 160 Israelis – 90 within the occupied territories plus 70 in Israel, were killed by Palestinians.

As soon as the intifada broke out, the use of force was heavily adopted by the Israeli security establishment in accordance with the Israeli security doctrine in the territories, which was formulated by then Defense Minister Shimon Peres and Minister of Police Shlomo Hillel in 1976. This doctrine was based on Dayan's formula of "invisible administration" and it proposed "a clear-cut policy of reward and punishment" which offered benefits to those Palestinians who cooperated with the administration while sanctioning those who did not. In case of disturbances, the policy allowed the Border Police – military troops could be used "for reinforcement only" – to open fire only in self-defense and in life-threatening situations and instead highlighted other drastic security measures such as imposing curfews, arresting of demonstrators, demolishing houses, withholding salaries, deportation from the country, etc. (Schiff and Yaari 1990, 115-16). This policy remained unchanged in the late-1980s and from the breakout of the intifada to early January, it became the basis of the security measures.

During this period, both politicians and military officers – and even Arafat – believed that the demonstrations would die down soon as had happened several times in the past. Yet, when he understood that this intifada was different from its predecessors, Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin sent IDF troops to the occupied territories and increased the security measures by introducing the "policy of beating." Because "[n]obody dies of a

beating," Rabin reportedly ordered the soldiers to give each Palestinian a scar as a

continuation of Israel's traditional deterrence policy. Later Col. Yehuda Meir told the

military court that he personally heard Rabin saying, "Go in and break their bones," and

"If they will be beaten, it will hurt them, and the demonstrations will stop" (Jerusalem

Post 1990). The policy of beating was also regarded to be beneficial for the soldiers'

morale when they were facing a new kind of warfare in which they could not use their

firearms as frequently as in the international wars (Inbar 2008, 42-43). Other security

measures such as removing work permits, house demolitions, deportations and even

assassinating the high-level PLO figures such as Arafat's deputy Khalil al-Wazir in April

1988 were designed both to deter the Palestinians as well as boost the army morale. Yet,

all these policies caused more frustration among the Palestinians and after this point

Rabin accepted the fact that the uprising could be solved by military means alone.

Rabin's observation created a critical confrontation in an already divided Israeli

political system. When the intifada broke out there were several political parties, which

held diverse ideologies, within the Knesset. On the one side, there was the right-wing

group which included many Likud members and political parties such as the National

Religious Party, Tzomet, Moledet and Tehiya. This group proposed the annexation of

occupied territories and opposed the idea of a Palestinian state because they regarded

Jordan as a Palestinian state, an idea Ariel Sharon developed to prevent the creation of a

Palestinian state and to annex the territories. Some of these parties were headed by

soldier-politicians. The leader of Tzomet was former CGS Rafael Eitan. Eitan was

infamous for brutal language against Palestinians such as "a good Arab is a dead Arab,"

"[Arabs are] a cancer in the nation's body" or Palestinians are like "cockroaches in bottles" (Benziman 1985, 264; Talhami 1998, 88). He was one of the main supporters for the Israeli presence in the territories and for this purpose he created the system of "area defense" in the territories by organizing Jewish settlers into reservist units during his tenure as the CGS in the 1970s (Ben-Eliezer 2001, 157). To him, Arabs would only understand the use of force and diplomacy would not work on them: "[C]oncessions made to the Arabs are interpreted by them as signs of weakness and of weariness from the struggle. Such concessions teach them that their continued intransigence pays off, that they will gain the upper hand in the end. Concessions lead the Arabs to harden their position, and turn them into even more vigorous adversaries" (Peri 2006, 165). And his solution to the intifada was simple but brutal: "a bullet in the head of every stone thrower" (Bishara 1988).

Moledet was also led by a soldier-politician, Rehavam Zeevi, who once headed the Israeli Army's command in the West Bank, and his party advocated the expulsion of Arabs from the country. Even before the breakout of the intifada, in July 1987, he stated that the Arabs would be "compelled to make peace with Israel" only when Israel adopts a policy to "transfer" the Palestinian Arabs from the occupied territories to neighboring Arab lands. This radical offer found support from the government circles when Deputy Defense Minister Michael Dekel from Likud proposed the same argument three weeks later (New York Times 1987). The breakout of the intifada strengthened Zeevi's belief of the necessity of expulsion and his opposition to the political concessions to the Palestinians. Indeed, Zeevi was the one who brought the end of the right-wing

government in 1992 after the Madrid Peace Conference started and he was joined by another soldier-politician, Tehiya's leader Yuval Neeman who declared in his letter of resignation, "I hope our leaving the government will slow the peace process, which we see as a mortal danger to the state of Israel" (Shlaim 2001, 497).

Although not as radical as this group led by soldier-politicians and the NRP which changed its moderate position toward the Palestinians after 1967 and started acting with religious mysticism, the Likud Party under the leadership of Yitzhak Shamir was also inclined to support military policies toward the Palestinians and opposed political concessions. Despite not being a former military officer, Shamir had been the leader of the Lehi, a paramilitary group in the pre-independence period, and his ideology prioritized military power in the relations with the Arab states and the Palestinians. In his article published in *Foreign Affairs*, Shamir (1982, 789) made this point by stating, "Where there is strength, there is peace – at least, shall we say, peace has a chance. Peace will be unattainable if Israel is weak or perceived to be so." During his prime ministry from 1986 to 1992, Shamir became the civilian face of the security school as he rejected concessions towards the Palestinians and Arab states while supporting militarist policies during the intifada.

According to Shamir, Israel needed to be strong all the time because it faced a hostile world and after the intifada erupted he started to believe that there was no difference between the existential threat the state fought against in the first two decades and the danger the intifada posed. In his memoirs he wrote that the intifada was neither a spontaneous venting of frustration nor civil disobedience but "a continuation of the war

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against Israel's existence" that aimed to push Israelis back to the 1967 lines (Shamir 1994, 102). His oft-quoted words, "The sea is the same sea and the Arabs are the same Arabs" reflects his belief that Arabs' hostility towards Israel had not changed since the foundation of the state and Israel cannot trust anything other than its own military power. Territory, from his perspective, was an important factor for military power and he pointed out that Israel should not concede even a small piece of territory for a peace agreement. "You sign a paper and say, 'Here is the peace'," he stated, "[b]ut what if tomorrow you tear up the paper and with one stroke of the pen you abolish the treaty?" (Shlaim 2001, 465). Shamir and his followers in Likud argued that if the Arabs were sincere with peace, they would demand "just" peace, not peace in exchange of territory (Shamir 1994, 174-75). Yet, he believed, this was not the case and even if Israel adopts a "land for peace" policy, as Labor and the United States proposed, it would change nothing in Arab-Israeli relations as giving up Taba, a small town on the northern tip of the Gulf of Aqaba which Israel occupied in 1967 and in which they had built a 400-room hotel, in 1988 did not change anything (Ibid., 172).

Although Shamir headed the paramilitary Lehi in the past and his ideas highlighted security concerns, he was more of an ideologue than a military man and his attachment to the territories was mainly ideological rather than security-based. During his tenure, he persistently supported the idea that Israel has a right to every inch of the Eretz Israel and opposed any other national narrative on these lands. To him, the problem in the region was not a lack of a homeland for the Palestinians since they had a home in Jordan whose language and culture was not different from other Palestinians and it was "merely

an accident of history that this state is called the Kingdom of Jordan and not the Kingdom of Palestine" (Shamir 1982, 791). He argued that any kind of autonomy for the Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district,[94] but not for the territory itself, should be based on the Camp David Accords of 1978 in which Israel was not bound by any preconditions after the proposed five-year interim period. Therefore, political concessions were quite limited in Shamir's ideology and territorial concessions were impractical.

On the other side of the political spectrum, there were moderate political groups who emphasized that the use of force alone cannot bring an end to the intifada and proposed different political solutions. On the far left, there was Hadash, a communist party that was founded in 1977 and gained fifty percent of the Arab vote in the 1977 and 1981 elections; Progressive List for Peace, which emphasized Palestinian national identity; and, the Arab Democratic Party. These non-Zionist parties, which gained around seven percent of the total vote in the 1988 elections, were criticizing the government's iron-fisted policies during the intifada and supporting a Palestinian state in the territories (Peleg and Waxman 2011, 55). Yet, the main moderate voice in Israeli politics was the Zionist Left, which included political parties such as Labor, Yahad, Mapam and the Citizen's Right Movement. These parties, which adopted the "land for peace" formula, were less ideologically attached to the territories than the Likud Party and their members, and to differing degrees, were ready to negotiate with the Arab states and even the PLO

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[94] Israeli politicians refrained from using the word, West Bank, and called the area with its biblical names and they even did not use "Gaza Strip" but called it "district" to show that the area is an integral part of the Israeli state.

albeit the fact that their moderation was based on security concerns not sympathy for the Palestinians.

Similar to the right-wing parties, the Zionist Left included several soldier-politicians and among them, Haim Bar-Lev, Mordechai Gur, Ezer Weizman, and Yitzhak Rabin were holding ministerial posts in the national unity government in the first years of the intifada. Individually these soldier-politicians played significant roles in the deterioration of the Palestinian issue during their military careers. I already mentioned the activist attitude of Weizman and Rabin during the Six-Day War, and Mordechai Gur similarly left an important mark in the history of the conflict during the Sebastia Affair of 1975 when members of the messianic and activist Gush Emunim settlers group founded a settlement in the West Bank. Although Rabin, then Prime Minister, wanted to remove the settlement, Gur objected to this decision on the grounds that it would lead to bloodshed (Peri 2006, 168-69); however, during the intifadas, Gush Emunim did its utmost to obstruct any peace initiative and allied with the right-wing politicians in promoting excessive security policies.

Nevertheless, participation in the political process softened the political philosophy of some Israeli soldier-politicians in the left-wing parties and when the intifada started some were more moderate than others. Interestingly, the most moderate soldier-politician in this period was Ezer Weizman, whose hawkish character was replaced with moderate views after he entered into politics and played an important role in Israel-Egypt peace negotiations in the 1970s. Until he was fired by the Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir in March 1990, on the grounds that he made contact with Yasser Arafat,

Weizman opposed extreme security measures that may have a negative effect on Israeli-Palestinian/Arab relations. For instance, during the inner-cabinet discussion on the assassination of Arafat's deputy Khalil al-Wazir in April 1988, Weizman was the only dissenting voice opposing this action, whereas Rabin and Bar-Lev supported the assassination. Weizman argued that Israel had for several years respected an unwritten agreement not to attack PLO leaders and that such as act would jeopardize the prospect for peace and deteriorate the intifada problem (Washington Post 1988b). Weizman also constantly supported the negotiations with the PLO and Arafat because he believed that only this strategy would bring peace, and he supported Abba Eban when the latter proposed amending the Labor program, which forbade negotiation with the PLO.[95] For the same reason, the former general rejected Shamir's peace plan, which included no negotiations with the PLO.

Yet, the most influential politician on the Israeli Left was not Weizman, but two leaders of the Labor Party, Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Rabin. Although these two politicians recognized the principle of partition, their attitudes to the Palestinian issue were not quite the same as Peres represented the dovish camp in Labor and Rabin, the former general, was known as the leader of the hawkish camp in the party. In spite of not having a military background, Peres was a prominent member of the Labor's militarist group during the state-building process, and, with Moshe Dayan, he played an important role both in convincing Ben-Gurion to attack Egypt in 1956 and in opposing territorial

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[95] Instead of specifying any party not to negotiate, Eban proposed that Israel would negotiate with any party which met three conditions set by the Henry Kissinger in 1975 for the possibility of talks between the United States and the PLO. These conditions are recognition of Israel, acceptance of the UN Resolutions of 242 and 338 and renunciation of terrorism (Bishara 1988).

compromise after 1967. Nevertheless, similar to Weizman, his political psychology started changing after the Israel-Egypt peace negotiations and he began to hold a visionary outlook for the Middle East. This saw a political, economic, and social transformation of the Middle East like the historical process in Europe where successive periods of warfare were replaced by regional cooperation (Inbar 1990, 435). Throughout the 1980s, Peres held the idea that the deadlock in the territories was the main obstacle to realizing this dream.

As soon as the intifada started, Peres believed that peace was more urgent than ever, unlike Shamir who saw the intifada as proof that the Palestinians were not interested in anything but the destruction of the Israeli state. In the first month of the uprising, Peres proposed the demilitarization of the Gaza Strip and dismantling of the Jewish settlements in the area as the first step of a peace settlement. This proposal was criticized by Shamir who called Peres as "a defeatist with a scalpel who wants to put Israel on the operating table so he can give away Gaza today, Judea and Samaria tomorrow, and the Golan Heights after that" (Peretz 1990, 41). Despite this opposition, Peres continued his search for a peace agreement and he soon realized that any possible solution to end the intifada was dependent on negotiation with the PLO and Arafat. This understanding made the Oslo process of 1993, of which Peres was one of the architects, possible after Labor came to power in 1992; yet, Peres alone could not realize peace negotiations with the PLO alone. Although he was strong within the Labor Party, Peres has never been "Mr. Security" in Israeli politics because of his lack of military background and he was less popular even than Yitzhak Shamir among the Israeli public

when the state faced a Palestinian uprising. In a militarized society like Israel's, Peres'

visionary outlook should have been complemented with security considerations which

were provided by a former general, Yitzhak Rabin.

Rabin was the Defense Minister within the national unity governments from 1984

to 1990 and his position was the result of a compromise between Labor and Likud

because, as a former general, he was a Laborite with a security mindset. As pointed out,

he adopted the "policy of beating" in the first months of the intifada and he did not

refrain from strict security measures during his tenure and his policies were welcomed by

the Likud politicians. For Rabin, as in 1967, the deterrence capability of the Israeli state

was more important than anything else and it is a fact that in some cases his preference to

deter the Palestinian Arabs deteriorated the situation on the ground during the intifada.

His allowance of the policy of beating, approval for the assassination of Palestinian

leaders, the policies of demolishing houses and expulsion of some Palestinians, imposing

curfews and revoking work-permits or bringing heavy fines and even prison terms to

stone-throwers were all the result of keeping the deterrent power of the state.

While Rabin held his security mindset during his military and political career, he

was not ideologically opposed to political options as were many Likudniks and right-

wing politicians. To him, the security of the Israelis was more important than ideology

and/or territory and he was willing to concede land to the Palestinians as long as Israeli

security considerations were met. As his special media adviser Eitan Haber put it, he was

ready to "give up the land with Abraham's grave if it was necessary for security"

(Aronoff 2009, 46). Contrary to Shamir, he did not see Palestinian violence as an

existential threat but as an issue of personal security for Israelis, and the ideal solution

was autonomy for the Palestinians in Gaza not because he was attached to their concerns

but because he wanted to see fewer Palestinians among the Israelis (Makovsky 1996, 85).

He wanted to "see the Gazans in Gaza" (Slater 1996, 493), and he was willing to concede

land and negotiate with anybody to provide this separation.

In addition, Rabin was quick to recognize that military measures alone could not

solve the problem. He ruled out annexing the territories or mass-expulsion of the

Palestinians and in a local meeting of the Labor Party in February 1988, he candidly

identified the nature of the problem: "I've learned something in the past [two and a half]

months. Among other things is that you can't rule by force over 1.5-million Palestinians"

(St. Petersburg Times 1988). Finally, Rabin did not have red lines on Israeli-Palestine

relations. Although in the spring of 1988 Rabin stated that he opposed the negotiations

with the PLO, within the same day he made a contradictory statement by saying that he is

ready to negotiate with any PLO member who renounced the Palestinian covenant that

called for the destruction of Israel, who was ready to stop violence and terror, and who

was ready to accept Resolutions 242 and 338, albeit "not in the context of the UN

General Assembly resolutions" (Slater 1996, 418-20).

Therefore, Rabin was a realist and practical, rather than a visionary as Peres or an

ideologue like Shamir. It is true that his military mindset on certain points led to

excessive use of force to deter the Arabs. Yet, this very same mindset made peace with

the Palestinians possible when Rabin, at the beginning of the 1990s, saw that the real

threat to Israeli security would come from Israel's outer circle – Iran and Iraq – rather

than inner circle – Jordan, Syria and Palestine. In addition, he regarded the collapse of the

Soviet Union as an opportunity to make peace with the Arabs and the Palestinians. After

the dissolution of the national unity government in 1990, Rabin first entered into a

leadership struggle against Peres within the Labor party and then against Shamir in the

elections of 1992, during which he announced that he wanted to conclude an agreement

on Palestinian autonomy within six to nine months of taking office and then to make

peace agreements with Jordan and Syria subsequently. Shortly after being elected as

Prime Minister, Rabin made clear that he was ready to break taboos on the Palestinian

issue by stating in the Knesset, "Peace you don't make with friends, but with very

unsympathetic enemies. I won't try to make the PLO look good. It was an enemy, it

remains an enemy, but negotiations must be with enemies" (Ross 2004, 92).

Consequently, after two Israeli academics, Dr. Yair Hirschfeld and Dr. Ron

Pundak, met with PLO representatives in Oslo under the guidance of Deputy Foreign

Minister Yossi Beilin and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, Rabin supported the process.

At the same time, Rabin did not refrain from implementing heavy security measures

when he deemed necessary to keep the deterrent power of the state; for example, he

expelled 400 Palestinians from the territories in December 1992 after a terrorist attack

(Haberman 1992). Similarly, he closed off the Gaza Strip in April 1993 and kept more

than 100,000 Palestinians from going to their jobs after the terrorist attacks in March

which cost ten Israeli lives (Slater 1996, 571-72). Yet, this time Rabin did not adopt these

security measures only to show the deterrent power of the state to the extremists among

the Palestinians. According to Makovsky, through retaliation he also tried to calm the

uneasy Israeli public following violent acts and enable them to accept the peace process when definitive steps were taken (Makovsky 1996, 88); this is just like when Sharett approved some reprisal attacks only to calm the public in the 1950s. From this perspective, it is not surprising to see that Rabin followed the Oslo process at the same time he adopted some strict security measures. In the end, on September 13, Rabin officially recognized the PLO and Arafat as the representatives of the Palestinians, signed the Declaration of Principles, which recognized a five-year interim period of Palestinian self-rule, and even shook Arafat's hand in front of the world, although he was quite displeased: "Of all the hands in the world, it was not the hand that I wanted or even dreamed of touching" (Slater 1996, 586).

As this comparative analysis shows, Israeli politicians had quite diverse preferences on how to end the intifada, the efficiency of the use of force and the possibility of negotiations with the Palestinians during the first intifada. This difference also reflects itself among the soldier-politicians, as some former generals preferred strict security measures while others demanded negotiations with the PLO and Arafat and, as the example of Rabin shows, there were some combining both preferences in one political philosophy. Therefore, it is clear that different political ideologies were able to attract soldier-politicians, which makes political ideology a more important variable than military mindset in the Israeli case. The analysis also shows that however diverse the political ideologies after 1967, they were still based on the norms and values Ben-Gurion set during the state-building process. While right-wing parties and Likud members shaped their political views in accordance with Ben-Gurion's argument of an existential

threat and his concepts of "a small island in an Arab sea," "the few against the many,"

and "there is no alternative," left-wing politicians based their political acts on his belief

that Arabs would come to peace with Israel in order to gain their captured land back. In

short, right-wing politicians were using Ben-Gurion's fears whereas left-wing politicians

his hope in shaping their preferences in the Israeli-Palestine conflict.

The Israeli case confirms Huntington's thesis that there is no single "civilian

mind" and that in some cases "the difference between any two civilian ethics may be

greater than the difference between any one of them and the military ethic" (Huntington

1985, 89). Then the question becomes, which civilian ethic was closer to the military's

preferences during the first intifada? An analysis of the intifadas shows that the political

mindset a commander holds is an important variable in his preference on how to end the

intifada. The first CGS of the intifada was Dan Shomron and until he left his post in

1991, his views on the intifada and the use of force were close to Defense Minister

Yitzhak Rabin. Although from the first weeks of the intifada, Shomron and Amram

Mitzna, the commander of the Central Command, imposed harsh punishments on

Palestinians in accordance with Israeli security doctrine, they shared the same belief with

Rabin that the use of force alone cannot solve the intifada problem.

As soon as the intifada started, both generals made it clear to the political echelon

that the military would not engage in a "reign of terror" to end the intifada problem, as

Mitzna refused the demands to dispatch tanks to Nablus, the largest city in the West

Bank, and level Palestinian neighborhoods. In addition, Shomron frequently emphasized

that firearms would be used only in life-threatening conditions and Mitzna questioned the

efficiency of the large-scale military measures demanded by the right-wing politicians as he stated, "The more violent we get, the more we do not distinguish between the guilty and the innocent. We'll get into a vicious cycle that we'll never be able to get out of" (Frankel 1994, 87-88). Faced with demands for large-scale military measures and the use of firearms against demonstrators, Shomron even threatened to resign as he said in March 1988, "If someone wants to achieve calm at the cost of ordering the Army to...go against the basic norms of the Israeli Army, then it will have to be without me" (Washington Post 1988a).

Similar to Rabin, military generals realized the nationalist dimension of the intifada and proposed strong-fist security policies without making life in the territories unbearable. According to the CGS Shomron, the intifada was similar to the Algerian uprising and pure military measures would backfire (Jerusalem Post 1989f). He stated that as military officers they "consulted, and decided to tread delicately, not to take irreversible steps and actions" in order to keep the political options open for the politicians (Horowitz 1996, 117-18). Indeed, from March 1988, Shomron started calling on politicians to reach an accord with the Palestinians since, he argued, the military "cannot endure [the] situation forever" (Los Angeles Times 1988). Unlike the Likud government who conditioned the political talks on the end of violence, Shomron stated that peace talks should start even before calm returns. Later in January 1989, during his briefing to the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, Shomron made it clear that there was "no such thing as eradicating the intifada because in its essence it expresses the struggle of nationalism." He also added that the military's job was not to

end the intifada but "to enable the political echelons to operate from a position of strength, so that the violence cannot force the government to take decisions under pressure" (Jerusalem Post 1989a). During this period, Defense Minister Rabin supported Shomron's remarks by arguing that two "big guns" the army holds – house demolitions and deportations – did not achieve their objective of bringing an end to the intifada, and the military simply "exhausted its ideas," a message indicating that now it is Prime Minister Shamir's turn to find a solution (Jerusalem Post 1989c).

During the most intense years of the intifada, all these statements by the military head created distaste among the right-wing politicians. Shamir called Shomron's remarks at the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee "superfluous" (Jerusalem Post 1989b), whereas Foreign Minister Moshe Arens accused him of "passing the buck" and stated that it is "difficult to carry on a positive political process while there is violence in the area" (Jerusalem Post 1989d). Yet, these criticisms toward the head of the army did not stop the latter from expressing his political thoughts. In June 1989, Shomron stated that those who want the intifada eliminated "must understand that there are only three ways to do this: by transfer, starvation, or physical elimination, that is – genocide," which are unacceptable. Shomron further reiterated his belief that while the army could manage to reduce the violence in the territories, it could not fight the motivation of the population to achieve a Palestinian state and there is "no way for weapons to fight it" (Jerusalem Post 1989e). Upon ending his term as the CGS, Shomron made his political philosophy more clear when he argued that a peace settlement is "worth much more than territory" and he supported the policy of trading land for peace with the Palestinians (Washington

Post 1991).

One needs to analyze the organizational interests and culture of the Israeli military in order to understand its conservatism in these years. From the foundation of the state to the first intifada, the Israel military doctrine focused on the external threats. The military assumed the role of protecting the existence of the state and preventing the danger from foreign states or terrorist groups within bordering countries, which Israel fought against in 1948, 1956, 1973 and 1982. Indeed, when the intifada broke out, the military was preoccupied with border tensions and external threats such as trouble along the Lebanon border, terrorist infiltration from Jordan, and the growing threat from Iraq and Iran. In this period, the military officers were also interested in revolutionizing the army and preparing it for the "battlefield of the future" (Schiff and Yaari 1990, 33), mainly against Iraq and Iran. "Up until December 1987," as Horowitz (1996, 112) puts it, "the status quo in the West Bank and Gaza Strip was about the last thing on the Israeli defense establishment's mind."

From this perspective, the breakout of the intifada was surprising to many officers and it created problems for the military doctrine since the IDF had neither strategy nor appropriate equipment to face a hostile population. Specialized in fighting against enemy forces on the battlefield, where almost everything is a life-and-death issue, soldiers have relatively more freedom to use firearms against enemy soldiers and violence was seen as totally legitimate; countering a hostile population whose violent acts were restricted to stone-throwing and fire-burning was a different scenario and necessitated careful management of violence. The IDF was not ready to handle this kind of conflict in the first

years of the intifada and when commanders asked for clear instructions on how to act against civilian disturbances, the reply was frequently ambiguous and the only guideline was, "You have to judge by the situation" (Schiff and Yaari 1990, 26). In some cases, this ambiguity was a free ticket to carry out more violence; this was usually done by Israeli soldiers who were frustrated with the situation.

In these circumstances, where the confused soldiers on the battlefield were complaining about the lack of clear directives from the upper echelon of the military, some generals demanded a swift and massive reaction against the demonstrators in order to nip the uprising in the bud (Ibid., 29). However, the top military men were against this proposal because of organizational interests. Shomron believed that if the army decided to quell the uprising it would have undermined itself since the decision would cause a rift in society and subsequently in the IDF which "encompasses the entire political spectrum in Israel" (Lustick 1993, 412). He and other generals, such as his deputy Ehud Barak and area commanders Amram Mitzna and Yitzhak Mordechai, also feared that broad license to use force and firearms would damage the reputation of the army which had been proud of being a moral and humane army; although, they were equally worried that severe restrictions on the use of force would lead to a collapse of discipline and damage to morale (Schiff and Yaari 1990, 145).

The IDF's institutional culture also played an important role in the officers' reluctance to deal with the intifada and fight against civilian demonstrators. With the history of military victories, there was nothing more prestigious for an Israeli soldier than participating in battles in war and within a militarized society it was more respected than

policing civilians and using force towards them, mostly women and children, in the

territories. Even border engagements were preferred by Israeli soldiers and, as Eyal Ben-

Ari (1998, 78) puts it, being deployed along the Syrian border was "more rewarding and

'serious' than another stint in the intifada." In this culture, dealing with the intifada was

not a part of the military profession and it was mainly regarded as a burden on military

officers' shoulders. This can most clearly be seen in the fact that Maraachot, IDF's

flagship publication, did not publish a single article about the intifada from 1988 to 1995,

although in those years the army's main activity was to cope with it (van Creveld 1998,

345). Therefore, the intifada brought several dilemmas for the military men and they

preferred a political solution to the problem as soon as possible so that they could turn

their attention towards external threats and revolutionizing the army again.

5.2.2 The IDF and Oslo Peace Process

As a former soldier who distrusted politicians and party governance and preferred

working by means of a military system, Yitzhak Rabin mainly relied on military advisers

rather than civilians during his tenure from 1992 to 1995. Although he made the final

decisions, military officers played a more significant role in his political decision-making

than Labor politicians, the Cabinet or the Knesset. Despite this fact and IDF support for a

political solution to the Palestinian problem, however, military officers were kept in the

dark during the secret negotiations in Oslo which started in late-1992 between the Israeli

delegation headed by Dr. Yair Hirschfeld and Dr. Ron Pundak and later by Uri Savir,

Director-General of the Foreign Ministry, and the Palestinian delegation led by Ahmed

Qurei, also known as Abu Ala. At the beginning, Rabin's unwillingness to inform the

military about the Oslo process was based on his belief that the talks would fail soon and he did not want to have to claim responsibility by involving official representatives; instead, if the process failed and it leaked to the Israeli press, he wanted to see the blame fall on his intraparty rival Shimon Peres, as the main architect of the talks after Yossi Beilin. When the talks got serious and he sent Uri Savir to Oslo, he still kept leaving the soldiers out of the process since he was afraid that the soldiers would slow things down with the security details for the implementation process (Makovsky 1996, 101). According to him, the central issues in Oslo were political and ideological, such as the problem of mutual recognition and there was no need for security experts at this stage (Peri 2002, 26).

After the Oslo Accords were signed, Rabin involved the military officers in the peace negotiations as Maj. Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak, Deputy CGS, was appointed to head the Israeli team to negotiate with the PLO on the withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and Jericho in the West Bank, as agreed to during the negotiations in Oslo. Shahak belonged to the dovish axis within the military and even in 1987 he reportedly stated that the PLO was the only representative of the Palestinians (Makovsky 1996, 102). Later in 1989, he candidly accepted that the intifada was directed and led by the PLO, a statement which drew criticism from the Likud ministers who accused him of interfering in politics and, more importantly, granting legitimacy to the PLO (Peri 2006, 35). During the peace negotiations Shahak kept his moderate stance as his pictures wearing Arab gowns and standing arm-in-arm with Arab negotiators was covered in the right-wing Israeli press in order to criticize the peace negotiations. Shahak was one of Rabin's important aides in

pursuing the peace process and even after the latter was assassinated in 1995 Shahak

sustained Rabin's framework during his tenure as the CGS from 1995 to 1998, which

brought him into confrontation with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

Nevertheless, being excluded disturbed some military officers, especially Ehud

Barak, the CGS from 1991-95, who argued that there were several security loopholes in

the Oslo Accords. "Yitzhak, be careful, we have a lot of holes," Barak warned the Prime

Minister after seeing the agreement shortly before it became public, "It's like Swiss

cheese" (Karsh 2003, 133). Indeed, during his tenure as the CGS Barak became one of

the most prominent critics of the Oslo Accords, not because it proposed accommodation

with the Palestinians, but because of the strategy and tactics followed at the negotiations.

According to him, "step-by-step," "salami tactics," or the "death-by-a-thousand-cuts"

approach followed in Oslo was detrimental to Israeli security and its negotiating positions

as Israel was gradually relinquishing pieces of territory through interim agreements

without accomplishing Israel's main objective: a final peace (Swisher 2004, 43). By

looking only through the security perspective, Barak simply ignored the confidence-

building measures between two ethnic groups. What he preferred instead was a "package

deal" in which both Israelis and Palestinians would make major concessions on all

important issues, such as Jerusalem, borders, the return of refugees, etc. (Freilich 2012,

173). These ideas played an important role in Barak's opposition to the Oslo agreements

and he kept his ideas after entering politics, as he, as the Minister of Internal Affairs,

publicly confronted Rabin in September 1995 and abstained from voting in favor of an

interim agreement, known as Oslo B or the Taba Agreement.

While the military was not happy with the security concessions and loopholes in the Oslo process, the left-wing politicians were highly critical of what they saw as the "growing militarization of diplomacy." At the beginning of 1994, the Israeli press was reporting the crisis between Peres' Foreign Ministry and Barak's IDF as the latter was discontented with what Peres gave away in terms of Israeli security. To some, the generals were playing on the differences between Rabin and Peres while senior officers rejected this claim by stating, the rift between two politicians "ha[d] to do with the internal politics of the Labor Party…exploited by the Likud opposition" (Independent 1994). While this argument had some merit, the discontent between the left-wing politicians and the military was not a secret. Shimon Peres and Yossi Sarid, Minister of Environment, were especially unhappy with Rabin's decision to involve generals in the political process. Sarid criticized it by stating, "I think the military should be involved only in military issues. Each person should know his role." Yet, Rabin, who excluded the military in Oslo because the discussions were political and ideological, did not agree with this argument since the Israel-PLO talks now dealt with security issues, which would affect the safety of Israelis (Jerusalem Post 1994a).

Therefore, as his political philosophy combined the will to reach peace with security considerations, Rabin's political acts highlighted the balance between Peres, with his visionary outlook, and Barak, with his military mindset. What was critical for the peace process was that Rabin managed to protect this balance until his assassination in November 1995. It is true that sometimes Peres was quite frustrated with the military officers who, he believed, could not see the larger picture and benefits of peace but

obsessed with insignificant details. For instance, in one of cabinet discussions right

before the Oslo B agreement, Peres exploded with rage after the military objected to a

Palestinian police station in Hebron, using the Jewish settlers as an excuse (Savir 1998,

202):

> I'm fed up with your fear of what the settlers will say. What gal! You want
> 150,000 Hebronites to remain under our control because of 400 Jews?
> There's a limit to arrogance and a limit to timidity. I'm telling you that we
> can break Arafat, if that's what you want. But then we'll be left with
> Hamas, an intifada, and terror. We've made a decision to strive for a
> political settlement. Today we must decide who's in charge in this
> country: the government or a handful of settlers. And to you generals, I
> say: you too must weigh this matter from the standpoint of security.
> Enough of this dread of how the settlers will react!"

In this kind of critical confrontation, Rabin backed up Peres and the Foreign

Ministry against the military and soldier-politicians within the cabinet who were reluctant

for Israeli redeployment as well as the Likud Party and Jewish settlers opposing the peace

process at all. During this period, the cooperation between Rabin and Peres, intraparty

rivals since the 1970s, played an important role for the peace process as the two

politicians complemented each other. On the other side, Rabin gave autonomy to the

military on peace negotiations when extremists on both sides kept utilizing violence to

obstruct the peace process. In addition, there were some critical views to the peace

process among the generals as some had no trust in the PLO and Arafat to meet security

conditions and others believed that Arafat was too weak to apply efficient control on

Hamas and Islamic Jihad, two Palestinian paramilitary groups opposing the peace

process. On these issues, Rabin shared the general's concern as he demanded that Arafat

and the PLO "have their own Altalena" to control the violent groups as Ben-Gurion did

during the Israeli state-building process (Derfler 2014, 169). Military officers, in return, did not obstruct the peace negotiations during Rabin's tenure despite their concerns about security.

During this period, opposition to the peace process and demand for strict security measures against the Palestinians were mainly coming from right-wing opposition and Jewish settlers in the occupied territories. Benjamin Netanyahu, who replaced Shamir as the Likud leader, and Rafael Eitan were the leading politicians critical of the Oslo process. According to them, what Rabin signed was not a peace agreement but "articles of surrender" and it would bring "Israel's destruction" (Jerusalem Post 1994b). Jewish settlers in the territories, on the other hand, called on religious soldiers not to obey the orders for redeployment and claimed that killing Rabin, who gave up the sacred territory, was legitimate. Consequently, on November 4, 1995, Rabin was assassinated by Yigal Amir, a right-wing Israeli radical, during a peace rally supporting the Oslo Accords in Tel Aviv. Although assassination was a huge blow showing the uneasy path of the peace process, the majority of Israelis were still supportive of the peace process.

However, Peres, who probably thought that his lack of security credentials might cause a problem in the elections, decided to prove that he also had a tough face like the late Rabin and he made two critical mistakes during his interim rule. First, he gave the order to assassinate Hamas bomb-maker Yahya Ayyash. The decision for the operation was made during Peres' meeting with Shin Bet, the Israeli Security Service, officers and in the absence of political advisers (Enderlin 2003, 22). The problem with the operation is that this was a time when Arafat was powerful enough to stop Hamas' terrorist activities

and, indeed, the organization did not carry out any significant attack for months before the assassination. In addition, Mohammed Dahlan, Arafat's security chief in Gaza, warned Shin Bet not to make Ayyash a hero by killing him and gave a guarantee that they could control him (Tyler 2012, 386). Yet, the Israeli security establishment ignored these warnings and Ayyash's assassination triggered a series of suicide bombings after his death. Second, after rocket attacks from South Lebanon by Hezbollah, Peres approved a military operation, known as Operation Grapes of Wrath, in his meeting with the military generals, again in the absence of his advisers. Peres realized that if he had rejected the plan, military officers would have leaked his rejection to the press; therefore, he gave his approval (Enderlin 2003, 36-37). As a result, both because of electoral concerns and the pressure by the security establishment, Peres raised the tension in the region; however, against his expectations the conflicts strengthened Netanyahu who was elected as the Prime Minister in the elections of May 1996.

Benjamin Netanyahu's three-years in power, from 1996 to 1999, passed with a series of crises with the military over the Palestinian issue. As a civilian hawk, Netanyahu had been one of the staunchest critics of Israeli-Palestinian negotiations since he entered politics. According to him, the Arabs living in Eretz Israel had no distinct identity from the Arabs living in the rest of the Middle East; therefore, there was no Palestinian nation or culture (Netanyahu 2000, 45-46). In this sense, what is called as the Palestinian question was a part of the Arab-Israeli conflict and any concession on this issue would endanger Israel's existence because of Israel's already disadvantaged position in terms of territorial size and population compared to the Arab states. For Netanyahu what was

critical was Israel's military power because, he argued, "peace through strength" or "peace of deterrence" is the rule of the game in the Middle East and any territorial concession to Arabs, which would weaken Israel, cannot be the solution (Ibid., 319).

Similar to the founding fathers, Netanyahu believed that since the Arabs will not "bang their heads against a stone wall forever," eventually they would demand peace with Israel as soon as they internalize the fact that Israel is there to stay (Ibid., 276). Therefore, with this mindset, Netanyahu's ascension to power was a signal of change in Israeli-Palestinian relations and the peace process. Indeed, the guiding principles of Netanyahu's coalition government, which was composed of far-right political parties, announced on June 16, indicated that although the government was ready to negotiate with the Palestinian Authority (PA) it is committed to strengthen Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Israel has right to send troops "everywhere," including West Bank cities under Palestinian rule, to fight terrorism. The document also pointed out that the government would "oppose the establishment of a Palestinian state or any foreign sovereignty west of the Jordan River" and that Jerusalem would remain "the eternal capital of the Jewish people" (Miller 1996). As a result, it was clear that there would be deadlock almost in all controversial issues – settlements, sovereignty, Jerusalem – over which the Oslo Accords envisaged negotiations between Israel and the PA.

It was also clear that there would be some contradiction between Netanyahu's Palestinian policy and the preferences of the soldiers who were already deeply involved in the peace negotiations. In fact, from the beginning of his tenure, Netanyahu was quite dismissive of the military's opinions on the peace process since the latter was linked with

Labor's Palestinian policy, which called for giving political control of the territories to the PA while keeping the military control in Israel's hands. Yet, Netanyahu believed that if Israel gave up political control, as a rule of sovereignty it would also ultimately have to give up military control (Netanyahu 2000, 311); therefore, he started pushing the military out of the decision-making structure. This was most crucially witnessed in his keeping the military officers in the dark when he decided to open the ancient tunnels under the Wailing Wall and running along the Temple Mount on the night of September 23, 1996. The decision sparked fury among the Arabs who saw the action as a threat to their religious interests on the Temple Mount, which is considered one of the most sacred places by Muslims. What was tragic in the demonstrations was the exchange of fire between Israeli forces and the Palestinian police, which was established in accord to Oslo agreements. While fifteen Israelis and sixty Palestinians were killed in the conflict, the military officers realized that military-government cooperation such as the one in Rabin's tenure was unlikely during Netanyahu's rule.

The event also had other short- and long-term consequences for the peace process. In the short-term the PA got the impression that its positive security measures, such as their crackdown on terrorist groups in March and April 1996 bore no fruit for Palestinian national interests. Instead, they started believing, the use of force against Israel is more effective as the Hebron Agreement reached on January 15, 1997, in the aftermath of the bloody event, demonstrated. In the long-term, the conflict affected the IDF's security doctrine after the Palestinian police opened fire on Israeli forces. Facing an armed force, the hawkish generals, such as Moshe Ya'alon, then head of Military Intelligence and who

would serve as the commanding officer of Israel's Central Command when the second intifada erupted and then CGS in 2002-2005, used this event as a breaking point. He began preparing the army to show sudden and massive force in the case of a new intifada and training snipers to station at the checkpoints.

Nevertheless, this group stayed as a minority until the failure of the peace process, and a large bulk of the military officers kept supporting the peace process under Shahak's leadership, sometimes in the way threatening to civilian control of the military. For instance, in November 1996, Gen. Oren Shachor, coordinator of IDF operations in the territories and chairman of the civilian committee for negotiations with the Palestinians, was photographed when he went to the house of opposition leader, Shimon Peres, and stayed there for an hour and a half late at night. Soon it emerged that the general held regular meetings with Peres and Yossi Sarid without the knowledge of the prime minister, defense minister and the CGS. After the exposure of these meetings, Shachor left the military and entered politics for a short while. In an interview before leaving politics in 1999 he stated that Netanyahu was dangerous to Israel: "A future Palestinian state is a fact. The only question is whether it will be imposed upon us or whether we will deal with it through negotiations. My fear is that if Netanyahu will be in power in May 1999, and we do not see a Palestinian state as a fact, there will be violent confrontation with the Palestinians in the territories" (Peri 2006, 86-87).

In the following years, similar confrontations took place between the political and military echelons. Although the Netanyahu government signed the Hebron agreement, which envisaged redeployment of Israeli forces from a large part of the city of

Hebron, and the Wye River Memorandum, which would give Palestinians 13 percent of the West Bank in three successive stages, in October 1998, these agreements did not indicate a development in the peace process. One of the main problems was the fact that experienced military officers were excluded from the negotiation process by Netanyahu and they were replaced by inexperienced negotiators from right-wing parties who saw the PA not as a negotiating partner but a terrorist organization (Lochery 2000, 230). Those military officers who joined the negotiations, on the other hand, sometimes became the target of Netanyahu's criticism. For instance, in December 1997 Netanyahu publicly humiliated Maj. Gen. Shlomo Yanai, who had prepared a security memorandum with the Palestinian security chief, because the memorandum called on both parties to fight against extremists. Since Netanyahu did not want to hear anything about Israel's security responsibility, he refused to sign the document, which increased the tension between the political and military echelons and between the Israeli government and the PA (Enderlin 2003, 64; Jerusalem Post 1997).

The political and military echelons confronted each other not only over the negotiation process, but also over several different subjects affecting Israeli-Palestinian relations. Settlement construction, which was seen by the Palestinians as a "systematic, stepped-up campaign to confiscate more land" (Washington Post 1997b), was one of these subjects. After signing the Hebron agreement, Netanyahu announced the construction of new neighborhoods near Jerusalem, a plan which was approved in 1994 but frozen due to the peace process. Netanyahu reactivated the plan by using the "natural growth" of the Jewish population as an excuse but the real reason was to appease the

right-wing coalition parties which were unhappy with the Hebron agreement. Against this initiative, more than fifteen hundred retired Israeli military and police officers called the government to choose the "path of peace" in March 1998, and condemned a government which "prefers settlements over normalization and the opportunity to end the historical conflict" (Wilkinson 1998).

Another controversial issue between the political and military echelons was the release of imprisoned Hamas leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin in late 1997. No different from his predecessors, Netanyahu had been involved in an assassination policy of Palestinian leaders in retaliation for terrorist attacks, and in September 1997 two Mossad agents attempted to assassinate another Hamas leader, Khaled Mashal, but they failed and were captured. The problem with the operation was that it took place not in the territories or in Israel but in Jordan, without the knowledge of the King Hussein. In order to fix relations with Jordan, save the captured agents and diminish the international reaction towards an assassination attempt which undermined international law, the Israeli government released Sheikh Yassin on the condition that he would not be involved in violent activities (Halevy 2006, 164-77). However, the decision was taken against the advice of the military officers who believed that Yassin's release would undermine the PA and Arafat's power when the negotiation process stalled. Indeed, Yassin was welcomed by his supporters as "the King of the Intifada" and according to Shahak, "the reasons for his being set free against the advice of most of the security services, and his return to Gaza as a hero, have been a blow to the Palestinian Authority and strengthen Hamas" (Enderlin 2003, 75-76).

The political and military echelon's view on Arafat and the PA was also different. According to Netanyahu, Arafat was giving a green light to terrorist organizations and he was refraining from meeting his security responsibilities by not crushing them. As soon as he became prime minister, Netanyahu introduced the concept of "reciprocity" in the peace negotiations, indicating that Israel will not return an inch of land if its security is threatened by the Palestinians. He believed that Arafat was an untrustworthy partner and he has no interest in peace other than gaining back the territories without giving anything in return.[96] In addition, he was constantly sending the message that the PA and Arafat are equal to terrorism. The military officers, on the other hand, were seeing Arafat as a negotiating partner, even when he failed to meet the security responsibilities. According to IDF sources, although Arafat was avoiding a confrontation with Hamas and seeking to maintain a certain level of tension, he was not interested in disrupting the peace process (Jerusalem Post 1998). Even Amos Gilad, head of the Military Intelligence's research division and one of the hawkish generals in the IDF, contradicted with Netanyahu when he stated, "We never said [Yasser] Arafat gave the green light to Hamas; we said that this was the understanding of Islamist organizations…It's clear that the Palestinian Authority realizes today terrorism and the peace process can't co-exist. Nowadays I'm noticing a more intensive effort on the part of the Palestinian Authority to prevent terrorism" (Enderlin 2003, 69-70).

During his tenure of three years, Netanyahu could not easily advocate use of force

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[96] To his opponents, the concept of "reciprocity" was only a justification not to implement the Oslo Accords. Beilin (2004, 57-58) states that in a political agreement, sometimes it is necessary to turn a blind eye to minor breaches to sustain the agreement. "When Netanyahu said, "I will not tolerate any breach of the agreement," it was not out of fidelity to the Oslo Accords or a desire to hold the Palestinians to their word," he says, "but rather because he was eager to be free of the agreement itself."

when the peace negotiations were ongoing. However, it is likely that if there had been an intifada in this period, he would have advocated the use of force. Indeed, in his visit to an Israeli settler family in the West Bank in 2001, after the second intifada started, Netanyahu made his views on the use of force against Palestinians clear when he, without knowing the camera was recording, stated, "The main thing, first of all, is to hit them. Not just one blow, but blows that are so painful that the price will be too heavy to be borne. A broad attack on the Palestinian Authority." Within the same conversation, he also pointed out how he would undermine the Oslo Accords. "I'm going to interpret the accords in such a way that would allow me to put an end to this galloping forward to the '67 borders," he said, "How do we do it? Nobody said what defined military zones were. Defined military zones are security zones, as far as I'm concerned, the entire Jordan Valley is a defined military zone" (Aljazeera 2010).

From this perspective, it is not surprising to see that during his first term as prime minister, Netanyahu's Palestinian policy was based on deadlock. On this issue, the military under Shahak was his most important critic. In his essay published in *Maariv* in October 1997 Shahak made his critique most clear when he asked, "Why did [the intifada] end?" and answered his own question: "[I]n my opinion, it would not have ended had there not been a political agreement reached with the PLO but would, rather, have lengthened the list of graves on our side and theirs, and perhaps would even have worsened. In the case of…intifada, it should be understood that it is the political echelon's responsibility to take the bull by the horns and to deal with the peace process" (Peri 2006, 84). These kinds of comments and critiques made civil-military relations

problematic during Netanyahu's tenure and in 1998 Shahak was replaced by Shaul Mofaz who, Netanyahu believed, was a less political soldier, though it would be proven otherwise. In addition, in January Netanyahu dismissed the Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai who had similar political views with Shahak. These moves deteriorated the relationship between the political and military echelons and in the general elections held in May 1999, active and retired officers mainly supported political parties led by soldier-politicians such as Ehud Barak's Labor Party or the Center Party formed by Shahak and Mordechai. As a result, Ehud Barak replaced Netanyahu as the prime minister, with critical support from the military echelon, which is considered a "democratic putsch" in Israeli political history (Ibid., 77-90).

5.2.3 Military Activism and the Second Intifada

Ehud Barak came to power as a soldier-politician who could revitalize Rabin's legacy of bringing peace with the Palestinians without endangering Israel's security. In 1999, the peace process was significantly damaged after three years of right-wing rule, new settlement expansions, unrealized political agreements, economic deterioration in the territories as well as political corruption under the PA Authority, and in this critical juncture the first statements and acts of Barak were significantly decisive to continue the peace process from where Rabin left off. However, the first speech Barak made after his electoral victory showed that the new Prime Minister had no intention of following Rabin's negotiating methods during his tenure. In this speech, Barak disappointed many Palestinians by presenting red lines on many issues the Oslo process envisaged as part of the negotiations (BBC News 1999):

We will move quickly toward separation from the Palestinians within four security red lines: a united Jerusalem under our sovereignty as the capital of Israel for eternity, period; under no conditions will we return to the 1967 borders; no foreign army west of the Jordan River; and most of the settlers in Judaea and Samaria will be in settlement blocs under our sovereignty. As I undertook, any permanent arrangement will be put to a national referendum. In the long run, you, the people of Israel, will decide.

According to Shahak, this was the first error Barak made after being elected. "The first speech that Barak gave was from the Palestinian point was a "No! No! No!" speech," he said, "I will *not* give back Jerusalem. I will *not* accept any Palestinian refugees. I will *not* leave the Jordan Valley" (Swisher 2004, 16, *italics* in original). In addition, although Barak shared several characteristics of the military ethic with Rabin, such as mistrust to the enemy – Arafat and the PLO – and being over-concerned about security, they had important disagreements over the Oslo process. As pointed out before, during his tenure as the CGS, Barak defined the Oslo process as "salami" methods in which Israel was making significant concessions through interim agreements without getting its main objective which is the final peace. Barak held the same idea when he became the prime minister and he was convinced that Israel's final withdrawal from the territories should have been linked to far-reaching agreements on the main issues of the conflict such as Jerusalem, right of return, territorial borders, water rights, and security arrangements. As a result, Barak introduced Permanent Status negotiations into the process, which was regarded by the Palestinians as a tactical move to avoid implementing Israeli obligations based on the Wye Memorandum (Sher 2006, 4). Barak's uneasiness with the interim agreements led him to reject any implementation of the former agreements before coming to an understanding on the permanent agreement; therefore, on September 4, 1999, both

sides signed an agreement whose full name describes its nature: The Sharm el-Sheikh Memorandum on Implementation Timeline of Outstanding Commitments of Agreements Signed and the Resumption of Permanent Status Negotiations (Qurie 2008, 338-43). However, while the Palestinians agreed to follow his accelerated timetable, Barak made critical tactical mistakes that not only deteriorated Israeli-Palestinian relations but also led to serious disagreements between the political and military echelons.

The first critical mistake came in the first months of Barak's tenure when he decided to prioritize peace negotiations with Syria. As he pushed for in his military years, Barak focused on external problems and from the beginning of his tenure as the prime minister, he followed a "Syria-first" strategy at the cost of negotiations with the Palestinians. Since Syria was a state and its leader Hafez al-Assad had a record of fulfilling his agreements Barak believed that coming to an agreement with Syria was more likely than an agreement with the PLO and Arafat. He also looked at the issue in realistic terms and considered that an agreement with Syria would increase the pressure on the Palestinians to make concessions (Freilich 2012, 156). With the support of the United States, Barak spent all his political credit to come to an agreement with Syria and until the failure of these negotiations in March 2000, the Palestinians were sidetracked during the first year of his rule. After three years of right-wing government and high hopes about Barak in the pre-election period, this strategy contributed to the frustration of the Palestinians in the territories.

Barak was significantly warned about the Palestinian frustration by the military echelon in Israel. For example, in January 2000 Ami Ayalon, the head of Shin Bet and

former commander-in-chief of the Navy, told Barak that he will not have a peace treaty with the Palestinians because he lost his peace partner, Arafat, by dealing with Syrian President al-Assad: "You lost your partner. He lost his street. He does not represent the Palestinian people anymore. If he will sign something that they cannot live with, they will kill him. So this is what you lost in your first six months" (Tyler 2012, 420). Other members of the security establishment – both hawks and doves such as Shaul Mofaz, the Chief of Army Staff, Ephraim Halevy, the head of Mossad, and Amos Malka, the head of military intelligence – were also highly concerned about the possibility of a new confrontation between Palestinian security forces and the Israeli army and they constantly warned Barak not to give priority to Syria but to Palestine, with which conflict was more likely. They even proposed making some small territorial concessions, for example, transfer of a small Palestinian village Anata, for the sake of confidence building (Enderlin 2003, 142-43). At the same time, intelligence reports expressed the growing tension among the Palestinians and weapons smuggling by paramilitary groups was forcing the officers to prepare for a military confrontation, including a reevaluation of "Operation Field of Thorns," a 1996 contingency plan, prepared by Moshe Yaalon after the Wailing Wall protests, to re-conquer the Palestinian territories if similar confrontation breaks out (Swisher 2004, 178).

Another tactical mistake, at least for the Palestinian issue, that brought Barak into disagreement with the Palestinians and the military officers, was the decision to withdraw Israeli military forces from Southern Lebanon which Barak had promised to realize within a year after being elected. Although the military withdrawal was a peaceful act

and a huge relief for the military, which had been stuck in the area since 1982, there were

some reasons for the Palestinians and the military to worry about it. To the Palestinians,

the act would damage the prestige of the PA, which held negotiations with Israel but

gained nothing in return, whereas it would be regarded as a military victory for Hezbollah

which attacked the military targets and was rewarded with military withdrawal.

According to the PA negotiators, the Palestinians would only get one message from this

comparison: "Kill Israelis, and you'll get the land" (Enderlin 2003, 152).

The Israeli military, on the other hand, was mainly concerned, not about how

Palestinians would understand the withdrawal, but about what effect the decision would

have on Israel's deterrence power. The military officers believed that a unilateral

withdrawal would damage the deterrence power of Israel in the eyes of its enemies as

well as its honor in the eyes of the Israeli public (Peri 2002, 33). The military's

assessment on the deterrence power was strengthened when Israeli withdrawal from

Lebanon coincided with the violent confrontation between the Palestinians and Israeli

security forces on Nakba Day on May 15, 2000, the day Israelis celebrate their Day of

Independence; Palestinians commemorate it as the Day of the Catastrophe. The

assessment that the IDF lost its deterrent power and the Nakba Day violence played an

important role in the military officers' decision to apply heavy force during the second

intifada in order to gain its deterrence power and honor back.

As a result of these mistakes, when the final negotiations at Camp David started a

year after Barak came to power, he did not have the same partner Rabin had had in 1993.

During the Oslo process, Arafat was in a position to make concessions as the Palestinian

people wanted peace. In July 2000, there was not such a condition as the violence on Nakba Day and the increasing power of the violent Palestinian groups demonstrated. In addition, when he came to Camp David, Barak's popularity in Israel was at an all-time low and he did not have a majority in the Knesset anymore; the NRP and Yisrael Ba'aliyah Party, headed by Natan Sharansky, who opposed the peace process, left his coalition government. When these negative pre-conference conditions were joined with the excessive security demands of the Israeli delegation, Barak's reluctance to approach Arafat personally, and Arafat's refusal to make concessions on the Temple Mount and "right of return," Barak's plan to solve the Palestinian issue with a package deal failed and with Ariel Sharon's provocative visit to the Temple Mount – which again was not the main reason for the conflict but as the last straw broke the camel's back, just like how a traffic accident led to the first intifada – the second intifada started on September 28, 2000.

The Nakba Day violence, the failure at Camp David and the eruption of the intifada were watershed events that led to a significant transformation in the military's preferences on how to deal with the Palestinians as the hawkish generals started dominating key military posts within the IDF. The most important of these generals were the CGS Shaul Mofaz, Moshe Yaalon, the head of the Israel's Central Command, and Amos Gilad, head of Military Intelligence's research division. These officers developed a view which was known as the "Military Intelligence's concept" in the corridors of the Israeli government. According to this view, Arafat had four basic principles which he had not relinquished since the beginning of the Oslo process in 1993. These principles were:

(1) a Palestinian state along the June 4, 1967, or pre-Six Day War, lines; (2) a capital in Jerusalem; (3) sovereignty over and control of the Temple Mount; and (4) the right of return. These generals also held the belief that because the interim agreements did not require Arafat to cross these principles, he had no problem signing Oslo, Oslo II and the Wye agreements, but when it comes to a final-status agreement, the negotiations were destined to fail. In addition to this pessimist evaluation of Arafat's political intentions, these officers also argued that Arafat was preparing for an inevitable clash with Israel (Rabinovich 2004, 172).

This view was not contained within the ranks of the military but was gradually spread among the politicians and the society by the military officers. For example, Amos Malka, the director of Military Intelligence in 2000, stated in his interview with Haaretz in 2004 that Maj. Gen. Amos Gilad was "a very significant factor in persuading a great many people" to accept the view that there is no Palestinian partner for peace. According to Malka, although there was no official intelligence document proving the argument that Arafat was uninterested in peace and aimed at Israel's destruction, Gilad was successful in influencing the political leaders with oral presentations expressing that Arafat "never abandoned the dream of realizing a right of return for Palestinian refugees, and that his plan was to eradicate the state of Israel by demographic means," and he started producing military assessments retroactively after the Taba talks in 2001 were halted (Eldar 2004). Although Barak already had mistrust for Arafat, these reports undoubtedly affected his conclusion that Israel had no partner for peace, a rhetoric he constantly voiced after the failure of Camp David (Barak 2001).

CGS Mofaz also supported this assessment and with his statements along this line he turned into one of the most politicized military officers in Israeli history. In opposition to the military chiefs who urged restraint and a political solution in the first intifada and Oslo process, Mofaz became a strong proponent of the use of force to end the Palestinian problem even before the intifada erupted. For example, after the Nakba Day violence, Mofaz increased the tension by expressing that he was close to suppressing the disorder with Apache helicopter gunships armed with missiles and large-caliber uranium-depleted rounds (Swisher 2004, 217). Later, on the day the Camp David Conference ended, he stated in the Knesset that Palestinians were smuggling in antitank missiles in preparation for war and on the following day word leaked to the press that Mofaz gave his approval to Jewish settlers to take all necessary measures including the use of live ammunition to repel Palestinian attacks (Ibid., 344).

Mofaz's and the military's preference for the use of force became indisputably clear as soon as the intifada erupted in September 2000. Prepared, since 1996, for a military clash against armed Palestinian forces, the IDF chose to suppress the intifada in the mud and followed the opposite policies of the Israeli military officers from the first intifada. For example, when the army tried to decrease the number of Palestinian deaths by distributing open-fire orders to its soldiers, and even introduced the policy of beating for the same purpose, in the first intifada, the IDF under Mofaz and Moshe Yaalon gave less attention to the Palestinian casualties - using various types of missiles and no less than a million rounds of ammunition. The military also removed the legal obstacle to Israeli soldiers' freedom to use force by annulling the directive that had been adopted in

the first intifada and that provided for investigation into those soldiers who killed

Palestinians who were not involved in terrorist activities (Levy 2007, 132). The results

were dramatic as in the first month of the intifada, 130 Palestinians, 40 of them children,

were killed and Israeli security forces shot at and injured more than 7,000 Palestinians,

most of them stone-throwers and young children under age of 14. It is striking to compare

this with the total number of wounded in all the six years of the first intifada, which is

18,000 (Mahoney 2001). Yet, this aggressive mass suppression did not bring the end of

the intifada; instead, as Brig. Gen. Zvi Fogel points out, it "accelerated the Palestinians'

massive use of weapons" in the following months (Peri 2006, 99).

Despite the mass suppression of the demonstrations, the political process was still

ongoing as Barak struggled to save the peace process and negotiated with the Palestinians

through direct Israeli-Palestinian negotiations – the Taba talks in January 2001,

international meetings – the Paris meeting on October 4 and Sharm al-Sheikh meeting on

October 16, 2000, and American initiatives – the Clinton Parameters of December 2000.

Yet, Mofaz was strongly critical of the government's effort to find a political solution to

the intifada problem as he constantly voiced his opposition to these negotiations in the

corridors of the Israeli government and, more importantly, in public. For example, in

December 2000 when American President Bill Clinton presented his guidelines on a

peaceful solution to the conflict, Mofaz publicly criticized Barak for rushing toward an

agreement and warning him that the Clinton Parameters constituted an "existential threat

to Israel," a statement which, according to Shlomo Ben-Ami (2006), was "almost

tantamount to a coup d'état." According to the military chief, giving up 95% of the West

Bank, in line with Clinton proposals, would destroy the peace agreement. Later, at the Taba talks, Mofaz saw the negotiations as a capitulation to Palestinian terror even when some progress was achieved on many of the issues unsolved at Camp David (Peri 2006, 102). Mofaz was so adamant in his opposition to the political negotiations that Barak could not resist asking: "Shaul, do you really think that the State of Israel can't exist without controlling the Palestinian people? It's the conclusion that comes out of your assessment" (Sher 2006, 204).

In the prime ministerial elections of February 2001, Ariel Sharon from Likud defeated Barak. As Condoleezza Rice put it, Sharon "was elected to defeat the intifada – not to make peace" (Rice 2011, 136). For many, the victory of Sharon meant the end of political negotiations between the Israeli government and the Palestinians as the new prime minister was known among the Palestinians as the leader of reprisal attacks in the 1950s, the butcher of the Palestinians in the Qibya, Sabra and Shatilla massacres, the father of the settlement policy, and one of the leading opponents to the peace process. According to Saib Urayqat, a Palestinian Minister, Sharon had "a long history in entrenching racism, fascism and massacres," and when he is in power, he would "place obstacles designed to block the efforts of future generations of negotiators, just as he placed obstacles, including the building of settlements, in our generation's way during the 1970s and 1980s" (BBC Monitoring 2001).

Although Sharon's ascension to power practically ended the negotiation process and he gave more freedom to the military to use force, he resisted the pressure for massive retaliation against Palestinian violence in the first months of his rule. During this

period, Sharon had two main political constraints. First, Sharon did not want to damage

his relations with the United States and President George W. Bush who replaced Clinton

around the same time as the governmental change in Israel. Sharon met with Bush for

first time in 1998 when he gave the then Governor of Texas a helicopter tour to show the

lack of territorial depth in Israel and its great vulnerability against foreign attacks, which,

Sharon explained, would be increased if Israel gave up the West Bank. Three years later,

when Sharon and Bush came to power, the latter was critical of Israeli military operations

and valued its relations with Middle East countries including Israel's archenemy Syria.

Yet, both governments shared the belief that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was not the

reason for all ills in the Middle East and they prioritized the threat coming from Iran and

Iraq as the main security problems of the region (Matthews 2007, 79). In addition, similar

to Sharon, the Bush administration mistrusted Arafat as they listened to the complaints of

the former Clinton administration about the PA leader. Under these conditions, Sharon

was careful not to damage his relations with Washington through massive retaliation.

The second political constraint was Shimon Peres, who represented the moderate

faction of the government, and Sharon was careful to balance the Foreign Ministry's

conservatism and the IDF's activism. Indeed, the main clash in the first years of the

second intifada took place between the Foreign Ministry and the military whose

preferences were clearly affected by the personalities of those heading them. The crisis

between these two institutions escalated in the summer of 2001 after political

disagreements started over Mofaz's description of the PA as the "terrorist entity." Earlier

in February, during the governmental change, Mofaz had accused the PA of stockpiling

weapons to use in a Palestinian revolt; collecting small arms, anti-tank and anti-aircraft missiles, some of which had been used to attack Jewish communities in Gaza, and; taking part in terror activity against Israel (Arutz Sheva 2001). This statement was intended to influence the incoming government by implying the necessity of ending political negotiations and applying violence against the PA. As the suicide bombings escalated in the following months, Mofaz reiterated his argument and urged the government to declare the PA as an enemy as well as expel Arafat from the territories. According to him, the PA was working with violent groups and its efforts to prevent terror attacks were meager (Haaretz 2001a). Yet, Foreign Minister Shimon Peres rejected these arguments by stating that although there were some branches in the PA that adopt terrorism against Israelis, the PA "as such does not engage in terrorism, and, in my view, as we've seen, at times even fights against terrorism." Recalling the Oslo process, Peres continued that he and Rabin made peace with "nations and leaders with blood on their hands, who waged war against us, who killed our soldiers and civilians. When you go to make peace, you don't replace the entire framework of people, you replace the entire framework of relations" (Alon 2001).

A few days after this statement, the Foreign Ministry issued a memo outlining its recommendations on how to deal with the intifada. The details of the memo show that the Ministry was countering the preferences of hawkish generals on the Palestinian policy. The memo urged the government to avoid any massive military action against the PA and called for "appropriate doses" of military action against Palestinian violence even if there are large-scale terrorist attacks. The Foreign Ministry also called on the government to

refrain from capturing PA territory, removing Arafat from power or making any

rhetorical provocations. Instead, the memo recommended relieving the economic

suffering in the territories, and as political measures it proposed the gradual negotiations

for a final status agreement, implementation of the existing interim agreements, a

redeployment over a significant area in the West Bank, and establishment of a Palestinian

state in all those areas under Palestinian control (Benn 2001). The proposals were in

direct contradiction with the military's preferences on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict,

which relied on effective use of military force and, to some extent, economic

development of the Palestinians in the territories, but not political measures.

Sharon refrained from taking part in this controversy until September 11. Yet, the

terrorist attacks on World Trade Center and Pentagon gave him a chance to delegitimize

Arafat and the PA without endangering Israel's relations with the United States. In his

speech at the Knesset five days after the attacks, Sharon linked al-Qaeda and Palestinian

terrorism by stating that terrorist attacks "against Israeli citizens are no different from

Bin-Laden's terrorism against American citizens." Furthermore, Sharon attributed two

characteristics of the attacks, hijacking of planes and suicide attack, to Arafat: "And we

must remember: It was Arafat who – dozens of years ago – legitimized the hijacking of

planes. It was Palestinian terrorist organization who began to dispatch suicide terrorists"

(Israel Ministry 2001). Sharon developed an "Arafat is bin-Laden" equation which

practically meant that there would be no negotiations with the Palestinians. In October,

Sharon reiterated the well-known analogy when he called on the Western democracies

not to find a political solution at the expense of Israel: "Don't repeat the terrible mistakes

of 1938, when the enlightened democracies in Europe decided to sacrifice Czechoslovakia for a comfortable, temporary solution," he said, "Israel will not be Czechoslovakia" (Bennet 2001). Although the comparison caused frustration within the Bush administration, the September 11 attacks practically ended the efforts to find a political solution to the Palestinian problem, at least with Arafat. In retrospect, Colin Powell stated in 2005 that in the post 9/11 environment, it became "much harder to find anyone in Washington, in the administration, who really wanted to do much for Arafat" (Matthews 2007, 136).

Sharon's effort to delegitimize Arafat was a direct support to the military officers in their confrontation with the Foreign Ministry. Indeed, in October Peres both challenged the prime minister's and military's de-legitimization effort when he accused senior military officers of plotting to kill Arafat. The main target of the accusation was Moshe Yaalon, the head of Israel's Central Command, whom, Peres argued, would like to physically eliminate the PA leader. "Let's suppose we take him out, what will happen then?" Peres asked, "Hamas, Islamic Jihad and Hezbollah will come instead. Arafat accepts Israel's existence. He wants to speak to us and wants to be accepted in the West. They will want to establish a single state between Iraq and the Mediterranean." In this period, both Sharon and the security establishment did not target Arafat because of possible international repercussions, but Israel did not refrain from strong signals to him by adopting extrajudicial killings against not only the leaders of Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and Tanzim, but also leading PLO members such as Mustafa Zibri who was killed 500 meters from Arafat's headquarters in Ramallah on August 27 (Jones 2003, 280).

The Foreign Ministry was also annoyed with the military operations as Peres was negotiating with Arafat on a ceasefire. According to Peres and Foreign Ministry officials, the military was intentionally trying to undermine political efforts as a military operation left twelve deaths and 150 wounded on the days Peres was meeting with Arafat. "One gets the feeling that the army can't live with a ceasefire and is not prepared to accept that control is in the political echelon's hands," a Foreign Ministry official said, whereas, Yossi Melman, an Israeli military analyst, questioned the subordination of the military to the political echelon in this period: "In the past I would not believe there was anything wrong with the military and they would act according to political instructions. Now it seems there is room for interpretation and maybe they have their own agenda to put obstacles in the way of Mr. Peres" (Gilmore 2001). The conflict between the Foreign Ministry and the military in this period was so problematic that Peres refused to look at the reports coming from the military intelligence because, as Uri Savir puts it, the military officers "understand the Palestinians like I understand the Republic of China," and "quote all the curses that Arafat brings down on the Jews in conversations and they think, 'That's it, we caught him'" (Peri 2002, 38).

Although Sharon increased his de-legitimization efforts against Arafat after 9/11, his political constraints were not totally gone as he was trying to balance military measures with moderate policies and in some cases this two-faced policy brought him into crisis with the military officers. From this perspective, one of the most serious crises between the government and the military took place after Sharon proposed to the cabinet a number of measures to alleviate conditions for the Palestinians in the territories in mid-

October 2001. The proposal included measures such as the removal of closures and encirclements of West Bank cities and towns, the reopening of major roads in the territories to Palestinian vehicles, and the withdrawal of IDF tanks from the PA controlled areas, and the removal of military troops from some Palestinian neighborhoods (Haaretz 2001b). The CGS Mofaz objected to these steps, especially the decision to withdraw IDF troops from the hills overlooking the Jewish settlement in Hebron. What is worse is that Mofaz made his objections public through an IDF Spokesman's Office announcement issued in Mofaz's name. The announcement pointed out that the CGS was "not opposed to easing conditions for the Palestinians," but was "against withdrawing from the hills of Abu Sneina and Haret a-Sheikh and against easing conditions that would create security risks and make it difficult to provide security for Israeli citizens and soldiers" (Haaretz 2001c). Although Mofaz argued that the statement is legitimate since it expresses security concerns, in the end it had political implications by implying that the government was neglecting the security of the Israelis and the military. The statement indeed frustrated Sharon and he blamed Mofaz for planning a political career (Peri 2002, 41). Yet, what was most clear was that moderate measures, even though they came from a right-wing government, was not preferable to the top military officers and they were eager to follow militarist policies in 2001.

2002 became the year that the military officers' and Sharon government's preferences for dealing with the intifada problem became in sync. At the beginning of 2002 terrorist attacks in Israel increased, reaching their zenith in March as 135 Israelis were killed in that month. The bloodiest attack took place in Park Hotel, Netanya, on

March 27, when thirty civilians were killed in a suicide attack during a Passover dinner. In the cabinet meeting that took place after the Passover massacre, Sharon offered to capture and send Arafat into exile despite his promise to Bush that he would not harm the PA leader, whereas Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, the Defense Minister from the Labor Party, recommended a heavy strike against Hamas since the suicide attack was perpetrated by this organization. However, both Mofaz and Yaalon argued that these are not the right approach and that a successful battle against terrorism necessitated full control of the territories ruled by the PA in order to gain intelligence and operational control. Mofaz claimed that the military should control the territories for two months (Eiland 2010, 31-32). Sharon who did not see the PA and Arafat as a partner for negotiations and gladly approved the plan which would have political consequences as it reversed the Oslo system by taking the territories back from the PA. Although it was the military officers who recommended capturing the PA territories, in the end it was the Sharon government that was responsible for the military operation called Operation Defensive Shield. As military participation indicates, if Sharon had not wanted the military measures, Mofaz's pushing them would not have mattered.

In essence, the military operation, which was the largest in the West Bank since the territory was occupied in 1967, brought the end of Arafat as a Palestinian partner, an objective Mofaz, Yaalon and Sharon had pursued since the beginning of the second intifada. After the operation started on March 29, the military quickly entered Arafat's compound in Ramallah, seized the PA documents, which would be used by military intelligence later to prove the argument that Arafat supported terrorist organizations, and

he was kept under house arrest until the end of the operation in May. Then the Israeli army turned its attention to the refugee camps in Nablus and Jenin where targeted killings of Palestinian militants also led to civilian deaths. In the end, Operation Defensive Shield cost 30 lives on the Israeli side and 240 on the Palestinian side while 4,258 Palestinians were detained during the operation (Tucker 2013, 144-45).

Nevertheless, the operation did not end the officers' appetite for military measures. A week after the operation ended, Mofaz argued that the objective to disrupt and destroy the infrastructure of terrorism is "incomplete and hollow" unless the IDF strikes at Hamas in the Gaza Strip. This demand came when the civilian deaths in the Jenin refugee camp, as a result of targeted killings by the Israeli army, were heavily criticized by the Israeli left and international actors. Taking into consideration that refugee camps in Gaza were six times bigger than Jenin, a probable operation would lead to a large number of civilian casualties (Erlanger 2002). Taking the international reaction into consideration, the Sharon government only allowed a renewal of military action, Operation Determined Path, in the West Bank on June 22.

Mofaz also overstepped the boundary between the political and military echelons once more in this period when he threatened to resign if the government accepted the Palestinian demand for an international investigation on the violations of international law during the military operations, especially the one in the Jenin refugee camp (Peri 2002, 43). In addition, he publicly kept reiterating his demand for the expulsion of Arafat from power and before retiring in July he stated that Israel will not leave the territories if Arafat stays in power (Bennet 2002). Nevertheless, in this demand there was no

difference between Sharon and Mofaz. However, it was difficult to diminish Arafat's influence on the Palestinians after Israeli military operations had turned him into a hero. Indeed, even though there were Palestinian voices which demanded reform within the Palestinian political system, they were weakened after successive military operation, curfews, civilian deaths, and economic breakdown (Matthews 2007, 214). As a result, although Mahmoud Abbas replaced Arafat as the PA leader in March 2003, the old guerilla leader was able to keep his political power until his death in November 2004 which made political negotiations between the two sides impractical.

Mofaz's retirement did not calm down the military activism as he was replaced by Moshe Yaalon who was equally distrustful of the Palestinians and one of staunchest critics of the land-for-peace formula. Similar to right-wing politicians and other hawkish generals, Yaalon believed that territorial concessions would not help anything but encourage Israel's enemies, and that sacrificing the principle of "secure and recognized borders" even in words, as Barak did in the Camp David Summit, would put Israeli security in danger (Yaalon 2011). According to Yaalon, the intifada was not a civilian uprising based on political, economic and social frustration but was a terror campaign organized by the PA, Arafat and other extreme Palestinian organizations. When he was the deputy to Mofaz, he even described the intifada as "the continuation of the War of Independence" and objected to territorial and political concessions when fighting against the enemy by saying, "The war is a wall, and it is impossible to win if holes are made in the wall" (Peri 2006, 106). In accordance with this mindset, in his first interview with the Israeli press as the CGS, Yaalon defined the Palestinian issue as a "cancer" and

"existential threat" within the Israeli state (Shavit 2002).

With the activist ideology both in the civilian and military echelon, security policies such as establishment of military checkpoints, extrajudicial killings, and military operations kept their importance in Israeli security discourse in the post-Arafat period. The most important of these policies was Sharon's decision to erect a security barrier in the West Bank which significantly diminished the number of terror attacks in Israel after Operation Defensive Shield, but was heavily criticized by the Palestinians who saw it as an Israeli strategy to control more Palestinian land. It is important to note that while security policies were advocated and supported by the military, some retired and active members of the security establishment denounced these policies. For example, in November 2003 four former Shin Bet chiefs, including former Commander-in-Chief of the Navy Ami Ayalon, publicly attacked Sharon's Palestinian policy by calling on him to negotiate with Arafat and evacuate settlements in the territories while some active and reserve Air Force pilots declared that the military's use of missiles and bombs to kill militants in civilian neighborhoods to be "immoral" (Moore 2003).

In addition to these domestic critics, the Bush administration was pushing Israel to find a political solution, especially after the United States' Arab allies needed a carrot in return for their support in the Second Gulf War. As a result, Sharon also moderated his language in mid-2003 and surprised many by stating that Palestinians are living under occupation: "What is happening now is that three million Palestinians are kept under occupation. In my mind this is bad for Israel, for the Palestinians, for Israel's economy. Do you want to stay permanently in Jenin, in Nablus, in Ramallah, and Bethlehem?"

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(Rabinovich 2013, 153-54). Because Sharon was reluctant to organize a peace process with the Palestinians, his solution was a limited unilateral move, the Gaza disengagement plan, which was announced in December 2003 during the Fourth Herzliya Security Conference. The plan proposed a full withdrawal from Gaza and evacuation of a couple of small settlements in the West Bank, and Sharon had the support of the Bush administration in implementing it.

The Gaza disengagement plan caused a diversity of voices within the military as happened with all security-related issues. On the one side, there were some retired and active generals, such as National Security Adviser Giora Eiland, who argued that negotiation with the Palestinians would bring more achievement in terms of peace than unilateral action. On the other side, some IDF officers supported unilateral disengagement by claiming that negotiation with the Palestinians, in other words withdrawal from Gaza by agreement, was impossible (Freilich 2012, 181-82). Yet, the dominant position was opposition to withdrawal, not because it ruled out negotiation, but because it is dangerous to Israeli security and the deterrence power of the army. The officers believed that unilateral disengagement would be perceived as weakness by the Palestinians and it would increase the terror attacks against Israel. Yaalon was against the concessions even in talk and when he publicly stated that "a connection between a rise in acts of terrorism and talk of withdrawal should not be dismissed out of hand," his words were a direct accusation to the government while his statement increased right-wing opposition to Sharon (Peri 2006, 203). Yaalon was also bothered by the fact that the Gaza disengagement plan was prepared without any advance planning or security

considerations. Rather, he believed, the reasons behind the plan were political and personal such as corruption charges against Sharon and his son, Sharon's falling electoral power, the lack of communication with the Palestinians, and the fear that international actors may push for more serious concessions (Freilich 2012, 31).

Finally, Yaalon's reluctance to favor the disengagement plan was also based on his belief that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict would not be solved in the short- or medium-term. "We must recognize that we are destined to remain a warring society," he said in an interview, and Israel is "fated to live by the sword for a long time" (Tyler 2012, 461). Although Yaalon was not as outspoken as his predecessor, the confrontation between the prime minister and the CGS on the disengagement plan was so severe that Sharon had to arrange early retirement for Yaalon. Yet, despite this opposition from the military echelon Sharon kept pursuing the Gaza disengagement plan and the eviction was completed in September 2005. Therefore, although the military was an important actor in the national-security decision-making once more it is proven that its influence was not definitive given that Yaalon was pushed to retire in June 2005, before the implementation of the disengagement plan which was overseen by his successor Dan Halutz.

In sum, the top echelon of the IDF during the second intifada was more hawkish than the military officers in the first intifada and Oslo process. An important factor leading to this difference was the personalities of Mofaz and Yaalon, whose political ideologies were much closer to Likud than Labor. Another factor is the nature of the threat. During the first intifada, using Israeli soldiers to police civilians was quite unpopular within the military ranks. On the other hand, after a form of state-building

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started in the PA-controlled areas, Israeli officers started seeing the Palestinian police as

an enemy and this thought was bolstered by the clashes between Israeli forces and the

Palestinian police. In addition, during the second intifada the number of suicide attacks

significantly increased and these developments strengthened the activist preferences

within the military echelon.[97] Consequently, although not all military officers shared the

preferences of the top military echelon and sometimes important critiques against them

emerged among other generals, the IDF was more activist in this period and they resisted

moderate policies, not only of the doves in Israeli politics, but also of the hawkish

soldier-politicians such as Ariel Sharon and Ehud Barak. Yet, even in this period, it is

still quite difficult to make a categorical distinction between conservative civilians and

activist soldiers as both echelons involved hawks and doves.

5.3 Conclusion

Historical institutionalism explains the pattern of military influence in Israeli

politics. Since the formation of the Israeli state, the military has been an important actor

in Israeli national security decision-making; nevertheless, its influence is quite different

from military control in Turkey and military rule in Pakistan. What is seen in Israel can

be described as military participation in which, in accordance with the norms and rules

established during the state-building process, military officers are active participants at

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[97] Public opinion, on the other hand, played a small role in the hawkish or dovish preferences of the officers and politicians. Similar to civilians and soldiers, Israeli society was equally divided between those who supported the "land for peace" formula and those opposed it. As Ben-Meir and Bagno-Moldavsky (2010, 75) show, between 1998 and 2005 both the supporters of the "land for peace" fomula and its opponents ranged between 35 and 50 percent of the public opinion despite the different levels of negotiation and conflict throughout this period. It was the politicians and soldiers who tried to shape the public preferences on the Palestine issue rather than the opposite.

the decision-making level but the last word always belonged to the civilian governments. As the former chapter explained, military participation in Israeli politics started during the first decades of the state as Israeli officers played a significant role in politics when the state was in conflict with hostile neighbors. In this period, active military officers took part in political discussions, participated in cabinet meetings, negotiated with foreign leaders and had been in close contact with the civilian echelon when critical decisions were taken. This political experience increased the officers' interest in entering politics after retirement. At the same time, they respected the civilian leadership under Ben-Gurion and obeyed his orders even these orders contradicted with their preferences. All these factors led to the establishment of civilian control in Israeli politics and diminished the possibility of military interference in the early years.

The same kind of influence continued during the intifadas. Military officers' preferences played an important role in political decisions, they actively participated in peace negotiations and their views on the conflict were closely followed by the Israeli press and public. In addition, the soldier-politicians became important figures when the state faced a Palestinian threat and the military background of the politicians played a significant role in the elections. These soldier-politicians such as Rabin, Barak, and Sharon were in close contact with the military because they were more comfortable with the military-style decision-making process. Nevertheless, military participation has never been a threat to the civilian control of the military even when officers' preferences contradicted with the civilians. This is more evident in Netanyahu's tenure and at the beginning of the second intifada. Although in these periods, the military attempted to

affect the public opinions and confronted the politicians in the state institutions and press, the civilians were able to follow their preferences without the fear of military interference.

Historical institutionalism also explains the persistence of security norms and values over time. During the state-building period, the founding fathers held the belief that the Israeli state is vulnerable in terms of territorial size and population when they were surrounded by hostile Arab states and populations. They argued that once Arab states were defeated and some of their territories were captured, they would come to peace negotiations in order to gain their territories back. Although the Six-Day War realized this scenario, it created polarization in Israeli politics. While right-wing and religious groups kept arguing that the Israeli state is still vulnerable in terms of territorial size and should not give the territories occupied in the 1967 War back, some held the idea that the Israeli state should return some of these lands in return for peace agreements with the Arab states. The confrontation between these two ideologies shaped the political discourse during the intifadas. The important point for historical institutionalism is that both ideologies were rooted in the security norms and values created in the state-building period.

The issue is more complex when we look at the explanatory power of military activism and conservatism in the Israeli case. It is difficult to make a categorical distinction in the Israeli cases, especially during the intifadas, as one can see doves and hawks both in the civilian and military echelons. The form of military influence is

important in explaining this situation. Military participation brings excessive interaction between civilians and soldiers in Israel and both groups are able to affect each other's mindset through socialization. Because soldiers are in close contact with politicians, they generally enter into politics after retirement and there are close military-society relations, making institutional boundaries in Israel significantly blurry. While soldiers' views are important inputs for the politicians, political ideologies can be seen within the military ranks. In addition to the lack of institutional boundaries, the Israeli army does not have an institutional ideology as the Turkish army has in Kemalism. In Israel, civilian control of the military provides that political ideologies are created within the civilian sphere and the military does not try to impose a certain political ideology on the civilians. Instead, the soldiers are free to adopt one of the political ideologies that can be found within Israeli politics. Therefore, although all soldiers are security-minded, their thoughts on the security threats and ideal policies differ in accordance with the political ideologies they believe in. While some argue that the negotiation with the enemy is possible, others see the militarist policies as more effective. All in all, the form of military influence, civilian control of the military and the lack of institutional ideology within the military prevents a categorical distinction between Israeli civilians and soldiers.

Taking this into consideration, Israeli officers supported different ideologies during different time periods and their activism/moderation also differ over time compared to civilian politicians. During the first intifada, the CGS Shomron mainly supported Rabin's security-oriented land-for-peace policy and this political position put him into confrontation with the right-wing Likud government. He was criticized by the

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Likud members not because of his political comments but his political ideology. The next army chief, Ehud Barak, was similarly in favor of land-for-peace but he was quite critical of the Oslo process. What Barak preferred was a definitive agreement rather than a step-by-step approach followed by the Rabin government. Gen. Shahak, on the other hand, was an active supporter of the Oslo process; yet, this support put him into confrontation with the right-wing Netanyahu government. In general, it is possible to claim that the military was more moderate than civilians in the first intifada and Oslo process; nevertheless, we should take into consideration that the distinction is not quite as clear as in the Turkish case.

The variables of military conservatism explain why the soldiers preferred negotiation to militarist policies in this period. First, the organizational interest of the military limited the use of force in the first intifada. The Israeli army has always argued for its moral and humane character and the military officers believed that the use of force against civilians, mainly women and children, in the first intifada was damaging to these characteristics. Israeli military education in this period also was an obstacle to militarist policies. The Israeli soldiers were trained to fight against external enemies and confronting a civilian population was quite unpopular within the military rank. Although military mindset made all officers and soldier-politicians give special attention to security risks in the peace arrangements, both organizational interests and military education necessitated the end of intifada between the Israeli army and the Palestinian population.

During the second intifada, on the other hand, military officers were more inclined to use force than civilians despite the presence of the right-wing Sharon government in this period. Both military chiefs in this period, Mofaz and Yaalon, were in favor of militarist policies and critical of the Oslo negotiations. During the second intifada, Mofaz aimed to eliminate Arafat and capture the territory under the PA control. His political comments led him into a conflict with politicians, especially the Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and sometimes with Prime Minister Ariel Sharon who needed to harmonize his militarist preferences with American support. Yaalon was also quite activist as he was the architect of a military plan which prepared the Israeli army for a new intifada beginning in 1996. Yaalon was critical of Sharon's Gaza disengagement plan and his criticism made Sharon provide his early resignation. Although Sharon was also an activist and the militarist policies were all his decisions, in this period it is possible to claim that the military officers were more activist than the civilian politicians.

The variables of military activism explain this change. After the Palestinian police was established and terrorist groups increased their attacks against Israel, the enemy conception of the Israeli army significantly changed. Now the Israeli army was fighting not only against the civilians, but legal and illegal armed groups as well; therefore, organizational interests and military education did not limit the militarist policies on the part of the Israeli officers; instead, these factors called for the use of force policy. There were also individual interests to follow the militarist policies. When the state faced Palestinian armed groups, militarist policies provided political careers for both Mofaz and Yaalon. Mofaz served as Minister of Defense in 2002-2006 and then Deputy Prime

Minister in 2006-2009 while Yaalon became Minister of Strategic Affairs and Minister of Defense in the right-wing Netanyahu government. Combined with these variables, military mindset of the Israeli officers brought excessive militarist policies during the second intifada. The officers assumed the worst in the Palestinian capabilities and intentions, preferred to crush the Palestinian groups and resisted against political negotiations with the enemy.

In sum, similar to the state-building period, the military supported certain political ideologies over others during the intifada. It is important to note that both in the state-building period and during the intifadas, military influence was a significant factor in political decisions but it was not as decisive as the civilians, who were able to follow their preferences even when those were against the military officers' preferences. An important difference between these periods, on the other hand, is that military preferences were more homogenous in the state-building process. This is related to the political polarization that emerged in 1967. Before this war, although there were differences among the civilians, the political confrontation was not public when the state had genuine security concerns. However, after the occupation of the territories a political polarization emerged as the number of political parties increased. When the political confrontation became public, the political ideologies within the military also became polarized and different preferences on the possibility of peace and the nature of the security threats were followed by the officers.

Chapter 6

MILITARY RULE AND THE BENGALI CONFLICT

Of the three cases in this study, Pakistan has most experienced the military influence on political decision-making as the state was ruled by military generals for much of its life. Since the foundation of their state, Pakistani people have witnessed three successful military coups – in 1958, 1977 and finally in 1999, and the state was ruled by military generals in 1958-71, 1977-88 and 1999-2008. Other than the first few years after independence and, to some extent, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's rule between 1971 and 1977, the military also indirectly controlled political decision-making as politicians either refrained from contradicting with the interests of the military officers or they were dismissed directly or indirectly by the military when they contradicted with those interests. As with the other cases, this chapter will analyze the historical foundation of the military influence in Pakistan's political decision-making by focusing on the state-building process as a critical juncture and show how this influence affected the conditions leading to the separation of Bengalis from Pakistan in 1971 as the main ethnic conflict in this period.

6.1 Military Rule in the State-Building Period

6.1.1 Military's Ascension to Power, 1947-58

Similar to Israel, Pakistan gained its independence from Britain, who had entered the Indian subcontinent in 1757 and left there under political conditions following the

Second World War. With the argument that British India's Muslims and Hindus constitute two different nations and each deserves their own state – shortly, "two-nation theory" – the demand for a separate Muslim state emerged among some Muslim intellectuals in the early 1930s. With the leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the Muslim League, the Pakistani state was founded on August 14, 1947, on a territory with two wings separated from each other by twelve hundred miles; Indian territory. The new state mainly inherited the political institutions of the British, including the Indian Act of 1935 as an interim constitution, while not only the British Indian territory but also its military was divided between the new-born Indian and Pakistani states.

In the aftermath of the independence, the Pakistani politicians had significant advantages to effectively control the military officers. First, one of the legacies of the division of British India was a weak and ill-equipped military on the Muslim side. Although in later decades the official history of the Pakistani army would emphasize its traditional military power by indoctrinating the cadets that their ancestors were "the men who fought Alexander the Great" and "who under the banner of Mohammad Bin Qasim established the first Muslim stronghold in India" (Muqueem Khan 1963, 3), the fact in 1947 was that the new Pakistani army was in a terrible state and it was simply short of everything. For example, Pakistan inherited from British India a small number of Muslim officers with adequate staff experience. Because of the British distrust of Muslim loyalty after the mutiny of 1857, there was no all-Muslim military unit in the British Indian army and those units with a large number of Muslims had been concentrated in areas that became Indian territories. During the partition, some of these Muslim officers remained

in the Indian army whereas no Hindu or Sikh officer stayed in the Pakistani army (Cohen 1984, 6-7). As a result, at the time of independence the Pakistani army had only one major general, two brigadiers and six colonels while the minimum requirement was thirteen generals, forty brigadiers and fifty-three colonels. Under this condition, British officers kept assuming important tasks, especially in technical divisions, in the Pakistani military as the government had 355 British officers who were already in Pakistan and 129 more were recruited from the former colonizer to meet the staff shortage (Rizvi 2000a, 60). What is more striking is that the first two Commander-in-Chiefs (CiC), Frank Messervy (1947-48) and Douglas Gracey (1948-51), were British.

In addition, the Pakistani army was also short of military facilities and supplies in the first years of the state. A high proportion of the military facilities of British India had been located within India and those that went to Pakistan were short-staffed. For example, out of the 46 training establishments in British India, only 7 were located in Pakistan. Similarly, three command workshops that helped maintain armored fighting vehicles, radar repairs and crystal cutting stayed in India while of the 40 ordnance depots, only 5 small retail depots were in Pakistan (Nawaz 2008, 30-31). Moreover, although Pakistan and India agreed to share military assets with a ratio of 64 to 36 in favor of India, with the clashes starting over Kashmir in the first months after independence, India slowed the implementation of the agreement. Lt. Gen. Gul Hassan Khan (1993, 118) stated in his memoirs that while three hundred trains were assigned to deliver 170,000 tons of military stores to Pakistan, only three reached in Pakistan and most contained trash. While this situation contributed to Pakistani hostility towards India, the Pakistani

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army remained short-supplied in the first few years as each man had five rounds of practice ammunition to use for a year (Ayub Khan 1967, 21).

The second factor that may have eased civilian control of the military in Pakistan was the political culture inherited from British India. It is a fact that the role of the military in British India was critical to preventing internal and external threats. According to Sir John Malcolm (1826, 208), the Governor of Bombay in 1820s, the natives of India considered "the military power and those possessing it as pre-eminent" while British India had to show military superiority to protect its interests in India against foreign powers, especially the Russian Empire. As a result, military officers significantly assisted the British leadership in India; nevertheless, the dominant power in this relationship was the civilians. British leaders held that civil-military relations in India should follow the British example as closely as possible and the dominant norm was the civilian viceroy's control over the military commander. In this system, Indian officers were educated with "a belief that really civilized politics…requires civilian control and parliamentary processes" and they "learned the prudence of having no political views" (Rudolph and Rudolph 1964, 9). In the British military schools, Indian officers were discouraged to discuss political issues as their professional training focused on military-technical subjects such as fortifications, military history and geography rather than contemporary political issues (Shah 2014b, 32; Niaz 2010, 42-52).

Finally, a strong political leadership under Governor General Muhammad Ali Jinnah was an advantage for the politicians to effectively control the military. As the founding father of the Pakistani state, Quad-i-Azam (Great Leader) was highly respected

among the military officers; nevertheless, in a couple of instances after the state was founded, Jinnah felt it necessary to emphasize the importance of civilian control over the military. For example, on the day of independence when a young soldier complained about the appointments of British officers as chiefs of services, Jinnah warned the officer not to forget that Pakistani officers are "the servants of the people," and stated, "You do not make national policy. It is we, the civilians, who decide these issues and it is your duty to carry out those tasks with which you are entrusted" (Asghar Khan 1969, 33-34). Later, in June 1948, Jinnah reiterated the same point in his sole visit to the Staff College when he expressed his uneasiness with the attitude of "one or two very high-ranking officers." In his speech, Jinnah called on the officers to study the constitution (the Pakistan Provisional Constitutional Order which is derived from the India Act of 1935) and understand that "the executive authority flows from the head of the Government of Pakistan, who is Governor-General, and, therefore, any command or orders that may come to [them] cannot come without the sanction of the executive head" (Cohen 1984, 118). While this warning shows early indications of military intervention in politics, Jinnah was adamant about providing civilian control of the military.

All these advantages notwithstanding, Pakistan fell under a military regime a little more than a decade after the state was established. The factors that led to this outcome are varied, some strikingly similar to the conditions in the Israeli state-building process. First, like Israel, Pakistan was created out of a partition of the British colony in postwar political conditions and as soon as being founded, it faced a hostile threat environment. Not different from the Arabs who did not accept the presence of the Jewish state in the

Middle East, Indians were not excited to see the creation of a Muslim state out of British

India.[98] After it became inevitable, they approved the partition; yet, disagreements over

Kashmir soon turned into the first Indo-Pakistani War in October 1947 which lasted until

the end of 1948. The communal violence that cost the lives of nearly a million Muslims,

Hindus and Sikhs, caused the mass movement of around fifteen million people after the

partition and deadlocked the situation of the disputable areas, shaped the national identity

of both India and Pakistan and, as Ishtiaq Ahmed (2002) states, created a pathological

socio-political system in those two states in the following decades. Pakistani soldiers and

politicians never believed that India saw the partition as the final settlement[99] and in these

conditions the military increased its role in politics as the state was facing an enemy

stronger in terms of population, geography and military power – again, not different from

Israeli understanding of the Arab "existential threat."

Less serious than India, Afghanistan was another neighbor which fed the feeling

of a "hostile threat environment" during this period. As soon as Pakistan came into an

existence, Afghanistan voiced territorial claims over the North-West Frontier Province

(NWFP) of Pakistan and called for a creation of an independent Pashtunistan in this

region. A month after Pakistani planes bombed tribal territory as well as a village in the

territories of Afghanistan in June 1949, the Afghan National Assembly cancelled all the

treaties signed with Britain in regard to tribal territories and rejected the Durand Line

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[98] On September 28, 1947, Claude Auchinleck, the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of India and Pakistan, summarized the Indian government's attitude towards Pakistan to the British Prime Minister as follows: "I have no hesitation whatever in affirming that the present India Cabinet are implacably determined to do all in their power to prevent the establishment of the Dominion of Pakistan on a firm basis" (Sherwani 1986, 61).

[99] Nevertheless, the Indian Congress Party argued that the Pakistanis were the ones who did not see the partition as a final settlement by trying to change the status-quo in Jammu and Kashmir (Jalal 2014, 39).

which formed the Afghan-Pakistan border (Adamec 2003, 328). As the Cold War escalated, this issue deadlocked as the Soviet Union backed the Afghan claims whereas the Western powers supported the Durand Line. Although President Mohammad Ayub Khan tried to improve relations in July 1964, in September of the same year the Afghan Assembly passed a resolution referring to the "religious, national and historical duty of the Afghans to support the rights of the [Pashtun] people of Pakistan to self-determination" and stating that Afghanistan was "waiting for the day when the issue of [Pashtunistan] will be settled on the basis of the true aspirations of the people and leaders of [Pashtunistan]" (Feldman 2001b, 107).[100]

The external threat environment was an important factor in the growing influence of the military in Pakistani politics. With the dual threat, the defense expenditure formed the great bulk of the national budget even before the military coup in 1958 as on average around 60 percent of the total expenditure during the first eleven years was spent for military purposes (Rizvi 2000a, 62-63). The limited resources that should have spent on strengthening civilian institutions or removing the economic disparity between the two wings of Pakistan – to the disadvantaged East Wing where Bengalis formed the majority – went to military ammunitions and weapons. The American-Soviet rivalry, the alliance with the United States and flow of military aid from this country also played an important role in the growing power of the soldiers and military's share in the national budget.

What is more important is that the external threat environment, especially the

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[100] Not only the NWFP, Afghan claims on the Pakistani territory also included the province of Balochistan as was seen in 1969 when the Afghan government issued a postage stamp which showed Balochistan and NWFP in the borders of Afghanistan (Hewitt 1997, 79).

Indian threat, led the soldiers to enter into political decision-making and politicized an important contingent of the Pakistani generals. For example, the first Indo-Pakistani War did not start as an official war, but as an unofficial conflict as the cabinet worked with Colonel Akbar Khan to exploit a revolt among the Muslim population in Kashmir – the army did not formally enter the war until April 1948. While this method violated the British tradition of military hierarchy and professionalism as soldiers and politicians moved behind the back of the CiC Frank Messervy, it provided certain generals direct access to the political decision-making (Fair 2014, 49-50; Shah 2014b, 42). When the developments in the war and Pakistani politics in general did not meet the expectations of these politicized soldiers, they started seeing the civilians as selfish and incompetent while regarding themselves as the only savior of the state from the Indian threat. Indeed, it is not surprising to see that the first military coup attempt in Pakistan, the Rawalpindi Conspiracy of 1951, was organized by Colonel Akbar Khan and like-minded officers who held a grudge against the civilian politicians for handling the war and Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan for signing the ceasefire, which, they believe, cost them victory (Jahan 1972, 52-53). Although this coup was prevented, the external threat environment made the soldiers' participation in political decision-making a constant phenomenon as in August 1951 the military service chiefs were able to attend cabinet meetings when defense policy was discussed (Niaz 2010, 164).

Another similarity between Pakistan and Israel was the difficulties of the new born state. During the state-building process the Pakistani military had to assist the civilian administration in several non-military tasks. First, like the IDF, the Pakistani

military dealt with migration and settlement issues as Muslim refugees were escaping from communal violence and the army was ordered to take over the management of refugee camps on August 20, 1947. Second, the army helped the government to solve the problems caused by environmental disasters. In the first years of independence, Pakistan faced several natural calamities such as major floods in Punjab and East Pakistan, locust invasions in the NWFP, Quetta and Sindh as well as a famine problem following the mass migration; the civilian administration frequently called the military to mitigate the effects of these disasters. Third, the military dealt with a smuggling problem as it conducted successive operations such as Operation Jute (1952-53), Operation Service First (1956) and Operation Close-Door (1957) in the first decade of the state (Cohen 1984, 49). Finally, and most importantly, the military helped the government to control the civilian disturbances in this period. From this perspective, 1953 was a critical year as the state experienced its first direct and constitutional use of troops to deal with student demonstrations in Karachi. In March of the same year a more serious disturbance took place in Lahore as antagonism towards the Ahmediya sect turned into mass violence against the members of this group. The violence led to the implementation of martial law and the establishment of military courts in the city (Cloughley 2006, 38). In the next year, the military once again was used to end the violence that broke out in the Adamjee Jute Mill in East Pakistan (Feldman 2001a, 41-43).

All this usage of the soldiers in civilian affairs was important for the growing influence of the military in Pakistani politics and society. First, a close relationship emerged between the military and the Pakistani people through these experiences as the

people saw the soldiers, not politicians, around in times of difficulty. According to Rizvi, soldiers performing the duties of a civilian government "created an impression in the minds of the public that the Army could restore peace and effective government when all other devices had failed" (Rizvi 2000b, 75). This belief undoubtedly eased public acceptance of the military coup in 1958. Second, assuming civilian duties gave the military its first experiences with the management of civilian affairs that they were lacking. These experiences not only encouraged the officers to take over the management of the entire country, it also brought them public fame and appreciation which were difficult to resist. For example, Hussain (2003) points out that the disturbances in Lahore in 1953:

> "…quickly fizzled out but the role of military expanded so quickly to so many areas that an abnormal situation was created. Army officers started to preside over public functions, addressing public gatherings, touring city areas and opening new markets and public buildings. Uniformed officers started to appear in social and diplomatic functions with their pictures flashed all over newspapers. From a simple 'aid to civil power' duty, the army quickly penetrated civil society thus setting the stage for military [takeover] in the next few years."

While the external threat environment and difficulties of the new-born state are two factors that were shared by both the Israeli and Pakistani state-building processes, these countries followed different courses in terms of civilian control of the military because of two important differences. These differences rest in the political power of the civilians and soldiers' understanding of their ability to govern the country. As mentioned, when Pakistan was founded, it had a strong and charismatic leader, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who was determined to provide civilian control of the military. Unfortunately for Pakistan, Jinnah died in September 1948, a little more than a year after partition, and

following this date the Pakistani political system began to show its deficiencies. Jinnah did not have enough time, maybe not even the intention, to establish participatory institutions, and he could not prepare a constitution while the first Indo-Pakistani War was ongoing. This political situation was different from the Israeli case where Ben-Gurion governed the country from 1948 to 1963 – with a little break in 1954-55 – and even neighboring India where Jawaharlal Nehru led the country until his death in May 1964.

Jinnah's early death also weakened his political party, the Muslim League, whose power was based on Jinnah's individual charisma and power. Unlike the Jewish Agency in Israel and the Indian Congress Party, the Muslim League stayed as an elitist organization for a long time after it was founded on December 30, 1906 by a group of enlightened Muslims. The idea of a separate Muslim state was born comparatively late in the 1930s and it was only in 1937 that its leadership started a process of popular mobilization. While the parties with conflicts of interest in the Jewish Agency and the Congress Party had lots of experience working together and keeping their internal disputes within controllable limits – the conflicts of interest between Ben-Gurion and Chaim Weizmann are a good example from this perspective – the Muslim League was lacking these attributes as an organization given that they started popular mobilization quite late (Rizvi 2000a, 68-69). Moreover, this mobilization was stronger among the Muslims who lived in the Hindu-majority provinces where Muslims felt Hindu political and economic domination more than those who settled in the periphery areas of British India which were left to Pakistan after the partition. What the Muslim League needed

after the foundation of the state was sufficient time to establish a participatory process

under an effective leadership not only within the state but also within the party in order to

adjust to groups with conflicting interests. Jinnah's death was unfortunate again in this

context.

Liaquat Ali Khan, Jinnah's successor, was inefficient in preparing the constitution

and strengthening parliamentary politics in Pakistan. Rather than encouraging political

participation, one way of dealing with the opposition was to call them "traitors," which

became the method Pakistani politicians would use in later years. He also introduced the

Public and Representative Offices (Disqualification) Act, shortly PRODA, in 1949 which

is designed to punish public officials and political leaders for misconduct, corruption and

abuse of power while holding office. Arbitrary usage of this act for political purposes

caused damage to the strengthening of party politics in Pakistan (Shafqat 1997, 25).

Although the military remained loyal to the Liaquat government, as mentioned, the first

disillusionment with the political leadership had started in this period as some military

officers held Liaquat Ali Khan and his government responsible for the lack of victory in

the first Indo-Pakistani War. When Liaquat was assassinated in October 1951, Pakistan

had neither a constitution nor functional party politics and the civilian control of the

military was in danger as in March 1951 eleven officers and four civilians were arrested

and charged with overthrowing the government.

The years between Liaquat Ali Khan's assassination and the military coup in 1958

increased the disillusionment of the military officers with the civilian politicians as six

different political leaders served as prime minister in a total of seven years while in the

same period only one military general, Ayub Khan, assumed the task of CiC. According to the military officers, the political instability and civilians' selfishness was completely opposite to the professionalism and well-organized leadership within the military. This disillusionment with the civilian politicians is especially evident in Ayub Khan's memoirs (1967, 41) in which he explained the political atmosphere after Liaquat's assassination:

> When I returned to Pakistan I met several members of the new Cabinet in Karachi – Prime Minister Khawaja Nazimuddin, Chaudhri Mohammad Ali, Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani and others. Not one of them mentioned Liaquat Ali Khan's name, nor did I hear a word of sympathy or regret from any one of them. Governor-General Ghulam Mohammad seemed equally unaware of the fact that the country had lost an eminent and capable Prime Minister through the fell act of an assassin. I wondered at how callous, cold-blooded, and selfish people could be. It seemed that every one of them had got himself promoted in one way or another. The termination of the Prime Minister's life had come as the beginning of a new career for them. It was disgusting and revolting. It may be a harsh thing to say, but I got the distinct impression that they were all feeling relieved that the only person who might have kept them under control had disappeared from the scene.

If there was one thing that prevented an institutional takeover of the government by the army after Liaquat was gone, it must be the fact that the army did not have enough governance experience to rule the state. During his conversation with an American Consul General in Pakistan in 1952, Ayub Khan made this point clear by stating that he "had told his Divisional Commanders that the talk of the Pakistan Army taking over the Government was to be stopped [because] the Pakistan Army did not have trained men in Governmental affairs." Yet, in the same conversation Ayub Khan strongly emphasized that the military officers "will not allow the political leaders to get out of hand, and the same is true regarding the people of Pakistan" (Aziz 2008, 64). Therefore, only a year

after Ayub Khan became the military chief as the first Pakistani officer taking this post, he showed praetorian tendencies by telling a foreign official that the military officers have a right to control the civilian politicians. He further implied that once the army has trained men in governmental affairs, there would be no reason not to take over the government which shows the end of the British tradition of a non-political army.

While the military was gaining governance experience through martial laws declared in major cities, in the 1950s the military officers also gradually became involved in the political process by cooperating with the bureaucracy against the politicians. For example, the dismissal of the Khawaja Nazimuddin government by Governor General Ghulam Mohammad in April 1953 took place after it prepared a draft constitution – Second Basic Principles Committee Report – which proposed policies that violated the military's interests, such as considering a no-war declaration offered by India, reducing defense expenditures and providing Bengalis a majority in the national legislature.[101] After the dismissal occurred, the military deployed troops at key points in the country while threatening the politicians with military action to prevent the legislative assembly from convening an emergency action (Shah 2014b, 78). According to the American Embassy in Karachi, the removal of Nazimuddin was "planned and accomplished" by Ghulam Mohammad, Maj. Gen. Iskander Mirza, Defense Secretary of Pakistan, and Ayub Khan who defined the dismissal as a "God-given" act and "had worked hard to have something along this line accomplished (Kux 2001, 53-54).

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[101] As will be mentioned in the following pages, the Pakistani army was dominated by Punjabis whereas Bengalis, the majority group in the state, was underrepresented. The Bengali demand to increase their representation was opposed by the officers not mainly because of ethnic reasons but the belief that Bengalis were lacking martial skills. Therefore, the army was suspicious of the Bengali-dominated government and assembly which would clash with the army on this matter.

The following conflict between politicians and the military-bureaucracy alliance came in October 1954 when Ghulam Mohammad dismissed the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, which was formed in 1947 to write a constitution and serve as a parliament. According to Mohammad, the Assembly had failed to prepare a constitution and lost the confidence of the people; however, in essence, the dismissal was the result of a power struggle between the politicians and bureaucracy. After witnessing Nizamuddin's arbitrary removal, the Assembly, especially its Bengali members, attempted to limit the bureaucracy's power. For this purpose, the Assembly made two critical decisions on September 21, 1954. First, it repealed the infamous PRODA to prevent its arbitrary usage against Assembly members. Then the Assembly passed the Government of India (Fifth Amendment) Act which gave the Governor General a symbolic status while increasing the powers of the Assembly members and ministers. Facing this challenge to his power, Mohammad dismissed the assembly and announced a state of emergency. In this governmental crisis, the military supported the General Governor as the Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra, who had just arrived from his visit to the United States, was escorted to the presence of Ghulam Mohammad under armed guard and was threatened with imprisonment if he did not cooperate and reconstruct a new cabinet when the generals were standing next to him (Shah 2014b, 79; Bahadur 1998, 191). The military officers also played the role of political mediator between the Governor General and Tamizuddin Khan, Speaker of the Assembly, who challenged the dismissal in the Federal Court. After the issue went to court, Ayub Khan and Mirza approached Tamizuddin's attorney to find a "political settlement," which

means the "withdrawal of the Court petition" (Aziz 2008, 60). Although this did not happen, the Federal Court's approval of the dissolution of the Assembly paved the way for arbitrary executive decisions against governments in the future. Finally, the new cabinet included both Mirza as the Minister of Interior and Ayub Khan as the Minister of Defense.

Although Ayub Khan wrote in his memoirs (1967, 53) that when he accepted the post his "chief interest was in the army" and his sole purpose was to "act as a buffer between the politicians and the armed forces," this was not really the case as he prepared his principles for ideal governance in Pakistan in this period. In October 1954, Ayub Khan prepared a document called "A Short Appreciation of the Present and Future Problems of Pakistan" and presented it to Ghulam Mohammad. By including several political, economic, social and administrative guidelines to the government on how to run the country, the document simply showed that Ayub Khan's "chief interest" was not in the army. For example, the document envisioned the parity system between West and East Pakistan and recommended unification of all West Pakistan's provinces into one political unit which was a deliberate plan to balance the Bengali majority in the legislature. Despite of the opposition of Bengalis and minority groups in West Pakistan, the one-unit principle was realized in November 1954. The document also involved a type of democracy which "suits the genius of the [Pakistani] people," and was later termed by Iskander Mirza as a "controlled democracy." Mirza and Ayub Khan argued that the democratic system in the Western states was inappropriate for the Pakistani people who were mainly illiterate and had a weakness for political movements such as

communism and separatism, which may have used the democratic system to the disadvantage of the general will and well-being of the people. The document stated that the appropriate system for Pakistan was to "enable people to elect a college of people in each sub-unit, who, in turn, elect members for the provincial and central legislatures" which was introduced by Ayub Khan in 1960 with the name "Basic Democracies." Finally, the document argued that the president should be the "repository of power" and it was made in the Constitution of 1962 (Ibid., 186-91). In short, the document not only exceeded the responsibilities of a Defense Minister or the CiC, it also provided a fine summary of what Ayub Khan would do once he came to power.

Ayub Khan left the post of Minister of Defense in August 1955 after Mohammad Ali Bogra resigned. Nevertheless, with Mirza replacing Ghulam Mohammad as the Governor General, the military officers kept their positions in the political system. Mirza rests his power with the military officers rather than the assembly. During his tenure as the executive, Pakistani politics entered its most unstable period as three different political leaders belonging to three different political parties served as prime ministers. In this period the shadow of the military-bureaucratic nexus on the political system made a functioning political system impossible. For instance, Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, who became the prime minister in 1956, was quite disliked by the military because of his opposition to the One-Unit Plan, his intention to improve the number of Bengalis in the military, and his harsh questioning of the army officers in the Rawalpindi Conspiracy trial in which he served as the conspirator's defense lawyer (Shah 2014b, 81-82). Suhrawardy also was not belligerent towards India as he worked with Mahatma Gandhi

before partition. His resignation, under the threat from Mirza, in October 1957, was the end of the last hope for Pakistani democracy which suffered a military coup a year later.

All this information shows how the years between 1947 and 1958 constitute an important critical juncture as a depoliticized army under civilian control turned into a politicized army controlling the civilian institutions. In October 1958, Pakistan witnessed its first coup d'état starting with President Mirza's[102] decision to abrogate the Constitution of Pakistan, which was adopted in March 1956, dissolve the National Assembly and declare martial law throughout the country. Although Mirza cited political instability as the main reason, the real motive behind his act was the national elections scheduled in February 1959. Mirza was aware of the fact that he was quite unpopular throughout Pakistan but especially in the East Wing where he served as governor in 1954-55 and that the elections would change the party positions in the assembly in a way that he was unlikely to be re-elected as the President (Asghar Khan 2005, 12). Martial law seemed like his only chance to pursue his political career and he had no difficulty in convincing the army of this decision as both Mirza and Ayub Khan separately told American Ambassador John Lanley that "only a dictatorship would work in Pakistan" (Ahmed 2002).

What Mirza did not foresee is that although he held the rank of major general, he was seen by the army as one of those corrupted civil servants who push the state into instability. As soon as martial law was declared, friction emerged between the President and military officers. While Mirza stated that martial law would be implemented for a

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[102] The post of Governor General was abolished when Pakistan was declared a republic with the 1956 Constitution and Mirza was elected as the first President of Pakistan.

short time and then the governance would be managed by a National Council, Ayub

Khan contradicted him by declaring that there would be no premature lifting of the

martial law until the "all round mess was cleared up" (Feldman 2001a, 20). On October

24, Mirza brought the soldiers into political decision-making by forming a twelve-man

cabinet in which real power laid with its four soldier-members and later he announced

Ayub Khan as the Prime Minister. Yet, despite all his efforts he was asked to step aside

and hand all power to Ayub Khan by military officers. Without a choice, he did what was

asked and military rule in Pakistan started on October 27.

6.1.2 Institutionalization of Military Influence, 1958-69

While the army seized power in a bloodless coup, they did not want to get

involved in party politics, which they disliked. Similar to Turkish soldiers, they believed

that party politics would poison the professional army which should focus on military

training. Therefore, the officers went back to their barracks in six months and the

administration was civilianized with the inclusion of civil servants. For example, 60

percent of the members of thirty-three commissions which were formed by the regime to

suggest policy changes were civilian bureaucrats while the percentage of the military

officers was 6.4 and politicians only 1.4 (Jahan 1972, 58). Nevertheless, to show the

civilians that real power stands with the army, the regime included three generals within

the cabinet while more than sixteen hundred civil servants were either dismissed and

forced into mandatory retirement or given minor punishments (Cloughley 2006, 51). In

other words, after October 1958 military-bureaucracy power was rearranged with the

military being the main determinant of policy-making.

In this new distribution of power, the primary losers were the politicians. In his broadcast to the nation after Mirza declared martial law on October 7, Ayub Khan stated that martial law was the result of chaotic conditions created by self-seeking politicians who "ravaged the country or tried to barter it away for personal gains." He argued that after the death of Jinnah and Liaquat, the politicians "wage[d] ceaseless and bitter war against each other regardless of the ill effects on the country, just to wet their appetites and satisfy their motives" (Pakistan Space 2014a). His dislike with the politicians was best manifested with the Elective Bodies (Disqualification) Order, shortly EBDO. This act, issued in 1959, was an extension of the PRODA and not only was it applied to any person who held public office but also those who held positions in the elective bodies of the country were tried by the accusation of misconduct in accordance with this act. In addition, the act applied retroactively to the independence of the state; therefore those "selfish" politicians, including Suhrawardy who would likely become prime minister in the elections of February 1959, were EBDOed. At the end, around seven thousand individuals were disqualified from political activity under EBDO (Feldman 2001a, 88-90).

With a new governmental and constitutional framework, Ayub Khan wanted to promote social, economic and political modernization of the country from the top down. His distrust of the politicians and belief that Western-style democracy is not appropriate for Pakistan led him to organize Pakistani politics with two institutional frameworks that he outlined in his 1954 document: Basic Democracies and the 1962 Constitution. Announced in 1959, Basic Democracies was a pyramidal and four-tiered political system

which fits the "genius of the Pakistani people." At the bottom of the structure, there were union councils, one for each village having an approximate population of 10,000. At this level local people chose a chairman among themselves to represent them in the Thana/Tehsil Council. This council and the upper-layer councils, District Council and Divisional Council, consisted of both elected representatives and appointed government officials. The most important feature of the system was its forming of a national electoral college consisting of 40,000 Basic Democrats in each wing (80,000 total) for the elections of president as well as the members of provincial and national assemblies (Jahan 1972, 115-16; Mellama 1961).

In his speech to announce the system on September 2, 1959, Ayub Khan stated that they named the system as Basic Democracies because they "want it to grow and evolve from the very first rung of the political and economic ladder so that it finds its roots deep among the people, starting at the village level in rural areas, and at mohalla (neighborhood) level in town" (Pakistan Space 2014b). However, the main function of the system was to prevent party politics and national politicians. This motive was not hidden by Ayub Khan as he stated that Basic Democracies was "free from the curse of party intrigues, political pressures and tub-thumbing politicians that characterized the Assemblies" (Hossain 2010, 96). Nevertheless, the system mainly focused on economic development rather than political participation. Union Councils were responsible for local agricultural and community development while their agenda was mainly shaped by government officials (Jahan 1972, 118). Government officials held significant power in the councils and critics of the system were claiming that the objective of the system was

to protect the interests of Ayub Khan and his government rather than creating a functional democracy in Pakistan (Feldman 2001a, 123-24). Although the system lost its legitimacy over time, its basic reasoning, the distrust of party politics by the soldiers, remained as an important characteristic of Pakistani politics in the future.

Ayub Khan's second main innovation in the governmental and constitutional framework was the Constitution of 1962. According to Ayub Khan (1967, 54), the Constitution of 1956, produced by the former Prime Minister Chaudhry Mohammad Ali, was a "document of despair." His main criticism was that the constitution distributed "power between the President, the Prime Minister and his Cabinet, and the provinces, destroyed the focal point of power and left no one in a position of control." As a result, shortly after assuming power, Ayub Khan voiced his desire to change it and in February 1960 he appointed a constitutional commission to prepare a report for the constitutional framework. The working style of the commission, headed by Chief Justice of Pakistan Muhammad Shahabuddin, was quite democratic as it circulated questionnaires and conducted interviews to find out what people wanted. In the end, the commission prepared its report which recommended a parliamentary regime, direct elections, free political parties, strong legislative and judicial organs, limited presidential power and a decentralized federal structure (Sisson and Rose 1990, 18-19; Blood 1995, 49). These recommendations were unacceptable to Ayub Khan.

The constitution produced by the military regime in 1962 ignored public opinion. It introduced a presidential form of government as the powers of the National Assembly were weakened. With the intention to put Ayub Khan "in a position of control," the

constitution gave the President the legislative power to issue ordinances when the Assembly was not in session and to issue a proclamation of emergency. In case of differences of opinion between the President and National Assembly, the former had a right to hold a referendum and bring the matter to the Basic Democrats whereas the National Assembly had no such right. The President also could dissolve the Assembly in case of emergency and he held authority to appoint federal ministers, provincial governors and judges of the Supreme Court. Finally, the Constitution formalized the control of the military in security affairs by declaring that at least for a period of twenty years the Defense Minister would be a person who held the rank of Lieutenant General (or the equivalent ranks in the Navy and Air Force) unless the President has himself held such rack (Feldman 2001a, 224-25; Siddiqi 2008, 77). Both Basic Democracies and the Constitution of 1962 simply intended to provide "controlled democracy" by strengthening the presidency, bureaucracy and military and weakening the assembly, political parties and politicians.

This political system began to dissolve not long after the Constitution was announced. When the opposition attacked his Constitution, associates of Ayub Khan tried to persuade him that recognition of the political parties is necessary to provide mass mobilization on behalf of his government. Concerned with the legitimacy problem in the eyes of the public before the presidential elections of 1965, Ayub Khan reluctantly approved the party system and he joined the Convention Muslim League, a faction of the Muslim League which supported the military regime, in May 1963. Yet, this was a reluctant marriage as he explained his decision by stating, "I have failed to play this game

in accordance with my rules and so I have to play in accordance with their rules – and the rules demand that I belong to somebody; otherwise who is going to belong to me? So it is simple. It is an admission of defeat on my part" (Huntington 1968, 154-55). With this mindset, Ayub Khan did not sincerely endorse the party system and participatory politics throughout his rule.

In the presidential election of 1965, opposition parties joined in an alliance known as the Combined Opposition Parties and supported Fatima Jinnah, sister of Mohammad Ali Jinnah, as their candidate. Jinnah's receiving of 36 percent of the national vote, and 47 percent of the vote in East Pakistan, despite vote-rigging and corruption showed the significant opposition to the notion of controlled democracy. Opposition to Ayub Khan's regime increased after his signing of the Tashkent Declaration with India following the Second Indo-Pakistani War in the same year. While the conflict reached its deadlock, because of the optimistic news coming from the battlefield, the military, public and opposition parties saw the ceasefire as a miserable surrender and betrayal of the country. With the growing opposition, dissatisfaction of the military and health problems starting in 1966, the Ayub regime lost control of politics. However, rather than providing a transition to civilian rule, in February 1969 Ayub Khan approached the CiC Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan and asked him to assist the civilian authorities in "bringing the country back on track." Yahya Khan informed the President that controlling the political ferment would require full martial law throughout the country. There was also a concern that if Ayub Khan stepped aside without declaring martial law, the interim president would be the speaker of the National Assembly, Abdul Jabbar Khan, who was a Bengali

(Sisson and Rose 1990, 23). As a result, it was necessary both to declare martial law and abrogate the constitution. On March 25, 1969, Ayub Khan took these steps and handed over power to Yahya Khan.

What happened from 1969 to 1971 is the subject of the next section where I will explain how military rule affected the ethnic conflict between the Pakistani government and Bengalis in East Pakistan. It is important here to note that the years from 1947 to 1971 are the perfect example of a critical juncture as relations between institutions were shaped in this period. During the pre-military rule period from 1947 to 1958 a weak and ill-equipped army turned into an institution that controlled politicians and political parties. In this period the soldiers started taking civilian responsibilities and cooperated with the bureaucracy against politicians. During the military rule under Ayub Khan this influence was institutionalized with changes in the governmental and constitutional framework. Military rule had grave consequences for stability in Pakistan; nevertheless, even after the secession of Bengalis in 1971, the military was able to retain its power in politics as a result of the policies followed in the state-building period.

6.2 Military Rule and the Bengali Question

As mentioned, Pakistan was formed with the idea that Muslims and Hindus constituted two separate nations in British India and each deserved its own state. The ideology behind the partition of the British India and the independence of the Pakistani state was religion. However, while Pakistanis shared the same religion, the state was actually composed of several ethnic groups. The basic characteristic of the ethnic groups was the language they spoke. According to the 1951 census, 56 percent of the population

was speaking Bengali, 29 percent Punjabi, 5.9 percent Sindhi, 4.9 Pashtun, and 1.5 Balochi (Ayres 2003, 54), and these numbers more or less reflected the demographic distribution between ethnic groups. The population of East Pakistan – also called East Bengal (West Bengal stayed in India during the partition) – was mainly constituted by Muslim and Hindu Bengalis – according to the 1961 census, 80.4 percent of East Pakistan's population was Muslim (Skutsch 2005, 941), whereas West Pakistan was overwhelmingly Muslim but it was ethnically more heterogeneous compared to East Pakistan. Although in the state-building process there were successive Baloch insurgents with different motives in 1948 (opposition to accession to Pakistan), 1958 (opposition to the One Unit plan) and 1963-65 (opposition to the military presence in Balochistan) (Kapur 1991, 8-9), the major ethnic conflict in this period took place between the Pakistani government and Bengalis which resulted in the secession of the latter from the state with the name Bangladesh in 1971.

6.2.1 Bengali Question during the Civilian Period, 1947-58

Although the military regimes and their policies played a significant role in the 1971 civil war, it would be wrong to claim that ethnic problems started with the military's ascension into power. In fact, the tensions between the idea of a Pakistani state, which, as the founding fathers formulated, is supposed to be a home for all Muslims in British India and Bengali nationalism started even before the independence. The problems go back to the emergence of the idea of Pakistan in the 1940 Muslim League Resolution in Lahore which formalized the demands of Pakistan among Muslim groups. A controversial section of this Resolution goes as follows (Copland 2014, 109):

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Resolved that it is the considered view of this Session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitution plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

Here the controversial term was "Independent States" which, according to Bengalis, should have been interpreted as the demand for two separate Muslim states. Yet, in 1946 the Delhi Resolution, accepted at the Muslim League Council session, amended the former decision by declaring that the two Pakistani zones (Northeast zone that comprises the provinces Bengal and Assam and Northwest zone that comprises the provinces of Punjab, NWFP, Sind and Balochistan) together would constitute "a sovereign independent State" (Krishan 2002, 196). While the validity of the resolution was questioned on the grounds that the council had no power to amend a resolution that was adopted in an open conference (Jahan 1972, 22), Pakistan was formed as one state with two separate wings. According to the civilian founding fathers, the idea of two separate sovereign Muslim states was injurious to the "two-nation" theory. Nevertheless, Bengalis kept demanding control of their own affairs following independence.

This desire of Bengalis to control their own state of affairs increased in parallel to the mistrust and grievances they held against the central government after independence. One of the main controversies in the first years was the language issue which was strongly expressed after Central Education Minister Fazlur Rahman declared in late-1947 that Urdu would be the sole state language. Exclusion of Bengali, the majority language

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in all Pakistan, led to public outrage in East Pakistan, especially among the university

students who demanded that Bengali also be made a state language. Yet, in a session of

the Constituent Assembly in February 1948, this demand was opposed by Prime Minister

Liaquat Ali Khan and other politicians (Karlekar 2005, 42). During his last visit to

Dhaka, East Pakistan's capital, in the following month, Jinnah also reiterated the state

policy by stating (quoted from Simpson 2007, 42):

> [L]et me tell you very clearly that the state language of Pakistan will be
> Urdu and no other language. Anyone who tries to mislead you is really the
> enemy of Pakistan. Without one state language no nation can remain tied
> up solidly together and function. Look at the history of other countries.
> Therefore, so far as the state language is concerned, Pakistan's language
> shall be Urdu.

According to the founding fathers, the language issue was related to the identity

of the state both in terms of its religious character and its enemy conceptions. As Moller

and Schierenbeck (2014, 76) puts it, they saw the Urdu as "the linguistic representation of

Muslim identity" whereas Bengali was considered the language of Hindus. Pakistani

leaders believed that the recognition of Bengali as a state language would imperil the

"two-nation theory" which emphasized the religious and cultural differences between

Muslims and Indians. Therefore, although Bengali was the mother tongue of 56 percent

of the population, it was Urdu, which was the mother tongue of 3.37 percent of the

population in 1951, that became the sole state language until 1954 when both Bengali and

Urdu were recognized as national languages (Jahan 1972, 12-15). Bengali nationalism in

essence started as a language movement as it gave its first martyrs on February 21, 1952,

when three Bengali students were killed by police fire during a language protest.

In addition to the controversies over the political status of East Pakistan and state

language, Bengalis had grievances about East Pakistan's share in the national economy during the civilian period. In the first decade after independence, there was a strong belief among the Bengalis that West Pakistan economically exploited the East Wing by using the great bulk of foreign exchange, which was mainly earned by East Pakistan, in order to improve federal capital, military establishment and major industrial bases in West Pakistan. This belief of exploitation was bluntly expressed by Nur Ahmad in the Constituent Assembly in November 1950 when he stated that the central government was following policies that would turn "East Bengal into a colony of Pakistan" (Ahmed 2004, 305). During this period, foreign aids and loans were also spent for West Pakistan. From 1947 to 1960, East Pakistan's share of foreign developmental aid and U.S. commodity aid was 17 and 30 percent respectively whereas West Pakistan's share was 62 and 64 percent. Because the central government was located in the West Wing it is also possible to add the share of the center – 21 percent of foreign developmental aid and 6 percent of U.S. commodity aid – to West Pakistan's benefit (Jahan 1972, 35). Therefore, while geographical, demographical and cultural differences between two wings required two separate economic systems (Sobhan 1962), what Bengalis witnessed since independence were central economic policies that prioritizing industrial and economic development in West Pakistan. Indeed, "disparity" and "exploitation" became much-used words among nationalist circles in East Pakistan as regional imbalances increased over time.

Finally, low Bengali membership in the military-bureaucracy elite was another root of discontent in East Pakistan during the civilian period. In 1955, there were only 14 officers from East Pakistan in the Pakistani Army, 7 in the Navy and 40 in the Air Force.

The numbers for the West Pakistanis, on the other hand, were 894 in the Army, 593 in the Navy and 640 in the Air Force (Jaffrelot 2002, 54). Similarly, West Pakistanis constituted a great bulk of the Central Secretariat Elite Posts as there were 19 Secretaries (compared with East Pakistan's none), 38 Joint Secretaries (compared with East Pakistan's 3), 123 Deputy Secretaries (compared with East Pakistan's 10), and 510 Under Secretaries (compared with East Pakistan's 38) from the region (Ibid., 55). Equal relations between the two wings could be observed only in the numbers of the central political elite as there were almost the same numbers of heads of state (2 from West, 2 from East), prime ministers (4 from West, 3 from East), ministers (27 from each) and assembly members (75 from West, 84 from East) between 1947 and 1958 (Jahan 1972, 35).

With the intention to form a strong and centralized state and obsession with the Indian threat, the founding fathers did little to respond to Bengali discontent. Nevertheless, with the significant participation in party politics, Bengalis were able to voice their demands through political means during the civilian period. For example, after the first draft of the Pakistani constitution, the Basic Principles Committee Report, did not satisfy the Bengalis, East Pakistani politicians such as Ataur Rahman Khan and Maulana Bhashani led a country-wide movement against the report and in February 1950, a "Grand National Convention" was held which presented alternative constitution proposals including full regional autonomy for East Bengal, the recognition of Bengali as a state language and separate regional defense forces in each wing (Nair 1990, 64). While disagreements between the wings delayed the preparation of a constitution, in 1953 Bengalis formed the United Front, a coalition of political parties such as the Awami

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League (AL), the Krishak Sramik Party, the Nizam-i-Islam, and the Ganatantri Dal, to contest the legislative elections of 1954. Before the elections the coalition prepared a 21-point manifesto that articulated Bengali demands including full provincial autonomy in accordance with the 1940 Resolution, recognition of Bengali as one of the state languages, the establishment of navy headquarters and an armament factory to make East Pakistan militarily self-sufficient, and some symbolic nationalist acts such as the erection of a memorial for the martyrs of the language movement and declaration of February 21 as Martyrs Day (Jahan 1972, 45-46). With these demands, United Front won a landslide victory in the elections by winning 223 members in a provincial assembly out of 237. Not only at the provincial level but in national politics as well politicians were able to express Bengali grievances in this period. Despite being seen as the representatives of the Punjabi-dominated central government, those Bengalis who assumed key government posts occasionally voiced the Bengali concerns. For example, both Khawaja Nazimuddin in March 1948 as the Chief Minister of Bengal and later Prime Minister Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy in April 1957 stated the necessity to increase the participation of East Pakistanis in the army, which, they believed, would to some extent ease the Bengalis' sense of exclusion (Ahmed 2004, 303; Shah 2014b, 82).

All this information shows that the rise of the military-bureaucratic elite in Pakistan first and foremost damaged the Bengalis' ability to raise their concerns through political means. With the dissolution of political parties and ban on the political participation of some Bengali elites who took part on the formation of the state, the military coup of 1958 removed a significant link that kept the Bengalis in the political

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system. Even before the coup, the military-bureaucracy cooperation did enough to deteriorate the relations between two wings. For example, barely two months after the United Front won the legislative elections of 1954 and became the first popularly elected government in the province, Governor General Ghulam Mohammad dismissed the United Front government on the grounds that it had failed to maintain law and order in the province after a major riot took place in the Adamjee Jute Mills. From May 1954 to April 1955 Mohammad imposed a Governor's rule on East Pakistan, appointed Maj. Gen. Iskander Mirza as the new governor and gave him ten thousand troops to ensure public order (Sisson and Rose 1990, 12-13). In addition to preventing the Bengalis from controlling their own affairs, with the introduction of Ayub Khan's One-Unit system in November 1954, the central government aimed to balance the Bengalis by combining all provinces in West Pakistan. This design was not only criticized by East Bengal but also by the minority ethnic groups in the West Wing such as Sindhis and Balochs.

On the economic disparity and Bengalis' exclusion from the army, the military-bureaucratic cooperation remained unresponsive as well. For example, although the First Five Year Economic Plan (1955-1960) was adopted to remove economic disparity between the wings, more sources were allocated to West Pakistan and the center than East Pakistan on the grounds that West Pakistan was six times bigger in area than East Pakistan and that seven-eighths of the refugees at the time of partition moved to the west wing (Feldman 2001a, 171-72); yet, this reasoning ignored the fact that East Pakistan was more populous than West Pakistan. Military-bureaucratic elites also refrained from taking steps to increase the number of Bengalis in the military in accordance with the military

mindset which was inherited from British India. In the pre-independence period, British army authorities believed that certain classes in India such as Punjabs and Pashtuns, which were described as martial races, were better soldiers than other groups and the recruitment policy focused on these groups. In this respect the Eden Commission Report of 1879 was important as it asserted that more soldiers should be recruited from northwest British India since "Punjab is the home of most martial races of India and is the nursery of [the] best soldiers" (Streets-Salter 2004, 97). While the Pakistani Army kept voicing this myth after independence and dominated by these groups, this policy led to the exclusion of Bengalis from the army and it had several consequences on the decision to use force, which I will return to later.

6.2.2 Ayub Khan Regime and the Radicalization of the Bengalis, 1958-69

In the first years of his regime, Ayub Khan spent some efforts to popularize the regime in East Pakistan. For example, in June 1961 only Bengali members of the civil service started being appointed to the East Wing as in the former practice many civil service members were from the West Wing and they did not know either the Bengali language or the region they were appointed to. Public investment in the region also increased during this period and some central government bodies such as the Planning Commission started holding regular sessions in Dhaka which was designated the legislative capital of East Pakistan (Blood 1995, 46). Ayub Khan's regime made larger compromises later in 1962 when the new constitution was about to be announced and come into effect. In February of that year the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation was divided into two parts as each fell under the control of its provincial

government. The same procedure was followed for the Railway Boards in accordance with the Governor of East Pakistan's demands. In June, the Water and Power Development Authority was also divided into two parts and provincial governments were empowered to control their own development projects (Feldman 2001a, 182-83).

Nevertheless, these concessions, mainly on economic issues, barely hid the military regime's intention of forming a strong central government. In his 1954 document, Ayub Khan (1967, 187) asserted that Bengalis were not capable of governing their own affairs. He argued that up until the creation of the state, Bengalis had not known any real sovereignty and they had "all the inhibitions of down-trodden races;" therefore, they had not "found it possible to adjust psychologically to the requirements of the new-born freedom." Therefore, as soon as coming to power, the military regime advocated for a strong central government while denying the demands for political autonomy for the Bengalis. Ayub Khan's political decisions for this purpose, such as the abolishment of the political parties, the continuance of the One-Unit system and the introduction of Basic Democracies alienated the Bengalis from the political system. One of the main consequences of the weakening party system and centralization of the governance was the growing provincialism. During his tenure, Ayub Khan mainly relied on bureaucracy and military to form a strong central government and avoided forming an inclusive and nationalist political party or movement. In addition, the political system in this period prevented the possibility of inter-wing alliances between the political parties and inter-provincial alliances which were an important phenomenon during the civilian

period.[103] All these developments contributed to the provincialism in East Pakistan which became stronger following the 1965 Indo-Pakistani War.

During the Ayub regime, Bengalis did not fare any better concerning their economic grievances as well. Although military rule brought an economic boom and the Constitution of 1962 asserted that economic disparity must be removed, in the ten years of Ayub Khan's regime, the disparity between the wings significantly increased.[104] Central economic policies were a critical factor in the growing disparity as the Ayub regime was reluctant to recognize the Bengali economists and politicians' demand for a specific economic system in East Pakistan, which he labeled as an introduction to political disintegration (Jahan 1972, 87). The military mindset and realpolitik had an important role in this reluctance as the regime believed that autonomous economic policy in East Pakistan would mean the end of the restriction of trade with India. However, autonomous economic policy and trade with India were decisive for East Pakistan as the province was surrounded by Indian territories on three sides (North, East, West and Bay of Bengal to the south) whereas West Pakistan had alternative options, such as trade with Middle Eastern states, the Soviet Union and China. Therefore, enemy conceptions of the state were a significant barrier to the recognition of different economic conditions between the wings as the central government restricted trade with India.

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[103] For example, without the One-Unit system it would be possible for the East Pakistanis to ally with smaller provinces in West Pakistan such as NWFP and Balochistan, against the Punjabi-dominated military and bureaucracy to raise their voices about the issues they had vital interests in. According to Ashgar Khan (2005, 23), without this balancing factor, Pakistan was lacking an "essential requirement for the success of a federation ."

[104] When Ayub Khan seized power the per capital income in West Pakistan was 32 per cent higher than East Pakistan. By the end of the Ayub regime West Pakistan's per capita income was 61 percent higher than the East because of unequal growth rates; 6.2 per cent in the west and 4.2 in the east (Jones 2002, 158).

While Bengalis lost their ability to raise their concerns through political parties and politicians, their exclusion from the military-bureaucracy class continued during this period. Although the military made some effort to increase Bengali participation in the military and lower the physical standards of recruitment for this purpose, their level of representation in the military was not proportionate to their distribution in the population (Fair 2014, 62). Because of the myth of martial races and significant Hindu influence on Bengalis, the top echelon of the military had "considerable distaste for the quality of Bengali officers" and they resisted significant expansion in the number of Bengali officers (Cohen 1984, 43). As a result, five years after the military coup only 5 percent of the military officers in the Pakistani Army and Navy were from East Pakistan while their representation in the Air Force was 11 percent (Shah 2014b, 102). Bengali representation in the bureaucracy was not better. Despite the significant increase in the number of Bengalis at the center between the years of 1963 and 1966, their representation generally stayed below 30 percent and, more importantly, critical posts such as secretary-ships of Defense, Economic Affairs, Commerce, Industries, etc. were held by West Pakistanis (Jahan 1972, 98-100). Distrust towards the Bengalis in the state security was striking as Bengali representation within the Class 1 officers of the Defense division of the Civil Service of Pakistan in 1969 was only 13 percent (Musarrat and Azhar 2012, 154).

The critical event that transformed all these grievances into a strong political movement was the 1965 Indo-Pakistani War. In August 1965, Ayub Khan instructed his army chief Gen. Muhammad Musa to initiate a military incursion in Kashmir with three political purposes: "defreeze Kashmir problem, weaken India's resolve and bring her to a

conference table without provoking a general war" (Faruqui 2003, 45). Not only soldiers, but also some politicians, especially hawkish Foreign Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, were not expecting strong action from India if the Pakistani troops entered the Indian-held sections of Kashmir (Cohen 2004, 235). From this perspective, it was surprising for the Pakistani military and civilian elite when this Clausewitzian sense of incursion turned into a second Indo-Pakistani war as the Indians crossed the international border on September 6. At the end of the war Pakistan was far from bringing a solution to the Kashmir problem while the Tashkent Declaration ending the war was a serious blow for the military regime's prestige.

Nevertheless, the most important consequence of the war was internal. During the war, the defense against Indian attacks concentrated on West Pakistan as Ayub Khan believed that East Pakistan, which is surrounded by India on three sides, was indefensible and its defense laid in West Pakistan. When the war started, East Pakistan did not receive any military help from West Pakistan for seventeen days and the vulnerability of East Pakistan against an external aggression became crystal clear. East Pakistanis, whose demand for a provincial military force was neglected before the war, was further alienated as their safety was put at risk for a political solution in Kashmir which was not even a Pakistani territory. This alienation was so noticeable that during the war Indian Defense Minister Yashwantrao Chavan tried to exploit the tension by stating that India "ha[s] no quarrel with East Pakistan" (Cloughley 2006, 124). To Bengalis, the strategy followed in the war was deadly proof that they are second-class citizens in the eyes of the

military regime.[105] With Ayub Khan's decreasing prestige after the Tashkent Declaration, the Bengali nationalists were more activist following the war as Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the leader of the AL, stated "The question of autonomy appears to be more important after the war. Time has come for making East Pakistan self-sufficient in all respects" (Ahmed 2004, 157).

After the war, Mujibur Rahman and the AL became the prominent representatives of Bengali nationalism. The manifesto of this nationalism was the Six-Point Program which was launched in February 1966. The demands in the program included a federal and parliamentary system which is based on universal adult franchise; provincial autonomy in which the federal government would be responsible only for defense, foreign affairs and currency (subject to some conditions); establishment of a federal reserve system to prevent the flight of capital from one region to another; autonomy in taxation; provincial autonomy to negotiate foreign trade and aid, and; establishment of a militia and para-militia force in the federating units (Ibid., 159-60). The demands of the program were far larger than the autonomy demands before; yet, Mujibur stated that the demands were open to negotiation.

The regime's reaction to the program was harsh. Ayub Khan regarded the demand for autonomy as a "camouflage for separation" (Baxter 2007, 312), defined Mujibur

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[105] In fact, some military officers in East Pakistan warned the central government about this possibility even before the war. For example, in April 1965 Maj. Gen. Fazal Muqeem Khan wrote a top secret memorandum stating that the East Wing had inadequate weapons and ammunition to provide an effective military operation and ended his message with a prophetic evaluation: "Politically, people here are getting more and more vocal about the defence of [East Pakistan]. The general trend of feelings is that this wing is not provided with adequate defence. There is an inherent danger in this thinking. My worry is that the people who are rightly or wrongly being taught to think that the defence of [East Pakistan] is inadequate, instead of proving a help, might easily, get demoralized and be a problem" (quoted from Nawaz 2008, 240).

Rahman as a secessionist, and threatened to use the language of weapons. According to him, the Six-Point program "would spell disaster for the country and turn the people of East Pakistan into slaves." In a session of the Convention Muslim League on March 20, he called on his followers to "be prepared to face even a civil war, if forced upon them, to protect the sovereignty and integrity of the country" (Chowdhury 1972, 43). In May, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was arrested under the Public Safety Act and almost all senior members of the movement were jailed. Later in 1968, Mujibur Rahman, along with 33 others including a naval officer and a number of junior military personnel, was tried in the Agartala Conspiracy case on the accusation of "plotting to deprive Pakistan of its sovereignty over a part of its territory by an armed revolt with weapons, ammunitions, and funds provided by India" (Ahmed 2004, 161-62). The case was dropped and Mujibur Rahman was released from prison in February 1969 only after the Ayub regime lost its popularity and decided to talk to political leaders in the Round Table Conference. However, the negotiations came quite late as the military intelligence, controlled by the military, and civil intelligence, headed by Agha Muhammad Ali, CiC Yahya Khan's brother, fed Ayub Khan with reports that the law and order situation in the country, especially in East Pakistan, had deteriorated to the point that political solutions to the problems were difficult and martial law was necessary (Asghar Khan 2005, 21). As a result, the Round Table Conference failed and the regime changed hands from one military regime to another. On March 26, 1969, Yahya Khan announced martial law throughout the country, dissolved the assemblies, banned all political activities and abrogated the 1962 constitution.

6.2.3 Yahya Khan Regime and 1971 Civil War

In his first national speech after assuming power as the third President of Pakistan on March 26, 1969, Yahya Khan announced that he had no political ambitions and his aim was to provide a smooth transfer of power to the representatives of the people elected on the basis of adult franchise (Haqqani 2005, 65). Along this line, on November 28, 1969, he announced that the elections for the provincial and national assemblies would be held in October 1970 and political activities could be followed from January 1, 1970. Later on March 31, 1970 he presented the Legal Framework Order (LFO) which laid down the principles for Pakistan's first general elections with universal adult franchise and constitution-making process. In this period, the regime made two critical political decisions in accordance with the Bengali demand to restore the status of the province in the political system. First, the LFO recognized the "one-man-one-vote principle" which would give significant advantage to the Bengalis as the majority group in the state. Second, the principle of parity between East and West Pakistan was removed with the dissolution of the One-Unit system. At the same time, the military regime refrained from confronting Bengali nationalists. For example, when local martial law authorities ordered the arrests of student leaders in Dhaka for holding a public rally in September 1969 Yahya Khan averted a confrontation by pardoning these students (Rizvi 2000a, 124).[106]

Nevertheless, the military regime had no intention of allowing either the political leaders or the Bengalis to get out of hand. Despite of his moderate speeches and

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[106] In addition, under the Yahya Khan regime six Bengalis were appointed as secretaries in the Civil Service of Pakistan; a Bengali rose to the rank of general in the military, and; G.W. Choudhary, a Bengali, was appointed as Yahya Khan's constitutional adviser (Shafqat 1997, 74)

decisions, Yahya Khan was a Pakistani soldier whose mistrust to the politicians was no

different from Ayub Khan's. In a military gathering in May 1969, Yahya Khan called on

the officers to be "prepared to rule this unfortunate country for the next 14 years or so"

by adding that he "can't throw the country to the wolves" (Nawaz 2008, 249). In fact,

unlike Ayub Khan who cooperated with the bureaucracy, Yahya Khan worked mainly

with the military circle and his military subordinates were the ones who contacted the

civilians when it is necessary.[107] Although Yahya Khan made the unprecedented decision

to hold the first general elections in Pakistan, he and senior military officers did not

believe that the elections would bring a result that jeopardized military influence in

politics. Instead, what they expected was the emergence of a loose coalition whose

strings would be in the hands of the military officers. This expectation was based on two

facts. First, the military was using a divide-and-rule strategy on the political parties and it

was optimistic about the result of these efforts. For this purpose, Maj. Gen. Sher Ali

Khan Pataudi was appointed as the Minister of Information and National Affairs to

influence political developments in the pre-election period (Ibid., 250). In addition,

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[107] While the CiC Yahya Khan himself assumed the posts of presidency, minister of foreign affairs and of defense, Lt. Gen. Abdul Hamid Khan served as Minister of Interior and Kashmir Affairs; Vice-Admiral S.M. Ahsan became responsible for Planning, Finance, Industries, Commerce, and Food and Agriculture; Air Marshal Nur Khan assumed the ministries of Education, Health, Social Welfare, and Labor, and; Lt. Gen. S.G.M. Peerzada, as Yahya Khan's right hand, became the Principal Staff Officer to the President. When some differences emerged within this inner military cabinet in August 1969, two non-army officers, Nur Khan and Ahsan were appointed as governors of West Pakistan and East Pakistan respectively. The result was the army-centered decision-making at the center. When the civil war started in March 1971, the political decision-making included Abdul Hamid Khan , Maj. Gen. Gul Hassan (responsible for the army), Peerzada (responsible for the relations with Pakistan People's Party and the National Awami Party), Maj. Gen. Ghulam Omar (responsible for the relations with Jama'at-i-Islami and the three Muslim League parties), Lt. Gen. A.O. Mitha (responsible with civil service), Lt. Gen. M. Akbar (Director of Military Intelligence), Brig. Karim (supervisor and adviser of East Pakistan affairs), Brig. Abdul Karim, (supervisor of civil affairs), and Lt. Col. M.A. Hasan. (legal and constitutional adviser) (Cloughley 2006, 138-39; Feldman 2001c, 149-50).

Yahya Khan established the NSC under the command of Maj. Gen. Ghulam Omar and with the help of intelligence agencies this institution aimed to prevent any political party – especially Bhutto's Pakistan Peoples' Party (PPP) and Mujibur Rahman's AL – from winning a majority in the elections. The regime also supported various factions of the Muslim League and Islamic parties through the Minister of Information and the NSC, which diverted resources to these parties and mobilized propaganda that Islam and Pakistan are in danger (Haqqani 2005, 55; Shah 2014b, 108).

Second, and related to the Bengali problem, the military officers did not expect the AL to win a majority in the elections because they did not believe there was a genuine Bengali grievance. Trained to prevent the external, especially Indian, threat, the military officers believed that the Bengali question was a deliberate Indian plan to weaken and divide Pakistan. For example, in his memoirs Lt. Gen. Gul Hassan Khan writes that the East Bengalis held many grievances against the government simply because "local Hindus and the Indian propaganda had brainwashed the people of the East Wing effectively" (Hassan Khan 1993, 244). Similarly, a secret military assessment on the Six-Point movement stated that the latter was "actively guided by foreign government" and it was local Hindus that behaved as a fifth column by coming "in the forefront in support of [Bengal] language and Six Points." With this belief, the military officers did not expect AL to win more than 70 seats out of the 169 seats that were allocated to East Pakistan in the national assembly (Nawaz 2008, 260).

From this perspective, the result of the elections which were held in December 1970 was shocking. As a result of the growing provincialism over the years, the AL won

almost all the seats in East Pakistan, 167 out of 169, while in the West, the PPP became

the majority party by winning 88 seats out of 144. Neither the AL won any seat in West

Pakistan nor the PPP in the East. The Islamic parties supported by the military regimes

could not gain the support of the people. This picture was not foreseen by the military

and soldiers were not willing to give power to the Bengalis which could easily shape the

constitution. Indeed, the high-ranking generals started to voice the idea of the use of force

as soon as the election was over. Only four days after the elections, General Yaqub,

Martial Law Administrator in East Pakistan, prepared a secret paper called "Operation

Blitz" which was the first plan for a military crackdown in East Pakistan in case the

Bengalis declared independence or serious disturbances against the martial law regime

took place in the province (Ibid., 264). Members of Yahya's inner military cabinet had no

intention of transferring power to a Bengali government. General Akbar Khan, the Chief

of Intelligence, stated that "we will not hand over power to these bastards" (Hussain

2002). Other than a few military officers, the great majority of the military was in favor

of perpetuating military rule, especially when the alternative was a Bengali-controlled

government.

The theory of military activism explains why the military officers were

advocating the use of force. First, the organizational interests of the military necessitated

a government that would not clash with the military. As Lt. Gen. Kamal Matinuddin

(1994, 156) explains, military officers were afraid that once AL was in power, it "would

adopt a conciliatory attitude towards India, relegate Kashmir to the back-burner and

direct funds from defense to economic development of East Pakistan." Starting with the

latter, during the Ayub regime the military received various economic benefits ranging from the acquisition of large tracts of land by military officers to the growing power of the Fauji Foundation, which was established in 1954 as a charitable trust to look after the welfare of active and retired officers but became the largest industrial power in Pakistan over time. Since independence Bengalis had complained that state resources had been spent in favor of the military establishment rather than growth of East Pakistan; therefore, Mujibur Rahman's coming to power would likely jeopardize these economic interests. The military officers also believed that a Bengali government would be more conciliatory on Kashmir and would try to form friendlier relations with India which was a potential trade partner for the province. These were the issues which put the military at the center of the political decision-making and provided some generals a political career. Although the military officers disliked party politics as did their Turkish counterparts, they were quite interested in ruling the country in a top-down fashion. By controlling politics since 1954 and ruling it since 1958, the military grew an institutional identity that emphasized that political decision-making could not be left to self-interested politicians alone and now there was an unprecedented situation in which a nationalist and provincial Bengali party could form the central government and form friendly relations with the military's number one enemy, India.

Second, military mindset was an important factor in the preference for military measures. First, as mentioned, because the military officers were trained to fight external threats and there was the Indian threat at the center of their identity, they saw the Bengali demands as a secessionist action supported by the Indian government. They did not

manage to see that if the AL represented all of the state by heading the government, their

inclination for separatism would diminish. Although Sheikh Mujibur had no intention to

cooperate with Bhutto's PPP, in his conversations with the military generals after the

elections he stated that he was the leader of all Pakistan, not just the eastern wing, and he

entered into a dialogue with the minority parties in West Pakistan (Sisson and Rose 1990,

64-65, 86). Yet, these efforts did not assuage the military's doubts over the Bengali

intentions. Second, the military officers were optimistic about the effects of the military

operation. The myth of martial race played a significant role in this optimism. The

military officers believed that the Bengalis, who had been more political than militarist in

their history, were no match for the Pakistani officers. They looked down on Bengalis'

intention and capability to resist the military operations of the central government and, as

Cohen (2004, 74) puts it, they believed that "a whiff of gunpowder would overawe the

meek Bengalis." After Yahya Khan postponed the opening of the assembly several times

and Bengalis showed their reaction through violence, military officers were sure that

there was no other option to use of force. According to Gul Hassan, "the only answer is

to start a war…in order to have a ceasefire" (Asghar Khan 2005, 49).[108]

Some civilian politicians and bureaucrats were also advocating for the use of

force. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto frequently told the generals that the AL's main intention was

secession and that the president should postpone the opening of the Assembly unless

Mujibur Rahman comes to terms with him. Although defeated in the general election,

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[108] Military officers also made these views public as Maj. Gen. Khadim Hussain Raja told an AL
sympathizer that if Mujibur Rahman speaks against the integrity of Pakistan, he will "muster all I can –
tanks, artillery and machine guns – to kill all the traitors and, if necessary, raze [Dhaka] to the ground.
There will be no one to rule; there will be nothing to rule" (Haqqani 2005, 71).

Bhutto had no intention to be an opposition party in the national assembly. Bhutto believed that after parting ways with Ayub Khan in 1966, he was the one who started the "great revolt" against the Ayub Khan regime (Bhutto 1971, 8) and now Mujibur Rahman and the AL were about to reap the rewards of his efforts. As the leader of the majority party in the West Wing, he demanded to share power with the AL in the Central Government as equal partners. In essence, Bhutto was a realist and rational politician who knew the concerns of the military officers. He wanted to be the Prime Minister of West Pakistan and for this purpose, he was willing to offer a limited use of force option which would put Mujibur Rahman on his knees. According to Asghar Khan, for Bhutto "the end justified the means" and the PP leader reportedly told Yahya Khan that "We will have to kill some 20,000 people [in East Pakistan] and all will be well" (Asghar Khan 2005, 22, 36). He also told the military generals that they should not be so concerned about the guerilla war (Sisson and Rose 1990, 85-86).

Nevertheless, in the end, those who made the final decision to use force were the military officers, not Bhutto or other civilians. Although after the elections President Yahya Khan negotiated with Mujibur Rahman and publicly stated that the AL leader was going to be the prime minister, under the influence of the military commanders and Bhutto he changed his moderate attitude and conditioned the opening of the assembly on the cooperation between the AL and PPP. After he announced the postponement of the Assembly on March 1 and violent disturbances started in East Pakistan he joined the military generals in assuming that "a whiff of grapeshot" would solve the Bengali problem (Haqqani 2005, 70). In this period, there were only a few generals in the army

that supported the political solution. One of them was Vice-Admiral S.M. Ahsan, the Governor of East Pakistan, who warned Yahya Khan on February 28 not to postpone the Assembly, "otherwise…we will have reached the point of no return" (Sisson and Rose 1990, 90). After this message Ahsan was replaced by General Yaqub who had prepared the first plan for a military crackdown after the elections. Yet, over time Yaqub changed his views on the Bengali issue and when disturbances started after March 1, he sent a telegram to the army headquarters, arguing that the "[o]nly solution to the present crisis is a purely political one" and the use of force "would mean civil war and large scale killings of unarmed civilians and would achieve no sane aim" (Nawaz 2008, 266). Yet, his message was unheard in the army headquarters as on the night of March 25-26, a military operation started in East Pakistan. Soon Yaqub was replaced by General Tikka Khan, who would earn the title of "butcher of East Pakistan" for his role in the killings in East Pakistan.

With the initiation of military action on March 25, the Pakistani army became the sole authority in East Pakistan. The army applied excessive use of force during the operations under the influence of revenge and anger. The Hamoodur Rahman Commission Report, which was first prepared in 1972 and released in 1974, shows how order and discipline within the army was lost during the military operations. For example, a Pakistani officer states that during the operations innocent people were killed by the army and, as General Yaqub had foreseen, these killings "created estrangement amongst the public" (Government of Pakistan 2007, 34). Another officer told the Commission (Ibid., 33-34):

Many junior and other officers took the law into their own hands to deal with the so-called miscreants. There have been cases of interrogation of miscreants which were far more severe in character than normal and in some cases blatantly in front of the public. The discipline of the Pakistani army as was generally understood had broken down. In a command area (Dhoom Ghat) between September and October miscreants were killed by firing squads.

While these operations brought significant criticism to the Pakistani Army from the Bengalis and international actors, the officers did not give power to the civilians, even after a civilian governor, Dr. A.M. Malik, was appointed to the province in September. As a Pakistani official stated "Dr. Malik and his ministers were figureheads only" and the installation of a civilian governor was made to "hoodwink public opinion at home and abroad" while "real decisions in all important matters still lay with the army" (Ibid., 18). Maj. Gen. Rao Farman Ali also approved this statement by emphasizing the negative consequences of the military control in the province (Ibid., 17-18):

Dr. Malik…had a weak personality. He could not annoy the Martial Law Administrator (Lt. Gen. A.A.K. Niazi [who replaced Tikka Khan in September]) also because of the unsettled conditions obtaining in the Wing. Gen. Niazi, on the other hand, cherished and liked power, but did not have the breadth of vision or ability to understand political implications. He did not display much respect for the civilian Governor…The Army virtually continued to control civil administration.

As a result of these developments, although the Pakistani army initially suppressed the separatist Bengalis who formed an armed group called Mukti Bahini (Liberation Army), the situation in the province did not return to normal. Brutal killings during the military operations and the continuance of the military regime alienated even those Bengalis who did not want a separate state at the beginning. With the support of

India, Mukti Bahini continued guerilla warfare against the Pakistani Army. When Pakistan started pre-emptive air-strikes against the Indian airfield on December 3, taking the successful Israeli air operation against Egypt during the Six-Day War as an example, the Indian government had a legitimate reason to enter into a war against Pakistan. The Pakistani Army, which did not take a lesson from the 1965 War, faced an enemy that had prepared itself for battle since the civil war started in East Pakistan. On December 16, in less than two weeks, the Pakistani Armed Forces in East Pakistan surrendered and Pakistan became the first state disintegrated after the Second World War with the independence of East Pakistan under the name Bangladesh.

6.3 Conclusion

This chapter pointed out two important phenomena in the Pakistani state-building process. First, in accordance with historical institutionalism this period constituted a critical juncture in which civil-military relations norms and security norms were shaped. Although political norms inherited from British India had emphasized civilian control of the military and education in the British Indian military focused on non-political subjects, in the first decade after independence these norms were upside down as the military generals first cooperated with the bureaucracy against the politicians and with the military coup in 1958 they took control of the political decision-making. Following the coup, the military rulers restructured the governmental and constitutional framework in accordance with their and the military's interests. In addition, the security policies toward the non-Punjabi ethnic groups were shaped in this period. As the next chapter shows, the policies adopted in terms of civil-military relations and security policies during the

Pakistani state-building process – such as constitutional restructuring, protecting the military's organizational interests, cooperation with the pro-military civilian groups, ignorance of the provincial demands, emphasis on external threats, divide-and-rule strategy, political imprisonment, the use of force, etc. – will be pursued in the following decades.

Second, the analysis of this period shows that the military rule played a significant role in the dissolution of pre-1971 Pakistan. Although ethnic problems had started with the formation of a single Muslim state out of multi-ethnic British India, the evidence shows that Bengalis may not have had a strong demand for a separate state if democratic principles had been followed in this period. The Bengalis constituted a majority in the state and they had significant participation in Pakistani politics. While there were ethnic grievances in the civilian period from 1947 to 1958, Bengalis were able to challenge the state policies through political means. With the inception of the military regime in 1958, Bengalis' grievances significantly increased at the same time as they lost their participation in Pakistani politics. When Bengalis won the 1970 elections, the military generals did not recognize this result because they saw the Bengali government as a threat to the military's organizational interests. With their military mindset, they preferred the use of force in March 1971 which opened the way for the dissolution of the state. On the preference of the civilians in West Pakistan, it is difficult to give a definitive answer as some supported military action for political reasons while others, especially minority parties in the West, were ready to recognize a Bengali government. Nevertheless, it is important to note that even these hawkish politicians, like Bhutto,

acted in the way they did because they were aware of the soldiers' concerns about a Bengali government. If there were democratic principles in the political system and civilian control of the military, they would have less of an opportunity to oppose a majority government and side with the military. In addition, because civilian politicians were socialized into a political system where the military regimes used force to solve internal and external problems, it is not surprising to see that some civilians adopted the same preference structure with the military officers. Nevertheless, whatever the civilian preferences were in this period, the final decision belonged to the military officers who, other than a few officers, preferred a military solution to a political one

In sum, the Bengali conflict in the Pakistani state-building period proves military activism theory. When the military regime was challenged by Bengali nationalism, the Pakistani military officers chose fighting over negotiation mainly because of organizational interests and military mindset. The military regime saw Bengali rule as a direct threat to its organizational interests such as its political role, economic power and security doctrine which focused on the Indian threat. In accordance with military mindset, the officers were also optimistic about the benefit of militarist policies, they looked down on Bengali intentions and capability to fight and saw the Bengali grievances as an artificial, foreign-supported problem. Unfortunately for Pakistan, the same political picture would repeat itself during the Baloch conflict in the 2000s.

Chapter 7

MILITARY RULE AND THE BALOCHISTAN CONFLICT

As in Turkey and Israel, the institutional relationships and ethnic policies adopted during the Pakistani state-building process created path dependence that has been difficult to reverse in the following decades. Both military rule in the political decision-making and ethnic problems persisted over decades though these problems cost Pakistan half of the state in 1971. While Pakistan has gone back and forth between military rule and civilian regimes under military control, the central government has been challenged by ethnic movements in every decade: the Balochs in the 1970s, the Sindhis in the 1980s, the Mohajirs in the 1990s and the Balochs again in the 2000s. In some cases, ethnic sentiments combined with religious fervor mainly because of the military regimes' policies; in recent decades, for example, the Pakistan Taliban, which is mostly a Pashtun movement, increased its attacks in the NWFP and Balochistan. While historical institutionalism offers a significant explanation for the presence of military regimes and ethnic problems in Pakistan, the theory of military activism is proved with the exclusively hawkish stance of the military during the ethnic conflicts. In this chapter, I will focus on the Baloch conflict in the 2000s to compare the ethnic policies of the military (2004-2008) and the civilian regimes (2008-2012). Before this, it is necessary to explain the

post-1971 civil-military relations in Pakistan in accordance with historical institutionalism.

7.1 Civil-Military Relations in the post-1971 Period

As pointed out in the previous chapters, wars may constitute an important critical juncture to determine military influence in the political decision-making process or to change existing civil-military relations norms within a state. From this perspective, the defeat against India in 1971 and the following independence of Bangladesh created a potential critical juncture as the result of the war was a serious blow against the Pakistani military's prestige. In the aftermath of the war there was significant criticism both within the public and the military ranks against the Yahya regime and the military commanders who surrendered in East Pakistan. The military officers wanted the removal of ruling generals from power and when General Abdul Hamid Khan came to the Rawalpindi Garrison on December 19 to explain the reasons for surrender the soldiers refused to listen to him (Rizvi 2000a, 142). At the same time there were large-scale public demonstrations in the streets against the Yahya Khan regime. However, this criticism mainly targeted the individual generals rather than the military as an institution. On December 20, 1971, when Yahya Khan handed over the presidency to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, it was not the civilians who gained power from the officers. Instead, it was Lt. Gen. Gul Hassan and Air Marshal Rahim Khan who personally took Bhutto to the presidential house and told Yahya Khan that nothing remained for him but to go (Feldman 2001c, 193-95).

Although it was the military that provided the transition to civilian rule, Bhutto

tried to use this opportunity to put the military officers under civilian control and during

his tenure he took several steps for this purpose. First, within four months after assuming

power Bhutto purged forty-three senior officers from the military, including Gul Hassan

and Rahim Khan, with the accusation of military interference in politics (Shafqat 1997,

167). At the same time Bhutto changed the structure in the military by removing the post

of one CiC for all the forces and appointed a chief for each force, i.e. Army, Navy and

Air Force. He also reduced the tenure of the Chiefs from four to three years. In his

address to the nation to explain these changes in March 1972, Bhutto stated that "what

has happened in Pakistan since 1954 and more openly since 1958 is that professional

Generals turned to politics not as a profession but to plunder" and that "these Bonapartic

influences must be rooted out in the interest of the country" (Dawn 2012c). Later, Bhutto

established the Hamoodur Rahman's Commission which started an inquiry about the

military's role in the surrender in East Pakistan. The Commission's report severely

criticized the military's involvement in politics since 1958, its commercial activities, and

some officers "lust for wine and women and greed for lands and houses" which, the

report argues, affected their professional capabilities and qualities of leadership

(Government of Pakistan 2007, 15).

Second, Bhutto put specific articles into the 1973 Constitution to limit military

influence in politics and this constitution became the first one that puts forth the functions

of the Armed Forces. Article 245(1) states that the Armed Forces are responsible for

"defend[ing] Pakistan against external aggression or threat of war, and, subject to the law,

act in aid of civil power when called upon to do so [by the Federal Government]." While

this article limits the military's role to external security and emphasizes civilian control,

Article 6(1) contains the clause of "High Treason" which states that "Any person who

abrogates or attempts or conspires to abrogate, subverts or attempts or conspires to

subvert the Constitution by use of force or show of force or by other unconstitutional

means shall be guilty of high treason" (Pakistani 2015). Third, Bhutto created alternative

military forces, namely the Federal Security Force and People's Guards, whose main

purpose was to distance the army from internal security. Finally, Bhutto initiated a

nuclear weapons project in order to challenge the view of the army being the ultimate

defender of Pakistan's security (Cohen 2004, 78).

Yet, these measures failed to change the civil-military relations norms established

in the state-building process. First, Bhutto's way to govern was strikingly similar to the

founding fathers' who also failed to provide an effective mechanism to bring civilian

control of the military. Like Jinnah and Liaquat, Bhutto's main aim was to control the

military under his own political leadership, but not to create democratic norms. For

example, his removal of certain generals in March 1972 was not based mainly on the

Bonapartic influences of the military but the military's refusal to help the government in

suppressing the police strike of that time. Bhutto wanted an effective army but under his

control and for this purpose he appointed Gen. Tikka Khan and then Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, in

1972 and 1976 respectively, whom, he believed, would be loyal to him.

Second, the internal and external threat environment during Bhutto's tenure did

not allow the military to stay away from the politics. The Indian threat remained at the center of Pakistani security doctrine as the independence of Bangladesh and Indian help in this event justified post-independence security fears. As a result, defense expenditures formed forty-seven percent of the annual budget in this period. Furthermore, particularly after 1973, the army was called to help the civilian administration in internal security issues. The Balochistan conflict between 1973 and 1977 was especially important in bringing the army back into politics. Finally, similar to the founding fathers, Bhutto showed little enthusiasm for strengthening the civilian institutions. As Shafqat (1997, 167) argues, he was "so occupied with imposing civilian control over the military that he failed to pay adequate attention to civilian political institutions [especially the political parties]." Although before coming to power Bhutto benefited from popular mobilization by adopting the language of Islamic socialism and gathered several disappointed groups under his leadership, his regime soon replicated the former governments by being highly personalized while keeping the civilian political institutions weak. As the PPP suffered from clientelism and patronage, Bhutto weakened the opposition parties by disbanding the non-PPP provincial governments in the NWFP and Balochistan using the accusation of separatism. As a result of all these factors, civilians failed to institutionalize civilian control of the military and strengthen civilian institutions while the soldiers survived from the shocks of the 1971 war over time.

Nevertheless, it would be unfair to put the blame on Bhutto alone. It was unfortunate for Pakistan that whenever there was a political disagreement between the government and the opposition, the latter approached the army to seize power from

Bhutto. As early as 1972, during the Sindhi language disturbances and then in 1973, the

officers were approached by political dissidents who demanded the removal of Bhutto

from power (Talbot 2012, 108). Especially Islamic parties were more eager to get rid of

Bhutto whom they saw as morally corrupt. In early 1973, Mian Tufail Mohammad, the

leader of Jamaat-i-Islami, called on the military to seize power from Bhutto. This demand

was voiced more strongly in 1977 when the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), an

alliance of opposition parties, launched a protest movement against the Bhutto regime. In

this period, even Asghar Khan, a former Air Force general who was known for his

opposition to military regimes, wrote an open letter to the Army Chief and asked him to

overthrow the government (Shafqat 1997, 85-89). Neither Bhutto nor the opposition saw

democracy as "the only game in town," and this situation made the civilian institutions,

including the elections, non-functioning in Pakistan.

The military officers were not blind to these political conditions. Although it was

the military officers who handed the power over Bhutto, this took place as a result of

extraordinary conditions rather than the end of praetorian tendencies in the military. The

officers were still distrustful of the civilian politicians and political conflicts between

Bhutto and the opposition parties fed the belief that politicians were self-seekers who

could easily push the state to instability and chaos.[109] Equally important, the military was

disenchanted with the reforms Bhutto made to control the military. The establishment of

Federal Security Force was especially seen as a threat to the organizational interests of

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[109] According to General Khalid Mahmud Arif (1995, 88), General Zia-ul-Haq's Chief of Staff after the military coup of 1977, the lack of "reconciliation, accommodation, and tolerance among the quarreling politicians" was one of the reasons for the military intervention.

the military by being a second army in the state. Bhutto's slow pace of repatriation of prisoners of war from India after the 1971 war was another source of hard-feelings towards Bhutto, which led to a coup attempt by a number of army and air force officers in March-April 1973 (Talbot 2012, 106). However, the top military echelon needed some time to heal the scars of the wars of 1971 and it was not ready to take control back from the civilians. As Bhutto's regime increasingly relied on the military to solve internal problems and the military officers started taking part in the political decision-making again, this crisis of confidence diminished. When both the Bhutto regime and the PNA could not manage to solve their political disagreements and each tried to draw the officers on its side, the military under the leadership of General Zia ul-Haq overthrew the civilian government on July 5, 1977.

With some ideological differences, the politics in the Zia regime shows how the norms and rules created in the state-building process are persistent and difficult to reverse. Similar to Ayub Khan, General Zia cited the civilians' inability to solve their political disagreements as the main reason for the military interference. "[N]either I have any political ambitions nor does the Army want to be detracted from its profession of soldiering," Zia stated in his first address to the nation, "I was obliged to step in to fill the vacuum created by the political leaders" (Kardar 1988, 208). Representing the Pakistani military mindset, Zia saw the military as superior to the civilian politicians and he identified the Bhutto regime with moral degeneration while refraining from criticizing his military predecessors who significantly damaged the political evolution of Pakistan (Haqqani 2005, 136). Another similarity between Ayub and Zia was their belief that

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Western-style democracy is unsuitable to Pakistan. Yet, on this issue, Zia's worldview was more ideological as his opposition was based on the un-Islamic nature of Western democracy. As a soldier in a Muslim state and proponent of the two-nation theory, Zia believed that the military's duty was not only to protect the geographical borders of the state but also its ideological frontiers (Rizvi 2000a, 181). During his tenure as the Pakistani President, Zia tried to mold all spheres of life, including the political system, in accordance with his Islamic understanding. He changed parts of the Pakistani Penal Code with Islamic laws, increased the number of madrassas (religious schools), tried to erase the effects of Western culture, declared the Ahmediya sect as non-Muslim, established close relations with the Islamic parties and supported the Islamist parties among the Afghan mujahedeen against the Soviet Union. While in the long-term this ideological orientation added one new problem, namely sectarian violence, to the list of Pakistan's troubles, in the short-term it gave an excuse to Zia to oppose the Western-style political system in Pakistan.

Although in his first address to the nation after the coup, Zia promised to hold the elections in three months, he withdrew from this promise by stating that the 'bad elements' in politics should be cleansed first and then he pointed to Bhutto's trial as an excuse to postpone elections (Asghar Khan 2005, 158). Indeed, by believing that God gave him an opportunity to Islamize Pakistan, Zia ul-Haq banned all political parties in November 1979 and started consolidating his leadership. Similar to Ayub Khan, he mainly tried to legitimize his power by civilianizing his regime at the cost of civilian institutions. As Talbot (2012, 124) puts it, what happened in the Zia era was mainly the

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"civilianization of martial law rather than its democratization." For example, Zia established a toothless civilian "legislative," organ, called Majlis-e-Shura in 1981, and later created equally ornamental elected local councils similar to Ayub Khan's Basic Democracies. Real power remained with the military: Zia relied on the military-controlled Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) for political advice and expanded military influence by appointing army officers to civilian tasks (Haqqani 2005, 143).

Zia retained the martial law regime from 1977 to 1985 and when he allowed the elections, he conditioned it on a non-party basis. Before the elections, nevertheless, Zia guaranteed his primacy in Pakistani politics through further institutional arrangements. In December 1984, he held a referendum for approval of his presidency in the next five years and Pakistanis were asked a question on a yes or no basis (quoted from Baxter 2004, 106-107):

> Do you endorse the process initiated by General Zia-ul Haq for bringing the laws of Pakistan in conformity with the injunctions of Islam as laid down in the Holy Quran and the Sunna of the Holy Prophet and for the preservation of the ideology of Pakistan, the continuation and consolidation of that process, and for the smooth and orderly transfer of power to elected representatives of the people?

While the referendum question did not allow any alternative to Zia's leadership, it was difficult to give a negative answer without giving an appearance of voting against Islamic principles (Talbot 2012, 124). As Zia guaranteed the continuation of his presidency in a referendum boycotted by the opposition, the elections in February 1985 were named the "deaf and dumb" elections as no political party was allowed to take part; no processions of congregations were to be allowed during electioneering, and; the use of

a loudspeaker was prohibited because of Zia's fear of large crowds (Abbas 2005, 117). In the end, not only the new Prime Minister, Mohammad Khan Junejo, was handpicked by Zia, but he was also under the control of the military regime as Zia had extracted a concession for the elections, namely the infamous Article 58(2)(b) which strengthened the office of the president by giving the latter the power to dismiss the prime minister as well as the national and provincial assemblies. Indeed, Junejo became the first victim of this constitutional arrangement when he came into disagreement with Zia and the military over Afghanistan policy, [110] military appointments,[111] and the defense budget.[112] Zia removed the Junejo government in May 1988, shortly before his death on a plane crash in August 1988. Nevertheless, his constitutional legacy outlived him as the military, with the cooperation of the presidents, used this constitutional change to dismiss the elected governments during the civilian period between 1988 and 1999.

The transition from military rule to a civilian regime in 1988 was different from the change in 1971. In 1971, the military regime was quite unpopular after the

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[110] In 1988, the Junejo government wanted to sign a peace agreement with Afghanistan based on spillover effects of the Afghanistan war on Pakistan. General Zia, on the other hand, was in favor of waiting for some time to extract concessions from the Soviet Union. What troubled Zia ul-Haq was Junejo's decision to hold a round-table conference with Pakistan's major political parties in March 1988 to develop a consensus on Afghan policy. Because the military saw foreign policy as under its domain, Junejo's signing of a peace agreement with Afghanistan on April 14, 1988, was regarded as a breach of the military's political sphere (Rizvi 2000a, 201).

[111] Junejo wanted to remove General Akhtar Abdul Rehman as Director-General of Inter Services Intelligence because of his responsibility for the blast at a munitions dump at Ojri in April 1988 and questioned the promotions of some officers to corps commanders. According to the President and the military, this behavior was interference in the military's internal affairs (Cloughley 2006, 261-62).

[112] To fix Pakistan's financial problems and control its budget deficit, Junejo proposed to freeze and curtail defense expenditure for the first three years of the Seventh Economic Plan (1988-1993). Zia objected to this proposal on the grounds that Pakistan's geopolitical situation does not permit such reductions. The military officers were especially annoyed when the Prime Minister criticized the luxury cars of some generals and pointed to the defense expenditure as a main reason for Pakistan's fiscal burdens (Noman 1990, 136).

independence of Bangladesh and military defeat against India. The military had no option

other than leaving the power to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and the latter had some, but not

absolute, freedom to restructure civil-military relations. In 1988, this was not the case.

When he died, Zia's political image was still strong and he did not face an important

public resentment even after he removed the Junejo government. Likewise, the military's

image was not tarnished and Zia's constitutional changes provided the generals with

control over politics without having to directly rule the state. As a result, the military

allowed the transition to a civilian regime and following the elections of November 1988,

Benazir Bhutto, daughter of the late Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, became the prime minister.

Bhutto and her PPP were always suspicious in the eyes of the military generals and the

latter supported the Islamic Jamhoori Ittihad (IJI), a coalition of Islamist and right-wing

parties in which the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) – headed by army-trained

Nawaz Sharif – is the most important, in the elections and after. After the elections, the

military agreed to share power with Bhutto after she consented to remain as the symbolic

head of the defense committee, not to interfere in the internal affairs of the military, to

retain large defense expenditure and to leave the Indian and Afghan affairs to the military

(Shafqat 1996, 660). All in all, compared to her father, Benazir was in disadvantageous

position to rule the state independent from military control when the civilian period

restarted in Pakistan.

The civilian period, which lasted eleven years until the military coup in 1999, was

politically unstable. Two leading politicians of the period, Bhutto and Sharif, followed

each other in ruling the state as Bhutto became the Prime Minister in 1988-90 and 1993-

96 and Sharif assumed the post in 1990-93 and 1997-99. Yet, similar to all former civilian periods, the main priority of these politicians was to weaken each other and consolidate the state power in person rather than strengthening civilian institutions and/or putting the military under civilian control. When in power both Bhutto and Sharif used authoritarian measures to weaken their opponents while those who remained outside the power positions saw the military as an equalizer. During the Bhutto administration, the IJI and Sharif were in close contact with the military officers and even Mohajirs in the Sindh province called on the military to remove Bhutto from power after she used force against this group (Ibid., 662-63). Similarly, when the military overthrew the Sharif government in 1999, it was Bhutto who distributed sweets to the public as a celebration rather than criticizing the interference in politics (Lieven 2011, 164). Likewise, in each period corruption charges were presented against the opponent's groups. During Bhutto's first administration, Sharif and opposition members were challenged with as many as 160 cases of corruption charges while when Sharif was in power, Bhutto was accused of misusing secret service funds and her husband, Asif Ali Zardari, spent two years in jail on the accusation of corruption (Talbot 2012, 149). Therefore, while both leaders inherited the political deficiencies of the former periods, they did little to promote democracy in Pakistan and instead they spent political energy to weaken political opponents. In this political atmosphere, it was impossible to reverse the civil-military relationship norms established in the 1950s.

During this period, the military also reiterated its traditional mistrust of the politicians and disregard for the civilian control of the military. Similar to the pre-1958

period, the elected governments were successively removed from power with arbitrary

presidential decisions supported by the military. No government in this period completed

a full term as Bhutto was dismissed from power two times and Sharif one time through

Article 58(2)(b). The important point here is that all these decisions were preceded by

disagreements between the civilian governments and the military. For example, the end

of Bhutto's first administration came after Bhutto disregarded an informal understanding

with the military when she tried to influence appointments within the military, used force

in Sindh without the knowledge of the army officers and attempted to improve relations

with India. The decision to remove her was made by the army officers at the corps

commanders' meeting in July 1990 and it was conveyed to the President, Ghulam Ishaq

Khan, who charged Bhutto with failing to maintain law and order, a well-known

reasoning used before 1958 (Shafqat 1996, 660-66).

Although trained by the ISI, Sharif was also not independent from military control

and quarreled with the officers on several issues. First, during the Gulf War there were

disagreements between the government and the military as Sharif actively supported

Kuwait when the latter was invaded by Saddam's Iraq and his government supported the

Security Council resolutions on Iraq by sending 11,000 troops to Saudi Arabia. Chief of

the Army Staff (CAS) General Aslam Beg, on the other hand, was keen to support Iraq

but Sharif ruled him out (Zaafir 2014). Soon after this conflict of views, Aslam Beg was

replaced by General Asif Nawaz but a year later Sharif and Nawaz quarreled with each

other over the operation in Sindh. When the military saw the Muttahida Qaumi

Movement (MQM), a Mohajir political party, as responsible for the disturbances in the

province and organized Operation Clean-Up against the MQM strongholds, it caused an embarrassment for the government because MQM was its ally against the PPP in Sindh (Ahmed 1996, 206). As a result of these developments, the military remained silent when President Ghulam Ishaq Khan removed Sharif from power on charges of corruption and maladministration. The primary factor for the presidential decision was political as Sharif did not support Ishaq Khan's re-election as president; nevertheless, Ishaq Khan would not dare to make a decision like that if he was not aware of the military's distrust of Sharif's government. What is more interesting in this event is that similar to the dismissal of the Bogra government in 1954, the military assumed a moderator role in the crisis when Sharif went to the Supreme Court to overrule the executive decision. On July 18, 1993, the CAS brokered a deal between Sharif and Ishaq Khan as both stepped down and an election was announced (Talbot 2012, 151-52). This moderation once more increased military influence in Pakistani politics by proving that without the army's contribution, the politicians were not able to deal with the political deadlocks they created.

Although Bhutto was more careful in not antagonizing the military in her second administration and the new President, Farooq Leghari, was a former PPP loyalist, she met with the same end in November 1996 when Leghari dismissed her on the grounds of corruption, nepotism and economic mismanagement. Leghari made this decision after the army warned him about the growing unrest within its ranks due to the government's performance and provided him with evidence of corruption involving Asif Ali Zardari and 20 other party members. The presidential action, indeed, was supported by the army troops who surrounded Bhutto's house in Islamabad as well as the parliament, radio and

television stations in major cities, and the country's airports (Khan 1996). In eight years, from 1988 to 1996, four elected governments – Junejo, Bhutto twice, and Sharif – were dismissed through Article 58(2)(b) with the active participation of the military in the decisions. Aware of its threat to the civilian governments, Sharif used his electoral victory in 1997 and two-thirds majority in the parliament to repeal this article. During his second administration, Sharif was not as receptive to the military control in politics as Bhutto and with the annulment of Article 58(2)(b) he revived prime ministerial authority in politics after twenty years. However, this step was only a constitutional change which did not have any effect on the praetorianism in the military. Instead, as Celia Dugger (1998) wrote in the *New York Times* a year before the coup of 1999, "With the end of the appointed president's power to dismiss the prime minister, the army would have little option but a naked coup without the façade of constitutionality that the presidential system allowed."

Indeed, although the first CAS in this period, General Jehangir Karamat, was less interventionist than his predecessors,[113] from the beginning of the Sharif government there was tension between the government and the military. For example, when Sharif

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[113] This assessment is based on three separate events in which Karamat prevented a political crisis while military intervention was a possible scenario. First, Karamat did not object to the removal of Article 58(2)(b) which was an important tool for the military to control politicians. Second, when President Leghari and Chief Justice Sajjad Ali Shah tried the remove the Sharif government through a judicial coup in December 1997, Karamat sided with Sharif by making clear that the army would not back Leghari if he dismissed the prime minister. As a result of this denial of support, Leghari resigned from the presidency while Ali Shah was demoted by his colleagues on the Supreme Court. As explained before, on the confrontation between presidents and prime ministers in the past the military had traditionally sided with the presidents against elected politicians (Washington Post 1997a). Finally, and most importantly, when a disagreement occurred between Sharif and Karamat over the establishment of a National Security Council, the army chief chose to resign so that "a healthy tradition is set for the future." In the past this kind of situation may have resulted in martial law, especially when the opposition parties, the army and even some politicians in the Sharif government sided with Karamat (The Tribune 1998).

called for better relations with India in his first speech in the parliament, General

Karamat dynamited this conciliation effort by publicly stating that Kashmir "can never be

put on the backburner" of the Indo-Pakistan relations (The Guardian 1997). Later, in

February 1998, Sharif wanted to replace Karamat with his "own man" while the army

was not happy with the state of economy and political feud between Sharif and Bhutto

(The Hindu 1998). In October of the same year, this mutual distrust turned into a political

crisis when Karamat demanded a Turkish-style NSC to seek more of a political role for

the military officers. Surprisingly, Karamat chose to step down during this crisis and was

replaced by Pervez Musharraf. However, this change hardly helped the consolidation of

civilian control of the military; instead, it further increased the soldiers' uneasiness with

Sharif.

Similar to Zulfikar Bhutto's mistake with General Zia, Sharif was wrong to

assume that Musharraf would be his "own man." The institutional identity of the

Pakistani military was based on the belief that civilian politicians are self-seekers and that

critical issues such as foreign issues, defense expenditure and army appointments cannot

be left to them; throughout Pakistani history this identity was stronger than any personal

relationship between a civilian and an officer. In fact, the military coup of 1999 was the

result of the military's understanding that Sharif interfered in these critical issues. On the

matter of foreign policy, the confrontation came as soon as February 1999 when Sharif

invited Indian Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, to Lahore. As a protest to this

conciliation move, General Musharraf refused to welcome Vajpayee by arguing that it

would have been unacceptable for Pakistan's military leaders to shake the hand of the

prime minister of an enemy state (Jones 2002, 297-98). More serious disagreement between the government and the military took place during the Kargil conflict between India and Pakistan. Similar to 1948 and 1965, both states confronted each other in May 1999 when Pakistani soldiers and army-supported militants infiltrated into Indian-controlled Kashmir and India responded by force. During the conflict a civil-military relations crisis emerged as Sharif sought a way out of crisis by flying to China and Washington while Musharraf, as some feared, was "determined to humble India once and for all" (Riedel 2009, 133). Similar to the former Indo-Pakistani wars, the government's agreeing to a ceasefire and withdrawal of troops from the Kargil area, after American intervention, angered the military echelon. Furthermore, civilian allegations that Musharraf planned the Kargil operation to undermine the Sharif government caused further resentment in the military.[114]

Aware of the military distaste with his government, Sharif decided to replace Musharraf with ISI Director Lt. Gen. Ziauddin Butt when the former was on an official visit in Sri Lanka. The military officers, already frustrated with Karamat's resignation under a civilian government, regarded this move as a threat to the organizational interests of the military. After providing for the departure of a president, chief justice and army chief, Sharif's replacing Musharraf with his choice would have made him the strongest civilian in Pakistani history (Cloughley 2006, 315). Afraid of losing its control in politics, the military implemented its coup plan, which had been prepared after the Kargil conflict,

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[114] According to some, Musharraf overthrew the government in October 1999 because he feared of facing court martial for masterminding the Kargil conflict (Cloughley 2006, 332-33).

without Musharraf's presence. When Musharraf's plane landed in Pakistan after an adventurous episode, Pakistani history once more completed a cyclical turn and military rule restarted on October 12, 1999.

Musharraf's rule was nothing more than a déjà vu in Pakistani politics. Similar to his former military predecessors, in his first address to the nation, Musharraf blamed the civilian politicians as the reason for the coup by calling the civilian period a "sham democracy," and stating that "the armed forces have no intention to stay in charge any longer than is absolutely necessary to pave the way for true democracy to flourish in Pakistan" (Goldenberg 1999). Yet, in opposition to this initial rhetoric, the martial law in Pakistan lasted three years, while, similar to Ayub Khan and General Zia, Musharraf remained as prime decision-maker by holding several titles - Chief Executive of Pakistan (1999-2002), President (2001-2008), CAS (1998-2007), and Defense Minister (1999-2002) – until 2008. Similarly to the past, Musharraf's power lacked legitimacy and relied on the support of the military as well as several constitutional and institutional designs similar to the ones his military predecessors followed.

First, Musharraf relied on military officers to strengthen his rule. More than former military rulers, Musharraf assigned active and retired military officers to civilian posts in almost all sectors including education, diplomacy, information, think tanks, and minority affairs, even sub-sectors of sports from cricket to hockey. An official report in 2003 emphasized that about 1027 military officers were inducted into civilian posts

following the military coup (Iqbal 2003).[115] Military officers also became responsible for recruitment and training of civilian officials as they occupied top seats in institutions such as the the Federal Public Service Commission and the Civil Services Academy (Shah 2014b, 200). Although after the 2002 elections Musharraf allied with pro-government political parties such as the ISI-created right-wing political party, the Pakistan Muslim League-Quadi-e-Azam (PML-Q), and Mutahida Majilis-e Amal (MMA), an alliance of six Islamist parties, the military stayed the backbone of his rule.

To increase the role of the military in the decision-making process, Musharraf also reintroduced General Karamat's proposition and created the NSC which gave a constitutional role to the army in shaping state policies. Musharraf justified the establishment of this institution by presenting it as the best way to sustain democracy and avoid martial law (Musharraf 2006, 171). The supporters of the institution also argued that it would resolve the civil-military relations dilemma by "keeping the military out [of politics] by bringing it in" (Cohen 2004, 157). Yet, similar to its Turkish model, the idea behind the institution in the end was praetorian as it simply meant that the state governance could not be left to the civilians and the constant interference by the military is necessary for smooth functioning of the state. As Talbot (2012, 195) argues, the Council did not only reduce the possibility of the army being accountable to civilians, it also reflected the weakness of democracy in Pakistan.

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[115] The officers occupied posts especially in the divisions in which the military traditionally gave special attention. These divisions were the communications ministry, defense production division, ministry of foreign affairs, ministry of interior, industries and production ministry, ministry of information technology, the Kashmir affairs and northern affairs ministry, ministry of minorities affairs, ministry of petroleum and natural resources, ministry of science and technology, ministry of railways/railway board, and ministry of water and power.

Second, in parallel to the military's increasing role in the decision-making structure, Musharraf banned the political participation of thousands of politicians, including Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif, who had to live in exile.[116] In another electoral rule, the military regime decreed a bachelor's degree as the minimum educational qualification for holding office so that several PPP and PML-N politicians were disqualified from the elections of 2002. At the same time, the government recognized madrassa degrees as equivalent to a bachelor's degree, which gave a significant advantage to the pro-government Islamist parties. Furthermore, Musharraf created the National Accountability Bureau, under the chairmanship of Lt. Gen. Syed Mohammad Amjad, which investigated corrupt politicians, bureaucrats and businessmen. Yet, this institution mainly targeted the opposition to the military regime and those who were involved in corruption but switched to pro-military parties were not investigated (Ibid., 181). Finally, in another move to weaken established parties, Musharraf announced that he would continue the practice of local elections on a non-party basis (Shah 2014b, 191-94).

Third, on the constitutional level, the military regime was more active than its predecessors in controlling politics. For example, between 1999 and 2002 the military government issued a total of 297 ordinances on different topics from economy to education and from security to the judiciary. Not only did some of these ordinances significantly limit civil liberties, but they also made the civilian governments of the post-

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[116] While, after fourteen months in jail, the deposed Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, along with his family, was sent to Saudi Arabia by the military regime, Benazir Bhutto self-exiled in London because of the corruption charges against her.

2002 period more dependent on President Musharraf and the military (Dawn 2002). In addition, with the support of pro-government political parties, Musharraf reintroduced presidential power in 2003 by giving himself the power to dismiss prime ministers and assemblies. Before this, Musharraf organized a Zia-like referendum to ask the Pakistanis on a yes-no basis if they approved of his presidency for the establishment of democracy, continuing reforms and putting an end to sectarianism (Musharraf 2006, 167). Without any other candidate, it was impossible to say no to Musharraf's presidency.

Despite all these changes in the governmental and constitutional framework, Musharraf could not avoid the same fate as Ayub Khan when his popularity decreased over time. When his presidential term came to an end in 2007, Musharraf was not certain that the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Muhammad Iftikhar Chaudhry, would provide for his re-election as president-in-uniform. As a result, on November 3, 2007, Musharraf declared a state of emergency, suspended the constitution, and replaced Chaudhry with a pro-government judge (Rohde 2007). This second coup d'état not only created a broad opposition, but it also led the military to distance itself from the unpopular president. As a result of internal and external pressures, Musharraf resigned as the CAS in November, ended the state of emergency in the following month and organized elections in February 2008. Benazir Bhutto's assassination in December 2007 provided an electoral victory for the PPP, which formed a coalition government with PML-N. In August 2008, Musharraf also left the presidency as a result of an impeachment movement against him and went into self-exile in London. The Pakistani political and military leadership once more went through a rapid transformation as Ali

Asif Zardari became President, Yousaf Raza Gillani, from the PPP, Prime Minister, and Ashfaq Parvez Kayani the army chief.

As happened before, the transition to a civilian regime barely changed the balance of power between the civilian and military leadership. When Kayani assumed the post of army chief he made some democratic moves in order to save the military from the negative effects of Musharraf's loss in popularity. First, in January 2008, Kayani issued a directive ordering military officers not to maintain contacts with politicians and before the elections he pledged to keep the army out of politics (Dawn 2010a). He also recalled the active military officers from their posts in the bureaucracy and started giving briefings to the prime minister on important security issues at the Prime Minister's House; previously the Prime Ministers were going to Army Headquarters to receive their briefings (Subramanian 2008). Second, the NSC, which gave a constitutional role to the military, was abolished in 2009. Finally, in April 2010, parliamentary democracy was once more established in Pakistan through the Eighteenth Amendment which diminished the powers of the president and through this act the task of appointing military service chiefs was also given to the prime minister (Shah 2014a, 1016-17). All these developments were regarded as the emergence of democracy in Pakistan as Prime Minister Gillani often described General Kayani as a "highly professional" and a "pro-democracy" person (The News 2008).

Nevertheless, in essence, the military continued to keep its traditional control over politics on critical issues. For example, as soon as Gillani announced his decision to place

ISI under the Interior Ministry in July 2008, he received two emergency calls from then

President Musharraf and General Kayani who warned the prime minister that this

decision would politicize military intelligence and it caused great resentment in Army

circles. Yet, Gillani's rapid withdrawal from his proposal as a result of these warnings

was equally a great embarrassment for him and his government (Mir 2008). Similarly, the

military did not give up its role in shaping foreign and defense policy. When the

government granted India the status of Most-Favored Nation in November 2011, the

military pressured the government to slow track the process because the trade policy was

not in accordance with security policy (Shah 2014a, 15). Indeed, during the civilian

regime, the Pakistani press kept arguing that the real policy-maker in Pakistan was the

army as Gillani was "virtually following Kayani in running domestic and international

state affairs, whether it is about woes of the Karachi businessmen, law and order situation

in the Sindh metropolis or countering the US threats and accusations against Pakistan"

(Butt 2011). According to Shah (2014a, 13), in this period the military was determined to

keep its control on eight subjects: internal autonomy, role in military budgets, autonomy

in military relations with the chief executive/legislature, role in foreign policy, role in

defense ministry, role in intelligence, role in media management, and its supra-legal

status. Taking the diversity of these issues into consideration, it is difficult to talk about

civilian control of the military in this period.

　　　As in the former decades, civilians' inability to strengthen civilian institutions and

their political ambitions played some role in the military's continuing influence in

politics. For example, when General Kayani fulfilled his term in July 2010, the Gillani

government chose to extend his term of service for three more years because of the belief that Kayani would be loyal to the PPP government in the case of a political crisis. Yet, this extension only showed that individuals are stronger than institutions in Pakistan and that civilian control of the army is dependent on who is in the top military echelon rather than democratic norms and/or institutional rules. Pakistani politicians were unable to see that this belief failed two times in Pakistani history, first between Bhutto and Zia, then between Sharif and Musharraf. Yet, history repeated itself once more in May 2011 when President Zardari communicated to the White House his fear of a military coup after bin Laden was killed by U.S. Special Forces on Pakistani soil. As the event caused great embarrassment for the Pakistan army with the domestic and international public, Zardari was afraid that he would be chosen as the scapegoat by the army. When this communication was shared by Mansoor Ijaz (2011), through whom Zardari communicated with the Americans, in an article published in *Financial Times*, it caused a civil-military relations crisis, which is called the "memogate scandal." In December 2011 and January 2012, the fear of military coup was at its zenith as the army was angered with Prime Minister Gillani's remarks about a "state within a state" and his criticism of the security establishment in foreign media (The News 2012). Although another coup did not take place, the event showed that civilian control of the military was difficult to establish in Pakistan.

All in all, this section showed that historical institutionalism has significant explanatory power in Pakistani civil-military relations. Military rule in Pakistani politics persisted for decades in spite of a military defeat, which had the potential to change these

rules, and various civilian governments. The politics in Pakistan has moved in a cycle as

each military ruler significantly copied his predecessors in order to control the civilian

politicians. Each military ruler had the same mistrust of the civilians and their way to deal

with them was significantly similar as can be seen in their neutralizing leading

politicians, holding elections on a non-party basis, increasing presidential power at the

cost of parliamentary democracy, etc. Similarly, each military ruler, more or less,

inducted the soldiers into the civilian posts, then slowly cooperated with the bureaucracy

and pro-military parties, and finally left power by losing popularity and distancing the

military – except General Zia. Civilian politicians similarly repeated the past by trying to

concentrate power in a person rather than strengthening civilian institutions against the

army. All these cyclical developments were the legacy of the state-building process

which shows that it is difficult to reverse the norms, values and institutional relations

established in this period. The next section will analyze how this state of civil-military

relations affected the Balochistan conflict by comparing the Musharraf and

Zardari/Gillani regimes and the attitude of the military and civilian echelons towards the

Balochs.

7.2 Military Rule and the Balochistan Conflict

When the Pakistani state came to life in August 1947, Bengalis were not the only

"reluctant Pakistanis" (Ebrahim 2011) in the new state. In Balochistan, the southwestern

part of the west wing, an independence movement started when Ahmad Yar Khan, the

Khan of Kalat, and other tribal leaders declared an independent Balochistan a day after

Pakistan was formed. Balochs claim that their national history is more authentic than the Pakistani and Afghan ones by arguing that their nationalism goes back to the fifteenth century when Mir Chakar Rind established a short-lived confederacy in the region and conquered part of Punjab and Sindh. Yet, their demand for statehood mainly relied on the Kalat Confederacy, founded in 1638, which in the mid-eighteenth century formed a centralized bureaucratic structure in all of Balochistan. The Kalat Confederacy came to an end when the Great Game started between Britain and Russia and the former fought with the Balochs for more than forty years to control the access routes to Afghanistan. In 1876 British official Sir Robert Sandeman signed a treaty with the Khan and brought Kalat and its dependent territories under British control. Yet, British officials did not extend their administrative structure to the region and the Khans of Kalat enjoyed an autonomous status in British India. Because of this treaty relationship with the British government and their autonomous status, Balochs claimed that they had a right of independence when Britain leaves the region. Yet, similar to Bengali nationalism, this argument was at odds with the two-nation theory. The declaration of independence led to the first military conflict between Balochs and the Pakistani army which ended with Khan's signing of an agreement of accession in April 1948 (Harrison 1981, 12-26).

During the state-building process, Balochs went through the same economic and social problems to which the Bengalis had objected: the central government denied their political autonomy; Balochistan remained underdeveloped; its natural resources were exploited; they were underrepresented in the bureaucracy and the army; and their language, Balochi, was neglected in favor of Urdu. Similar to Bengalis, Balochs also

opposed Ayub Khan's One Unit Plan which was created to prevent any alliance between the Bengalis and non-Punjabi provinces of the West Wing. Balochs' initial response to these problems was political as they formed Ustoman Gal (People's Party) in 1955 to voice their opposition to the central government's policies, especially to the One Unit Plan. However, after martial law was declared in Balochistan in October 6, 1958, a day before the declaration of martial law throughout the country, on the grounds that the Khan of Kalat had assembled 80,000 tribesmen to revolt against the government and the Khan was arrested, Balochs once more took arms and started a second rebellion, under the leadership of a tribal chief, Nawab Nauroz Khan.[117] Nauroz Khan pursued guerilla warfare for a year and announced that he would fight until his two demands were met: the return of Khan to power and the abolition of the One Unit. The military regime responded to these demands by increasing military garrisons in the region, bombing villages and arresting Balochs in opposition to the One Unit. Although Nauroz Khan and his men were arrested in 1960 under controversial circumstances,[118] the fighting in the region lasted until 1969 when Yahya Khan finally abolished the One Unit. Nevertheless, in a decade of violence, military oppression created several myths, heroes, as well as foes for

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[117] Siddiqi (2012, 62-63) argues that the Khan of Kalat was the victim of a conspiracy planned by Iskander Mirza who advised the Khan to seek British advice regarding the restoration of the Khanate and its withdrawal from the One Unit. Mirza was aware that the Khan would proceed to London and it would give the Army an excuse to impose martial law first in Balochistan and then throughout the country. In fact, while demanding more provincial autonomy the Khan had neither the intention to revolt from the government nor a military force to realize it.

[118] According to Balochi accounts, when Nauroz Khan and the army representatives met to discuss peace terms in early 1960, Nauroz Khan put down their arms in return for amnesty and withdrawal from the One Unit Plan. Yet, although the army representatives gave an oath on the Quran, the promises were not kept as Nauroz was imprisoned for life and his five men, including his son, were hanged. The Pakistani state, on the other hand, claimed there was no agreement (Harrison 1981, 28-29).

the Baloch nationalism.[119]

Following the 1970 elections, Balochs for first time genuinely represented themselves in the political administration when the National Awami Party (NAWP) and Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) emerged victorious in the NWFP and Balochistan. In Balochistan, out of four National Assembly seats the NAWP gained three and the JUI one, while Bhutto's PPP, the leading party in Sindh and Punjab, won none (Shafqat 1997, 97). The NAWP and JUI established a coalition and on March 6, 1972, they agreed with the Bhutto government on the removal of martial law, the formation of NAWP-JUI governments in the NWFP and Balochistan and the preparation of an interim constitution which was approved on April 21. Ghaus Baksh Bizenjo was appointed as the governor of Balochistan and Sardar Ataullah Mengal, a tribal leader, became the chief minister.

Yet, this honeymoon period between the central government and provincial politicians did not last long as the interim constitution did not produce strict rules over center-periphery relations. While Bhutto tried to establish control of the center over the provinces, the provincial government introduced some reforms to provide more Baloch control in the province. Under the control of Mengal, who was more nationalist and activist than Bizenjo, the provincial government created its own police force, called Dehi Muhafiz, while 2600 non-Balochs were thrown out of the Balochistan Reserve Police, the largest law enforcement agency in the province (Ibid., 101-102). By October 1972, the Mengal government also replaced a large number of non-Baloch civil servants with local

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[119] Nauroz Khan who died in prison in 1964 became one of the first national heroes whereas General Tikka Khan, commander of the Pakistani forces, was called as "Butcher of Balochistan" by Baloch nationalists.

ones and pro-Mengal tribesmen attacked Punjabi settlers in the Pat Feeder area. At the same time, Mengal tried to control rival tribes in Lasbela via Dehi Muhafiz. Frustrated with Mengal's initiatives, Bhutto attempted to reassert central control over the non-PPP provinces. At the beginning of 1973 Nawab Akbar Bugti, a Baloch tribal leader who fought against Mengal in Lasbela, claimed that while he was in London, Mengal and NAWP Chief Wali Khan told him about their plans to get independence with the help of some external forces. Although both politicians rejected this allegation, a month later, the government announced its discovery of 300 submachine guns and 48,000 rounds of ammunition at the Iraqi embassy in Islamabad (Majeed and Hashmi 2014, 324-25).

Without credible proof, the Bhutto government claimed that these weapons were destined for secessionist groups in Balochistan and dismissed the NAWP-JUI government in the province. While Bizenjo, Mengal and Khair Bakhsh Marri, the leader of the Marri tribe, were arrested, Bugti was appointed as the governor of Balochistan. These developments led to the third Baloch rebellion which lasted until 1977. As Bhutto and Bugti gave a free hand to the army, this rebellion was more serious than its predecessors. The Pakistani army deployed 80,000 troops in the region and had superior military equipment including helicopters supplied by Iran,[120] while 55,000 Baloch rebels were fighting with outmoded weapons and they were lacking foreign help. After

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[120] Similar to the Kurds, Balochis are divided between three countries – Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan – as a result of agreements signed during the rule of British India. While Afghanistan sometimes voiced support for an independent Balochistan, none of these countries genuinely favors the idea of an independent Balochistan because it would cause problems in their own countries.

Operation Chamalang in September 1974,[121] the rebels did not pose a serious threat to the

state and sought sanctuary in Afghanistan. The rebellion cost more than 8,000 lives and

officially ended when General Zia released 6,000 prisoners and declared an amnesty for

guerillas that had gone to Afghanistan.[122] However, the Zia regime did not bring Baloch

rule back to the province as his regime banned political activities and resumed political

arrests. While the regime strengthened Pashtun Islamist Parties, which increased their

power in the province as a result of the Pashtun influx from the war in Afghanistan as

well as Zia's Islamization policies, to counter Baloch nationalism, key Baloch leaders

such as Mengal and Marri self-exiled in Europe (Harrison 1981, 33-40).

As this short history of Baloch rebellions shows, the distinction between civilian

and military regimes makes little sense in explaining the decision to use force against

Baloch nationalists. The Pakistani political system was not democratic even during the

civilian periods and, both for nationalist and provincial leaders, the use of force has

always been one of the first policy choices to deal with the opposition. Nevertheless, one

still cannot ignore the benefit of the civilian periods in providing a political voice to the

ethnic minorities and relieving ethnic grievances. For example, despite Bhutto and

Mengal's failure to solve the center-periphery problems through political means, during

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[121] Operation Chamalang also plays an important role in Baloch nationalism as the Pakistani army, frustrated with locating the guerillas, bombed some 15,000 Balochi families in order to force the guerillas to come out from their hideouts to defend their women and children. Though the plan worked, it created memories that would further motivate the Baloch nationalists to fight against the state in the 2000s (Harrison 2006b).

[122] After the military coup, Bhutto stated that he wanted to withdraw the army from Balochistan but the generals who wanted to "spread their tentacles throughout Balochistan" superseded his plans (Talbot 2012, 100). Taking the NAWP-PPP negotiations, and even the alleged agreement, right before the coup into the consideration, this statement cannot be dismissed out of hand. Yet, it is not enough to undervalue Bhutto's militarism against Balochis during his tenure.

the civilian period between 1988 and 1999, Baloch nationalism did not take a violent

form and one of the important reasons for this was that Balochs were able to participate

in politics through political parties such as Ataullah Mengal's Balochistan National Party

and Akbar Bugti's Jamhoori Watan Party. These parties were successful in the elections

of this period as Bugti served as chief minister in 1989-1990 and Mengal's youngest son,

Sardar Akhtar Mengal assumed this task in 1997-1998. Despite the lack of attention from

the central governments to provincial problems, frequent changes of chief ministers and

significant military influence in politics, this period was relatively peaceful. With the

emergence of a military regime again, ethnic conflict once more took place in

Balochistan.

7.2.1 Musharraf Regime and the Balochistan Conflict

On January 3, 2005, Dr. Shazia Khalid, a 31-year-old company doctor at Sui gas

plant, was raped by a masked intruder in her bed; her rapist was suspected to be a

Pakistani army officer. Sui is located in the Dera Bugti district and in the tribal code of

honor, the rape of the doctor was not only a violation of her and her family's honor, it

was also an insult to the Bugti tribe's honor because it took place in the area they

controlled. For this reason and because the army did not allow the local police to question

the suspect, the members of the Bugti tribe attacked the gas plant with rockets, mortars

and AK-47 rifles while the Musharraf regime responded by sending tanks, helicopters

and 4,500 troops to the installation (The Guardian 2005). This was how the last Baloch

rebellion in Pakistan started in January 2005. Yet, the rape of the doctor was only a

triggering event. What turned a tribe–army conflict into a nationalist rebellion were the Balochs' political, social, economic and security concerns which were exacerbated with the top-down modernization initiatives of the Musharraf regime.

Ethnic Grievances in Balochistan

More than fifty years after the foundation of the state, Balochistan was the least developed among the four provinces in Pakistan. Despite having rich natural resources including natural gas, coal, uranium, platinum, aluminum, gold, copper, and oil reserves in its large territory – 44 percent of the whole state, the life conditions in the province were far below the conditions in other provinces. For example, in 2006 only 20 percent of the people in Balochistan had access to safe drinking water while it was 86 percent in the rest of the state; while village electrification was only 25 percent, it was 75 percent in the rest of Pakistan. The land was uncultivable – 94 percent – and the population was largely illiterate and unemployed. Although natural gas was discovered in Sui in 1952, Quetta, the provincial capital, only got its first supply in 1976 and that is because the army built a new garrison there – in the middle of the Baloch rebellion – and needed the gas for itself (Jones 2002, 69). In the 2000s some people in Balochistan were still using wood from the Juniper forests to meet their heating needs (Fazl-e-Haider 2006). In addition, because Balochistan's gas fields were discovered much earlier than the ones in Punjab and Sindh and the royalty on natural gas paid by the central government was fixed long before, Balochistan received less revenue for its natural gas than the other provinces. Although it was the leading gas supplier, Balochistan's royalty payments were one-fifth for the same

gas produced in the other two provinces (Wirsing 2008, 8-9). Because of this contrast

between rich natural resources and poor life conditions, Balochs felt that the Punjabis and

the army had created economic disparity and colonized their province since

independence.[123]

This feeling of colonization increased further when the Musharraf regime focused

on the province as the center of his modernization program. Similar to Ayub Khan,

Musharraf considered himself and the Pakistani army as the leading force for

modernization in the country. The most important location in his top-down modernization

program was Gwadar, a small fishing village in Balochistan with a population of 5,000 in

2001. Considering Gwadar as a regional energy hub between Central Asia, the Middle

East and Far East, it was the Sharif government who had planned to build a deep sea port

in the city in 1992. But Musharraf put the plan in motion when he signed an agreement

with China on March 16, 2002 in Beijing and China assumed the task of constructing the

sea port. The Musharraf government's expectation with the port was not only economic.

The Gwadar project was also important in terms of security as Pakistan's main port and

naval headquarters in Karachi were too close to the Indian coast. Because the port of

Karachi was blockaded by the Indian navy during all the Indo-Pakistani wars, the

Musharraf regime was expecting Gwadar to provide "strategic depth" for the Pakistani

military (ICG 2006, 14; Pande 2011, 128). With the growing disturbance in later years,

Musharraf's modernization project in Balochistan took on more security characteristics as

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[123] Even in 1947, Balochistan's natural resources were an important subject in political discussions as, speaking in favor of Balochi independence, Ghaus Bux Bizenjo stated, "They [the Pakistani government] say we must join Pakistan for economic reasons. Yet we have minerals, we have petroleum and we have ports. The question is what would Pakistan be without us?" (Harrison 1981, 25).

the government started to establish military cantonments in three critical areas: Sui, Gwadar and Kohlu.

Although the Gwadar project was welcomed by the Balochs when it was first announced during the Sharif government, in the 2000s it did nothing but to increase Baloch concerns about their political, social, economic, and security situation. The reason for this difference was that it was a top-down project over which the provincial politicians had no control as the Head Office of the Gwadar Port Authority was located out of Balochistan, in Karachi. The project was run by the federal government in which Musharraf and the army officers were the real decision-makers and as soon as the project was announced the small fishing village was filled with non-Baloch civil and military officers. "Gwadar's lands have been seized by state agencies, the coast guards, the navy, the paramilitaries," according to an ICG report (2006, 15), which quoted a port authority official; "Every general has a plot in Gwadar. They say these plots were given because this is a federal project. But this is a land grab." Because ethnic demography in the province had already changed as a result of the Pashtun influx during the Afghan war,[124] Balochs were afraid of becoming a minority in their own province and losing further power in provincial politics.

In addition, instead of helping to improve living conditions for the Baloch people, the Gwadar project was considered a colonization plan as primary jobs in the construction field were held by non-Baloch people. Without any single technical school

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[124] According to the 1998 census, Balochs, along with their cousins, the Brahvis, constitute 54.76 % of the total population of Balochistan while 29.64 % of the population was Pashtuns. There were also small minorities such as the Hazaras, Sindhis and Punjabis (Hasnat 2011, 82).

or college in Gwadar, the local population was mainly hired as day laborers and only one-sixth of the workers in the construction of the first phase of the project were Balochs (Grare 2006, 6). During the Musharraf regime, there was no effort to train the Baloch population to participate in these development projects and when the government spent a lot of money for road construction and gas pipeline infrastructure under the context of provincial development, this spending offered no benefit to the local population. Instead, with the increasing military presence in the area, Balochs regarded the road and pipeline construction not as a development initiative but as a measure to ease troop movement and carry the Baloch resources to other provinces.

Civilian Initiatives

With these political, social, economic and security concerns, ethnic grievances needed only a little spark to turn into conflict but the Musharraf regime simply did nothing to prevent this possibility. For example, when retired corps commander Lt. Gen. Abdul Qadir Baloch, the Governor of Balochistan in 2003, negotiated with Nawab Bugti to end tribal disturbances and gained some success in these negotiations, the initiative infuriated Musharraf and he dismissed Baloch on the grounds of corruption and being under the influence of strong tribal chiefs (Wirsing 2008, 33-34). As a result of the lack of political initiative, growing grievances turned into an open conflict when the rape of Dr. Khalid caused the members of the Bugti tribe to attack the Sui gas plant. The Musharraf government responded to these attacks through excessive use of force by sending the area troops, tanks, helicopters, and fighter jets. The situation reached a

climax on March 17, 2005 when, as the HRCP (2006, 27-29) reported, extra-judicial killings of at least 43 non-combatants, including the people from the Hindu community, mostly women and children, by "indiscriminate and excessive use of force of the security forces" occurred in Dera Bugti. Nevertheless, even after this event, it was possible to stop further violence. On March 24, Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain and Mushahid Hussain, leaders of the ruling PML-Q, visited Bugti at the latter's residence in order to find a political solution to the Balochistan issue. Although Shujaat Hussain claimed that the meeting broke the deadlock and Bugti stated his trust in the sincerity of the PML-Q leaders, the Baloch leader was aware that civilian leaders did not "have necessary authority" for a permanent solution (Dawn 2005). In fact, Musharraf and the army were holding the strings; yet, they allowed the political leaders to negotiate during this period. In this atmosphere, there was no Baloch attack between April and June 2005.

The Shujaat-Bugti meeting was followed by another civilian initiative, the Report of the Parliamentary Committee on Balochistan, approved on June 23. During the meetings of the committee, Baloch parties demanded the stop of the Gwadar project until the political, social and economic needs of the local population were met; cancelling of all land allotments in Gwadar; cessation of the establishment of new cantonments and carrying out of paramilitary operations; the removal of military checkpoints; a fair distribution of gas royalties, which would not be based on population numbers but would take the poor living conditions in the province into consideration; local employment in the development projects and gas fields, and; fair Baloch representation in the Federal Government Departments as well as over the departments responsible for the Gwadar

project. In these meetings, even the pro-Musharraf parties recognized some Baloch grievances and suggested the fair distribution of the gas royalties but they refrained from criticizing the military cantonments and checkpoints (Senate of Pakistan 2005, 107-108).

In the end, the committee report recommended substantial economic concessions, including that the Baloch share of the gas revenue should increase to at least 15 percent; the province should be given maximum representation on the administration of development projects; companies should prioritize to provide gas to the villages and towns in which the gas is produced; and job quotas for the local population should increase at all levels. It further recommended that technical schools should be established for the training of the local population; the Frontier Corps should cease interacting with the local population; political prisoners with minor offenses should be released; and the construction of military cantonments should be in abeyance. These recommendations had the potential to offer a solution to the Balochistan issue.

In spite of the parliamentary committee report, military operations, political arrests and disappearances of some Baloch nationalists took place in the second of half of 2005. Because it had fundamental organizational interests in Balochistan and was used to solving political problems through the use of force, the military government's ability to give time to the political negotiations was limited and soon political negotiations were replaced by military showdown. The critical event was a rocket attack on Musharraf during his visit to Kohlu, the home of the nationalist Marri tribe, on December 25. Although the perpetrators of the attack were unknown, the hardliners in the military used

the event to claim that the government should give no more political concessions and it should use military force against nationalist tribes, namely Bugtis, Mengals, and Marris. Following the rocket attack, the government sent 25,000 troops to Kohlu and the surrounding areas as well as US-supplied fighter jets and Cobra helicopters which bombed the Baloch villages and killed 215 civilians, mostly women and children (Harrison 2006a). Indiscriminate violence was also used in Dera Bugti, where 85 percent of the population had to flee because of the excessive military force by the Frontier Corps. According to the local people talking to the HRCP (2006, 14), heavy weaponry, gunship helicopters and rocket launchers targeted civilian populations and in some instances, they were even used as "human shields" by the Frontier Corps fighting against the militants. All in all, a single attack on Musharraf was enough to push all political negotiations aside and impose an all-out war against the Baloch people. As a result of this policy change, the demand for more political autonomy was quickly replaced by an independence struggle in Balochistan.

Military Response

The Musharraf government's rhetoric and acts significantly took a military form after December 2005. Similar to the policies followed in the Bengali conflict of 1971, the government rejected the presence of ethnic grievances in Balochistan and argued that there was a 'law and order' crisis started by some "miscreants" – a term used for Bengali nationalists during the 1971 crisis – in the province. According to the government rhetoric, a few tribal chiefs were against the development projects because modernization

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of the province and its society contradicted their interests and control over the local

population. From this perspective, there could be no negotiations with these tribal leaders

and the only solution was to "fix" them through re-establishing the government's writ in

the province. Musharraf argued that for forty years three tribal leaders – Bugti, Marri and

Mengal – opposed modernization and committed atrocities on their tribes while the

governments sought conciliation with them in the name of political settlement. He

asserted that what these tribal leaders, or *sardars*, wanted was to "exercise complete

dictatorship and control in their areas," not democracy (Jones 2002, 71). He also claimed

that out of 77 Baloch tribes only these three opposed the government and conciliation

with them will be followed "no more" (Daily Times 2006). Civilian politicians in the

government simply adopted this rhetoric as Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz stated that the

government's writ was to be ensured "at every cost" (Dawn 2006b). This rhetoric

disregarded the warnings of moderate Balochs such as Mohammad Aslam Bhootani,

Deputy Speaker of the Balochistan Assembly, who opposed the description of the crisis

as a problem of three tribal leaders. Despite the fact that Bhootani belonged to the ruling

PML-Q, he argued that Bugti, Mengal and Marri were not only tribal chiefs but were also

political leaders who enjoyed mass support in the province. Bhootani criticized the use of

force in the province and called on the federal government to start negotiations with the

tribal leaders (Dawn 2006a). The warning fell on deaf ears.

The Musharraf government not only disregarded the ethnic grievances by

simplifying it as a problem of a few tribal leaders, similar to the policy followed in the

pre-1971 period, they also attempted to delegitimize these grievances by arguing that

there were foreign states, especially India, behind the Balochistan conflict. While the

Pakistani government blamed Afghanistan for providing training camps for the rebels,

Musharraf repeatedly charged the Indian government with financing the rebellion via the

Research and Analysis Wing of the Indian intelligence agency, which had stations in

Tehran and Kabul (Swami 2006). Nevertheless, the Musharraf regime provided no

evidence to support these charges. As Harrison argues (2006b), the Balochistan conflict

had both pros and cons for the Indian government. India would have liked to have a

stable Pakistan with which to negotiate a peace settlement in Kashmir but at the same

time would have been happy if the Balochistan conflict led the Musharraf government to

reduce its support for extremist groups in the disputed region. Whether or not there was

foreign support, however, the main objective of the accusations was to show the Baloch

insurgency as a fictional problem and devalue the Baloch grievances in the eyes of the

Pakistani people. Indeed, this strategy worked relatively well on Pakistani public opinion.

As Fair (2012, 9) notes, few Pakistanis seemed bothered by the military operations of the

Pakistani army and later the extrajudicial killings of the Baloch political leaders during

and after the Musharraf period. The Pakistani public believed the argument that Baloch

nationalism was supported by India and Afghanistan and this belief smoothed the way for

the state to pursue militarist means to crush Baloch nationalism.

With this mindset, the Musharraf government, backed by the army, took military

measures which worsened the conflict. One of these measures was the decapitation

efforts, as termed by Wirsing (2008, 33-36). Since the conflict started, the government

and the army targeted the Bugti, Mengal and Marri both in terms of rhetoric and military

operations. Right after the disturbances following the rape of Dr. Khalid, Musharraf sent

a stern message to the Baloch leaders by saying, "Don't push us. It isn't the 1970s when

you can hit and run and hide in the mountains. This time you won't even know what hit

you" (Rashid 2005). This was not an empty threat as one and a half years later, on August

26, 2006, Pakistani security forces killed Nawab Akbar Bugti by bombing his hideout

cave in Marri territory. It was clear that the decision to kill Bugti was made by the

President and senior military officers as three weeks before the attack, the army officers

allegedly decided to "eliminate all troublemakers," including Bugti, in order to control

Balochistan's oil and gas reserves without difficulty (ICG 2007, 2). The civilian officials,

even those in the federal government, were unaware of this plan as a month before

Bugti's death, Owais Ghani, the Governor of Balochistan, argued that the government

had no intention of killing Bugti, stating that Bugti "is too old to be punished. He is a

respected figure. We just want him to give up arms" (ICG 2006, 23). Even this demand,

dropping guns, depended on negotiations as in the tribal culture a gun is equal to honor

and use of force would only backfire. Yet, negotiation with the tribal leaders was not in

Musharraf's and the army's agenda.

The killing of Bugti only fueled the nationalist insurgency which shows that the

insurgency was not a problem of a few tribal chiefs. Although Bugti betrayed the Baloch

cause during the Bhutto period, soon after his death Balochs forgot all his past misdeeds

and wrote his name among the Baloch heroes. His death sparked mass protests

throughout the province while the opposition parties demanded Musharraf to give up his

post as the army chief and scheduled a vote of no confidence against Prime Minister

Shaukat Aziz. Following Bugti's death, around 90 tribal chiefs and 300 notables called a *jirga*, a traditional assembly, met for the first time in 126 years and asked the International Court of Justice at The Hague to intervene (Mustikhan 2006). Only this development was enough to disapprove Musharraf's and the army's argument that the Balochistan issue was a problem of a few sardars. Even the Islamist parties criticized the attack by stating that the government's duty is to "hold a dialogue instead of taking military action" (Gall 2006). Yet, these reactions did not change the policy of decapitation as a few months later Sardar Akhtar Mengal was arrested on the charge of treason. During his hearing under the control of Military Intelligence, Mengal was subjected to complete humiliation. According to Iqbal Haider, the Secretary General of HRCP, Mengal was "forced to sit in an iron cage away from his counsel" and he was "denied even the most basic amenities, such as bedding and a pillow, medical treatment, home food and permission to see his relatives" (Dawn 2007).

Finally, decapitation efforts targeted the Marri tribe as Nawabzada Balach Marri, the youngest son of Khair Bakhsh Marri, and a guerilla leader, was killed in Afghanistan in November 2007. Although it was argued that Marri was killed in an air attack by NATO forces, the Marri tribe claimed that he was killed in a clash of security forces and the incident sparked violence in Balochistan (Shahid 2007). Whether or not Marri was killed by the Pakistani army, it was clear that the Musharraf government was decisive in removing the tribal influence in provincial politics either by killing or jailing their leaders. Nevertheless, these tribal leaders were not simply guerilla leaders and miscreants as the government claimed. They had also been important political figures since the

1970s and they played an important role in alleviating Baloch concerns. The leaders of these tribes served as governors, chief ministers in Balochistan and even ministers in the federal government. It is true that they were self-interested but open to negotiations at the same time. When they were pushed out of the picture by the Musharraf government, more extreme groups in the province gained force and put forward their nationalist agendas more easily with the claim of avenging the old tribal leaders.

The government's policy of using force did not only target the tribal leaders. As AI (2006) reported, thousands of ordinary Baloch citizens were subjected to arbitrary arrests and detention, torture, extrajudicial executions, "disappearances," and the use of excessive force by security and intelligence agencies because of their political opposition since the conflict had started in early 2005. It was only in 2005 that Aftab Ahmad Sherpao, the Interior Minister of Pakistan, acknowledged that 4,000 people in Balochistan were arrested. It is important to remember that this was the year when civilian initiatives to solve the Balochistan issue were in motion. When the conflict intensified, human right violations, for political reasons, increased accordingly. In most cases, political opponents were simply grabbed by security forces and returned home after days of torture, or they just disappeared. Although political disappearance was a nationwide phenomenon, Balochs were the main victims during the Musharraf period. According to the ICG report (2007, 4) which received data from the HRCP, out of 242 disappearance cases as of December 2006, 170 were from Balochistan. Other sources increased the number to 600, an allegation that could not be disregarded when one takes into consideration that many disappearance cases were not reported by families because

of open threats and fear of retaliation by the state authorities. Indeed, a week after Musharraf resigned from the presidency, Rehman Malik, Adviser to the Prime Minister on Internal Affairs, announced that there was a list of 1,102 missing people from Balochistan. Again the real number must have been higher than official figures (HRW 2011a, 24; Dawn 2008).

What is important for our subject is that, however ineffective it was, there was a civilian initiative against political disappearances. In 2007, when there was a growing tension between General Musharraf and Muhammad Iftikhar Chaudhry, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, over the reelection process, Chaudhry called for the government officials to explain why hundreds of political opponents had been "picked up by intelligence agencies in violation of the law." Due to Article 184 of the Pakistani Constitution, which gives the Supreme Court the right to act when there is "a question of public importance with reference to the enforcement of any of the Fundamental Rights," Chaudhry could use judicial activism on the political disappearances. He asserted that there was "indiscriminate evidence" that some Balochs were "in the custody of the intelligence agencies" and threatened the director general of the Federal Investigation Agency with arrest if the latter failed to provide a list of missing persons. While a few missing persons were released as a result of this judicial activism, it did nothing to change the government policy as political disappearance continued in Balochistan (ICG 2007, 4-5). Those representatives of the military and intelligence agencies summoned by the courts rejected allegations of disappearances while Musharraf blackmailed the judges to make them drop accusations against security forces about political disappearances.

According to the HRW (2011a, 16-18), the judiciary attempt to question military officials about disappearances played an important role in Musharraf's ousting Chaudhry in March 2007, which once more shows that civilians had a little influence in the Pakistani political decision-making.

Extrajudicial killings by the security forces were also an important source of Baloch alienation. While military operations caused scores of civilian deaths, and disappearances by the state agents resulted in the torture and death of several Balochs without judicial process, there were also reports of revenge killings which deteriorated the problem. For example, on December 17, 2005, at least 22 people, including infants, were killed in the Marri area by the bombing and shelling of armed forces, which seemed to be a reply to the rocket attack against Musharraf three days before (AI 2006). In another notorious case, the Frontier Corps arbitrarily arrested 12 local men after a landmine explosion injured six soldiers on their return from a military raid at the Pattar Nala. As the news of the three soldiers' death came, the Frontier Corps summarily executed the twelve in custody. When some women went to collect the bodies, the soldiers asked them to send male members and killed two elder men who came for this purpose (HRCP 2006, 36). All in all, arbitrary arrests, torture, disappearances and extrajudicial killings remained an important part of state policy during the Musharraf regime.

The military mindset was also evident in the government's political strategies to solve the Balochistan issue. Rather than negotiating with the Baloch groups and

addressing their political, social and economic grievances, the Musharraf government tried to extinguish Baloch nationalism by exploiting Islam and adopting a divide-and-rule strategy in the province. In this sense, Musharraf followed the policies of Zia-ul Haq whose rule witnessed a significant change in the ethnic and religious composition of Balochistan as a result of Pashtun influx to Balochistan. Throughout his tenure, General Zia supported religious parties in the province in accordance with his Islamization policy while the number of madrassas mushroomed during the Afghan jihad; out of more than 1,000 new madrasses in 1982-88, most of them were opened in the NWFP and Balochistan (Hussain 2007, 80; Riaz 2008, 95). One of the main objectives of this strategy was to undermine Baloch nationalism which was predominantly secular. The Musharraf government adopted the same strategy during the Balochistan rebellion as the Ministry of Religious Affairs' share in the provincial budget was six times bigger than the Ministry of Education – 1.2 billion rupees compared to 200 million rupees (Grare 2006, 11). With this share of the budget, the Ministry of Religious Affairs encouraged the establishment of madrassas that emphasized the need for an Islamic identity while discouraging nationalist identities. According to Baloch nationalists, these madrassas were also affecting the political balance of power in the province in favor of religious parties as 95 percent of them were administered by Maulana Fazlur Rehman's pro-Taliban Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Islam (JUI-F) (Akbar 2011). During the provincial coalition government of JUI-F and Musharraf's PML-Q between 2002 and 2007, the number of madrassas increased 30 percent in Balochistan (Javaid 2010, 118). These religious schools not only alienated secular Baloch nationalists in the province, but they also

spread the sectarian violence of Afghanistan to Balochistan which had not witnessed religious violence in its history.

In order to suppress Baloch nationalism, the Musharraf government also adopted the traditional divide-and-rule strategy by supporting religious parties in Balochistan, playing with the Pashtun-Baloch divide and even creating divisions within the nationalist tribes. As already mentioned, in the elections of 2002 the Musharraf regime recognized madrassa degrees as equivalent to bachelor's degree, which was a condition for participation in elections. This change benefited the MMA, a Pashtun religious coalition in which the JUI-F is the largest component, against secular Baloch parties which were marginalized more as a result of election rigging. After the elections the JUI-F formed a coalition government with Musharraf's PML-Q in Balochistan and religious parties came to power in the province for the first time in Pakistan's history. Top provincial posts were given to JUI-F members, and the latter, in return, supported development projects and military construction in the province. This alliance was the result of two security considerations. First, the Musharraf government intended to counter the secular-nationalist Baloch tribes through cooperation with the religious parties. Second, Musharraf and the army were interested in influencing the developments in Afghanistan in order to prevent any alliance between India and the non-Pashtun groups of Afghanistan against Pakistan. Supporting religious Pashtun parties served the military mindset in realist terms but its consequence was to alienate Baloch groups who demanded self-government in their own province.

Related to this religious-secular division, the Musharraf government also used the Pashtun-Baloch division for its own interests. While the provincial government was ruled by Pashtun parties, some key provincial posts were given to Balochs as a tactic for divide-and-rule policy. The first two governors of the province, Amir-ul-Mulk Mengal (1999-2003) and Abdul Qadir Baloch (February-August 2003), were Balochs and after Abdul Qadir Baloch's moderate steps contradicted with Musharraf's policies he was replaced by a pro-government Pashtun, Owais Ghani. At the same time, another key provincial post was given to another pro-government Baloch politician, Jam Mohammad Yousaf, who served as Chief Minister of Balochistan from 2002 to 2007. While these politicians were far from voicing Baloch grievances, their appointment to key posts was a source of criticism for the Pashtun community who argued that either governor or chief minister should be Pashtun for greater harmony among the ethnic communities (Akbar 2011). Although Ghani's appointment as governor may have eased Pashtun concerns, it deteriorated the Balochistan problem because his predecessor was more open to negotiation with the nationalist Baloch groups. All in all, the Pashtun-Baloch divide was useful for General Musharraf and the army which did not want a strong and united political force in the province.

Finally, the divide-and-rule strategy was also used at the intra-ethnic and even intra-tribal levels during the Musharraf period. Indeed, intra-ethnic divisions has not been alien to the Baloch nationalist struggle as Siddiqi (2012, 71) argues that during the Baloch rebellion in 1973-1977, "intra-Baloch conflict and divisiveness played a major role not only in the downfall of the [NAWP] government but also during the phase of

militancy." As mentioned before, during the critical time of this rebellion Nawab Bugti cooperated with the Bhutto government while the Mengal and Marri tribes were fighting against the Pakistan army. During the Musharraf period, there was more cooperation among Baloch tribes, especially after Bugti's death, but the government still had no difficulty in finding Balochs, who would not contradict the President or army, to appoint to key government posts. In this period, the government was also able to exploit the differences between members of the same tribes. For example, as Lieven (2011, 351) points out, after the death of Nawab Bugti, the Pakistani army did "a pretty effective job of divide and rule" within the Bugti tribe by putting Sardar Ali Bugti, Nawab's eldest son, under its protection while fighting against other claimants of the Bugti tribe including Baramdagh Bugti, Nawab's radical grandson, who led an insurgency from Afghanistan. Within Balochistan society, there were multiple lines of division – religious-secular, Baloch-Pashtun, inter-tribal, intra-tribal – which made the soldiers more reluctant to seek a political solution to the Balochistan issue.

In sum, during the Musharraf period military measures and military-minded political strategies dominated state policies in Balochistan. In this case, military activism has explanatory power in two senses. First, the military leadership in Pakistan had important organizational interests in Balochistan. The success of the Gwadar project undoubtedly would play a significant role in legitimizing the Musharraf regime by proving the argument that the army is the sole institution that could modernize the Pakistan state. In addition, the military men had individual interests in the province as soldiers were allocated lands in Balochistan after the development projects started.

Finally, Balochistan was important to the army's security doctrine by providing strategic depth against India and in influencing the developments in Afghanistan. Because Baloch demands for more provincial autonomy and their objections to the land allotments were putting these interests at risk, the army preferred using force in Balochistan rather than negotiating with nationalist groups or alleviating their social, political and economic grievances.

Second, Pakistani military mindset dictates a military showdown against hostile groups. Trained in the belief that the army is the only institution that can modernize Pakistan, Pakistani army officers gave little consideration to the political and ethnic problems that the modernization project may have created. Instead, the army officers and soldier-politicians preferred linking the ethnic grievances to foreign support and adopted centralization policies, military measures, and realist political strategies to crush ethnic opponents. Although Baloch grievances were strikingly similar to the Bengali ones, military officers did not take a lesson from the past. In fact, there was a better prospect for agreement in the Baloch case than the Bengali one because of the tribal nature of the Baloch society which gives the political power to a few rational politicians instead of a nationalist mass. Another factor what may have facilitated an agreement in the Baloch case was the power difference in favor of the central government, whereas, in the Bengali case the equality in terms of population and the geographical distance between the wings provided a balance of power between the government and the Bengalis. Because military confrontation in Balochistan held little prospect of victory, Baloch leaders, compared to Bengalis, must have been more inclined to reach an agreement with the government

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provided that some of their grievances were met. Nevertheless, the military government interpreted these factors as advantages for military victory rather than for a political agreement. This policy choice not only supports the path dependence of certain policies, it also shows that the use of force against ethnic groups is a fundamental norm in the Pakistani military mindset.

Because the Musharraf government allied with civilians who supported the army's policy preferences, there were civilian politicians who took activist position against the Balochs in this period. Yet, civilian attempts to solve the Balochistan issue through negotiations and dialogue cannot be ignored. The Shujaat-Bugti meeting and the following Parliamentary Committee on Balochistan had the potential to alleviate the ethnic grievances before they took a violent form. However, as Bugti warned after his meeting with Shujaat Hussain, the real decision-maker in Pakistan was the army and its chief General Musharraf, and with the military mindset the soldiers prevented civilian initiatives from being successful. In fact, as the next section will show, the army's influence in ethnic relations was so detrimental and consistent that even the civilian government could not solve the Balochistan issue in the political system of post-Musharraf period.

7.2.2 The PPP Government and the Balochistan Conflict

One of the main arguments in this chapter is that it is the Pakistani army who calls the shots in Pakistani politics and militarist policies are dominant in interethnic relations even when the military generals no longer rule the state. This argument is evident in the

Balochistan conflict as the transition to civilian rule after the February 2008 elections and Musharraf's resignation from the presidency in August of the same year did not lead to a major change in either the army's role in the decision-making process nor in the militarist policies of the Musharraf period toward Baloch nationalists. During the civilian period, both civilian politicians and military officers recognized the Baloch grievances in rhetoric and called for a political solution to the problem but in the background political arrests, enforced disappearances, torture, extrajudicial killings, the infamous "kill-and-dump" policy, and the divide-and-rule strategy continued in a more systematic way than during the Musharraf period. Politicians produced some reform plans, the most significant one was Aghaz-e-Huqooq-e-Balochistan, or the Balochistan package, but they lacked the intention and capacity to put these plans into motion. The corruption among the civilians was also an important obstruction to solving the Balochistan issue through political means. Finally, because the Musharraf government targeted tribal leaders and the latter were no more able to control the nationalist sentiments, middle class nationalism rose among the Balochs and with the emergence of militarist Baloch groups, the use of force remained as the dominant policy in government-Baloch relations. In sum, the civilian period following Musharraf's rule did not bring any improvement in the Balochistan conflict.

In fact, the PPP government started its rule in February 2008 with positive gestures towards Balochistan. Although the nationalist Baloch parties boycotted the elections because of the killing of Bugti, following the elections the PPP publicly apologized "for the atrocities and injustices" committed against the Balochs and

promised to "embark on a new highway of healing and mutual respect." The party called for a halt to the military operations in the province and for release of all political prisoners, including Sardar Akhtar Mengal who would be released in May. Asif Ali Zardari stated that the party was willing to talk to even those "who have gone to mountains" and pledged to give maximum provincial autonomy to the provinces in the framework of the 1973 Constitution. Finally, in accordance with the provincial demand the party promised to reintroduce the local levies – traditional paramilitary force chosen from the members of the local tribes – which had been replaced with the police by the Musharraf government in 2002 (Asghar 2008).

From the beginning, the PPP government declared that the use of force is not a solution and the best way to solve the Balochistan conflict is negotiations. In accordance with these statements, the government established a parliamentary committee on Balochistan to consult with all political parties on Baloch grievances and make recommendations to solve them. Musharraf's resignation as president hastened the government's initiatives as in October 2008 the government announced a roadmap on the Balochistan issue. The roadmap called for a convention of a multi-party jirga with the participation of all political forces of the province including educators, journalists, poets and writers from Balochistan. The roadmap also demanded an equitable distribution of the resources among the Balochistan people and release of 830 political activists including the members of the Bugti, Mengal and Marri tribes. As the new president, Zardari countered Musharraf by stating, "The Balochistan issue is of a political nature, and not of terrorism or separatism." In addition, the PPP officials emphasized the

government's good faith to solve the Balochistan issue by stating that over 7,000 military and paramilitary personnel in Balochistan had been replaced with civilian personnel and that over a thousand politically-motivated judicial cases against Baloch leaders had been withdrawn (Khattak 2008).

At the same time, the parliamentary committee on Balochistan kept working and after eighteen months of work, in November 2009, the committee presented to parliament a 39-point reform package called Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan or shortly the Balochistan package. It was a comprehensive package as it addressed constitutional, political, administrative and economic issues and included a monitoring mechanism. On the constitutional issues, the package called for an increase in provincial autonomy and a restructuring of the National Finance Commission (NFC) Award, the annual distribution of economic resources among the provinces, by taking the population ratio, backwardness, poverty and resource generation into consideration.[125] Politically related articles urged the release of political prisoners, political dialogue, return of political exiles, and local government reforms. On administrative issues, the package had important recommendations including a halt to military operations and cantonment constructions, commissions about missing persons and the death of Nawab Bugti, an arrangement on the role of the Frontier Corps and Coast Guard in the province, and a judicial inquiry about the land allotment at Gwadar. Economic-related articles formed the largest section in the package. This section recommended a rearrangement of the

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[125] The former practice was distributing the resources only in terms of population ratio which worked against Balochs.

distribution of gas and more revenue for the development of Balochistan while calling for more provincial representation in the gas companies. It also urged that all mega projects should start with the consent and approval of the provincial government; the number of local workers on the Gwadar project should increase, and, local youth in Gwadar should receive technical training. Finally, the package set aside 120 billion rupees, payable over 12 years, as compensation for the gas exploited from 1954 to 1991 (Hamid 2009, 17-20).

In December 2009, the Balochistan package was followed by the 7th NFC Award which increased Balochistan's share in total transfers to 9.5 percent. In addition, the 18th Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan, an amendment which decreased presidential authority in favor of the national and provincial parliaments, was signed by President Zardari. Yet, none of these measures de-escalated tension in the province. Critics of the Balochistan package emphasized that most of its proposals were similar to the recommendations of the 2005 Parliamentary Committee on Balochistan; that the articles had several ambiguous characteristics – for example, the package does not clarify whom to negotiate with when the real opposition is not part of the democratic parliamentary system, and; that the real challenge was the implementation of the proposals (Ibid., 9-13). The last criticism was so especially important that with the growing militarism after Bugti's death, the Balochistan package needed significant commitment from the Pakistani state and more cooperation with the nationalist Baloch groups to be successful. However, the separatist Baloch parties rejected the package by defining it as "charity for the people of Balochistan," and demanded negotiation for peaceful separation. Sardar Ataullah Mengal, as a politician who had been more open to negotiation, stated that the

package was a "joke" and he would not be a part of it. Nationalist Balochs argued that there was no change in the Pakistani rulers' mindset (Baloch 2009) and that the state did not show effort to disprove this argument. As will be mentioned, when the package was prepared and introduced the militarist policies continued in the background and some politicians acknowledged that "a hawkish mindset in the establishment [i.e. army and intelligence agencies] that does not believe in the rights of smaller provinces" was active and trying to sabotage the reconciliation process in Balochistan (Akbar 2010).

As a result, the fate of the Balochistan package was a little better than its predecessor of 2005 but in no way was it a success. By March 2011, the government was able to implement only 15 out of the 61 proposals in the package and important proposals such as giving Balochs priority over natural gas, starting a political dialogue with Baloch stakeholders, the return of political exiles, putting the Frontier Corps under the Balochistan Chief Minister's command, limiting the mandate of the Frontier Corps and Coast Guard, giving the provincial government the responsibility to control the checkpoints in non-borders areas and many others were still in the rough draft phase (Gishkori 2011). In addition, although Zardari had pledged that he would talk even to the militarist groups, the government started taking politically repressive measures by banning five political groups – Baloch Republican Army, Baloch Liberation Army, the Baloch Liberation Front, Lashkar-i Balochistan, and the Baloch Musallah Difa Tanzeem – and froze their assets in September 2010 (HRW 2011a, 22). Interior Minister Rehman Malik justified the action by arguing that the nationalist groups rejected dialogue and were involved in targeted killings. "Enough is enough. Now the government will use

force to restore peace and order in Balochistan because they (terrorists) do not understand the language of love," Malik stated (Dawn 2010b).

Although these groups were involved in several violent attacks, this approach ignored the reasons for strengthening these groups such as the government's inability to control human rights violations and the corruption of the politicians. Political reforms hardly answered the security problem in the province and the local population barely felt any change in their status. For instance, although the federal government doubled Balochistan's budget in 2010 and gave the provincial government an additional $140 million dollars, the money seemed to go into the pockets of some corrupt politicians rather than development projects (Grare 2013, 12). The local population complained that while politicians claimed that billions were spent for development work, there was no diesel for ambulances or no maternity ward at the local hospitals (HRCP 2012, 33).

While the lack of initiative on the difficult political questions and corruption among the politicians were serious problems, the real impediment for a peaceful solution for the Balochistan issue was the military's influence in politics. As mentioned before, despite the presence of a civilian government the military kept dominating the national security decision-making in the post-Musharraf period and the Balochistan issue was no exception. Despite the fact that the CAS General Kayani publicly emphasized the civilian oversight of the military on the Balochistan issue by announcing that the army in critical areas such as Sui and Gwadar was replaced with the Frontier Corps; the military operations would not be carried out without the approval of the provincial government

and in November 2011 the Frontier Force was put under the administrative control of the

provincial government (PILDAT 2012, 7; The Express Tribune 2011), there was little

doubt the military was the real decision-maker in the province. Most of the time militarist

policies were implemented by military intelligence and the Frontier Corps which in

theory answers to the Interior Minister but its forces where headed by army officers. In

October 2009, HRCP (2009, 5) reported that decision-making in provincial politics was

"firmly in the hands of the elements that were in command before the February 2008

election" and "it is the military that still calls the shots." In its human rights report of

2010, the U.S. Department of State (2011, 1) also stated that the security forces in

Pakistan "did not report to civilian authorities and operated independently from the

civilian government." Indeed, the provincial government, which should have authorized

military operations and controlled the Frontier Corps, was hardly functioning as

Balochistan Chief Minister Nawab Aslam Raisani spent little time in the province

because of fear for his safety (Grare 2013, 4). HRW (2011a, 5) reached the same

conclusion by reporting:

> The security forces have continued to behave with the same impunity they
> enjoyed under the military government of President Gen. Pervez
> Musharraf. This impunity seems to penetrate the system at all levels:
> police who refuse to register and investigate disappearance cases, courts
> that appear unwilling or unable to fully enforce the law against the
> security forces, intelligence agencies that continue to blatantly ignore
> court orders, and high-level government officials who talk of the need for
> accountability yet are unwilling or unable to rein in the security forces.
> The reality is that security forces controlled by the military, including
> intelligence agencies and the Frontier Corps, continue to act outside all
> formal mechanisms of civilian oversight.

With no change in its influence on politics, the Pakistan army kept shaping the

state policies in Balochistan. Although the government started some political initiatives, political arrests, torture, enforced disappearances and extrajudicial killings increased in the post-Musharraf period. As a result, the war-like situation in the province did not disappear; instead, it transformed into a nationalist struggle as nationalist parties and movements such as the Baloch Student Organization, Baloch Liberation Army, Baloch National Front, Baloch Republican Party, Baloch National Movement, Baloch National Party, etc. replaced traditional tribal leadership. As Baloch nationalism spread among middle-class and urban populations, the military intelligence and Frontier Corps adopted a series of militarist strategies that seemed to continue the Musharraf policies.

One of the common practices that was followed in the post-Musharraf period was decapitation efforts. In this period, several Baloch politicians, intellectuals, lawyers, members of civil organizations and student leaders were reportedly targeted and/or killed by security agencies. In February 2009, Jan Mohammad Dashti, a prominent Baloch poet and intellectual who had been critical about Islamabad's policies toward Balochistan, survived an assassination attempt of unidentified assailants. Two months later, three prominent Baloch politicians, Ghulam Mohammad Baloch, President of the Baloch National Movement, Lala Munir from the same party, and Sher Mohammed Baloch of the Baloch Republican Party were abducted by unidentified armed men. On April 9, their bodies were found dead in a mountainous area. What is important is that their abduction and murder took place after the Anti-Terrorism Court had dismissed all cases against the three politicians who were accused of sparking political unrest in the province (Dawn 2009).

Decapitation of the Baloch political activists increased in 2010 as AI (2010) reported that more than 40 Balochi leaders and political activists were tortured and murdered between July and October 2010. Among the victims there were Senator Habib Jalib Baloch, Secretary General of the Balochistan National Party-Mengal; Mir Nooruddin Mengal and Liaqat Mengal, key members in the same party; Maula Baksh Dashti, a prominent figure of the Balochistan National Party; Zaman Marri and Ali Sher Kurd, Baloch lawyers; Zahoor Baloch, a member of the Baloch Student Organization, and; Faqir Mohammad Baloch and Yasin Baloch, members of the Voice of Missing Baloch Persons. In March and April 2011, two HRCP Group Coordinators, Naeem Sabir and Siddique Eido were found dead after being abducted by men in Frontier Corps uniform (HRCP 2012, 6). In January 2012 unknown assailants killed the sister of Nawabzada Brahamdagh Bugti, the president of the Baloch Republican Party, as a message for him after Bugti was granted asylum in Switzerland (U.S. Department of State 2013, 3-4). In most of the cases, the practice was the same. Targets were reportedly abducted by intelligence agencies and days later their bodies were found with marks of torture and bullet holes. Some Baloch activists such as Dashti and Jalib Baloch, were assassinated by unidentified gunmen. Although most of the assailants remained unidentified, there was a "common understanding that certain security agencies (i.e. intelligence agencies and the Frontier Corps) and their death squads" were behind the assassination of Baloch political leaders (UNPO 2010). In its report, AI (2010) urged the Pakistani government to show that "it can and will investigate the Pakistani military and Frontier Corps, as well as intelligence agencies, who are widely accused of playing a role

in these incidents."

It was a fact that enforced disappearances and extrajudicial killings significantly increased in the post-Musharraf period and not only prominent Balochs but also ordinary political activists became the targets of this policy. In this period, hundreds of Balochs were abducted, kept in cells run by military and intelligence agencies and subjected to torture because of their participation in Baloch political parties and movements. While some Balochs were released after a period of detention and torture and some re-disappeared again, many cases of abductions ended with the extrajudicial killing of the victims. Although Baloch nationalists often claimed that thousands of ordinary Balochs became the target of the military's "kill-and-dump" policy, the real number is unknown because of the problems with reporting and proving that the death was due to the policy. As a result, human rights agencies give different numbers about enforced disappearances and extrajudicial killings of Baloch political activists based on their methodology and time-frame they were analyzing. Yet, all reports show an increasing trend in enforced disappearances and extrajudicial killings in the post-Musharraf period.

Examples are numerous and varied. HRCP (2012, 59-67) verified 131 cases of enforced disappearances in the years from 2009 to 2012, while the number of cases for the nine years between 2000 and 2008 was 67. HRW (2011a, 77-112) also gave detailed descriptions of 45 disappearance cases that took place in 2009 and 2010. Many of the victims were ordinary men who participated in Baloch national movements, though among the abductees there were 12-year-old children as well as 60-year-old people. The

AHRC reported in May 2011 that at least 120 men were killed extra-judicially in the last eight months. AI (2011) also found that during the period of October 2010-February 2011 at least 90 Baloch political activists became the victims of enforced disappearances and extra-judicial killings. The Voice of Baloch Missing Persons claimed that more than 400 people have been killed and dumped in various parts of Balochistan since 2009 (Hashim 2013). Pakistani officials also gave numbers about enforced disappearances and/or extrajudicial killings. In September 2013, the Home and Tribal Affairs Department of Balochistan stated that 592 mutilated bodies have been found in the province since 2010 (Shah 2013). According to an Interior Ministry report presented in July 2012, on the other hand, at least 868 people had been killed, 619 kidnapped and 2390 disappeared in Balochistan since 2010 (Dawn 2012b). All in all, an increasing trend in enforced disappearances and extrajudicial killings was one of the important characteristics of the Balochistan conflict in the post-Musharraf period.

The deteriorating law and order situation in Balochistan was the result of the violent activities of several actors. The sectarianism adopted against Baloch nationalism in the Musharraf period gave several extremist religious organizations an opportunity to increase their violent attacks against religious minority groups in the post-Musharraf period. Several Sunni-Deobandi terrorist organizations including Al-Qaeda, Sipah-e-Sahaba and Lashkar-e-Jhangvi were active in Balochistan during the civilian regime. Similarly, sectarian Baloch groups such as Tehreek-e-Nefaz-e-Aman Balochistan and Baloch Musalla Difa Tanzeem were involved in several attacks against Baloch nationalists in this period. On the other side, there were separatist-nationalist Baloch

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groups who targeted state and army buildings as well as non-Balochs in the province. Lashkar-e-Balochistan and the Baloch Liberation Army were involved in several abduction and killings of non-Baloch communities including Pashtuns in the province.

Nevertheless, what is important for our subject is that apart from these violent religious and nationalist actors, the army, Frontier Corps and intelligence agencies were responsible for the deteriorating law and order situation in the province. There is a great deal of evidence that security agencies were involved in several abductions, as well as the torture and killing of Baloch activists in this period. Several times, as HRW (2011a, 3) reported, the abductions of Baloch activists took place with the participation of uniformed Frontier Corps or intelligence officers in civilian clothing. Similarly, the relatives of some abductees who talked to HRCP (2012, 9) stated that the participation of state agencies in abductions were "obvious from the functionaries' uniforms, the vehicles they used and where those vehicles went." "Pakistan's security forces are engaging in an abusive free-for-all in Balochistan as Baloch nationalists and suspected militants 'disappear,' and in many cases are executed," said Brad Adams, HRW's Asia Director (HRW 2011b). In several cases, Balochistan activists and nationalists were stopped by the police or officers in the middle of the street, beaten, forced into military vehicles and kidnapped, tortured in unknown detention centers, executed and their dead bodies were dumped in various parts of Balochistan. While the whereabouts of some abductees remained unknown for many years, the families of the abductees were often hesitant to talk to police, courts and human rights organizations because of the threats they received from intelligence agencies. The lawyers who tried to recover the missing persons in court

were afraid to speak forcefully enough because of this fear (HRCP 2012, 8-9). Even those human rights activists and academics critical of the military including Siddique Eido from HRCP and Saba Dashtiyari, a professor at the University of Balochistan, were the targets of security agencies (HRW 2012). And the police often failed to inform the families and file a complaint about enforced disappearances because of the role of Frontier Corps and intelligence agencies in these abductions.

The army often denied the charge that security agencies were behind the enforced disappearances and extrajudicial killings of Baloch activists. According to Major Gen. Obaid Ullah Khan Niazi, commander of the Frontier Corps in Balochistan, militants were using the Frontier Corps uniforms to kidnap people and malign the good name of the Pakistan army (Walsh 2011). Lt. Gen. Javed Zia, the Commander of the Army's Southern Command, also rejected the argument that the army, Frontier Corps and any other agency were involved in a kill-and-dump policy and stated that it was not the policy of army leadership (Dawn 2011). Nevertheless, the army's history of human rights abuses, reports of several human rights organizations, statements of abductees and victim's families, the army's reluctance to talk to human rights organizations and its rejection of the International Committee of the Red Cross to visit any detention sites in Balochistan (U.S. Department of State 2013, 12) contradicted with these arguments. Furthermore, even some Pakistani politicians have been courageous enough to publicly recognize the army's role in enforced disappearances and extrajudicial killings. For example, in his interview with the *BBC* in November 2010, Balochistan Chief Minister Aslam Raisani acknowledged that "some of the abductions and killings are definitely carried out by

security agencies" (Raza and Sohail 2010).

Human rights organizations and Baloch politicians often asked the Pakistan government to investigate the enforced disappearances and extrajudicial killings and the role of the security agencies in these incidents. Although the government took some steps in this direction, they were mainly ineffective. In August 2011 a six-member parliamentary committee under Jan Muhammad Jamali, a Baloch politician, was established to investigate and recover missing persons in Balochistan (Khalil 2011). Another committee, the Special Committee of the National Assembly on Karachi and Balochistan, led by Syed Khursheed Ahmed Shah, Minister of Religious Affairs, was constituted in September 2011 to investigate the killings in Karachi and Balochistan. While these committees failed to bring a solution to the problem, the military leadership did not help them by telling Ahmed Shah's committee that the Balochistan issue is the result of government blunders and foreign assistance, especially India's. In addition, the military echelon rejected the claim that the Frontier Corps is responsible for disappearances and killings and argued that the situation in the province would have been worse if the Frontier Corps had not been deployed (Khalil 2012).

Despite the military's arguments, the civilian leadership continued to investigate human right violations in Balochistan. On March 7, 2012, Pakistan's Senate passed a unanimous resolution condemning the policy of enforced disappearances and called for the federal and provincial governments to "take immediate and effective steps to ensure the speedy recovery and release of missing persons" (Gishkori and Khan 2012). A week

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later, the National Assembly of Pakistan passed another resolution calling for a comprehensive law to regulate the activities of intelligence and security agencies and to stop practices of enforced disappearances, extrajudicial killings and holding people in detention without charge (The Indian Express 2012). A parliamentary committee led by Senator Raza Rabbani also investigated the problems in Balochistan, including disappearances and killings, and in October 2012 Rabbani presented a five-point recommendation advocating full implementation of the 2009 Balochistan package, complete provincial autonomy and the recovery of missing persons (Dunya News 2012). In January 2013, the Parliamentary Committee on National Security also presented fifteen recommendations on missing persons throughout country. One of the most important recommendations was that intelligence agencies should work under a supervisory committee of the parliament and follow the law (The Express Tribune 2013). While all these committee reports and resolutions leave no doubt about the role of the military, the Frontier Corps, and intelligence agencies on the enforced disappearances and extrajudicial killings, those responsible for these incidents remained unpunished during the civilian regime and, as will be mentioned, the military used different means to target the Baloch activists.

In addition to political initiatives, it is also important to mention judicial activism during this period. Similar to the Musharraf period, during the civilian regime the courts were relatively active in recovering the missing persons in the hands of security agencies. In 2010, a three-member Judicial Commission of Inquiry on Enforced Disappearance was formed under the leadership of Justice Javed Iqbal to hear the cases of missing persons.

Yet, the commission was criticized in that it failed to investigate the role of the intelligence agencies in enforced disappearances and did not take the statements of released individuals to gain information about the perpetrators and use this information to bring them to justice (U.S. Department of State 2013, 6). Baloch groups also criticized the commission on the grounds that it sided with intelligence agencies, repeated the rhetoric of the military and understated the number of missing Baloch activists detained by the security intelligence (Baloch 2012). Indeed, in June 2012 Iqbal repeated the military rhetoric by stating that there was "baseless propaganda" on the number of missing persons and that foreign agencies in the country are behind the problem (Dawn 2012a). The commission and its report presented to the government in November 2013 failed to satisfy the Baloch groups.

In April 2012, the Chief Justice of Pakistan, Muhammad Iftikhar Chaudhry, who was active with the missing persons during the Musharraf period, also started hearing cases of law and order problems in the province. Chaudhry ordered officials to produce information about all missing persons and investigated the allegations about the role of the Frontier Corps and intelligence agencies in enforced disappearances. Although the court brought some attention and provided for the release of some missing Balochs, similar to what happened in the Musharraf period, the whereabouts of several Baloch activists remained unknown (U.S. Department of State 2013, 6). Relatives of the missing persons also complained about the Chief Justice on the grounds that the court had not done much for the recovery of missing persons or it should have started the process many years ago (HRCP 2012, 7). As mentioned, families of missing persons and their lawyers

were also often harassed by the intelligence agencies when they presented their cases to the court. All in all, similar to the political initiatives, judicial activism was not successful in ending human right violations in Balochistan.

During the civilian period, the military was also blamed for supporting sectarian groups in Balochistan. For example, the AHRC (2012) reported that after the enforced disappearances and extrajudicial killings created strong hatred against the Frontier Corps and intelligence agencies in Balochistan, the military changed its strategy and started supporting violent sectarian groups which identified, targeted and killed the Baloch nationalists for the military. The group claimed that the secret agencies in Pakistan, especially the ISI, financed several sectarian groups and their members were trained by the Frontier Corps and military intelligence. Tehreek-e-Nefaz-e-Aman Balochistan, which killed Baloch nationalists on sectarian grounds, was one of these organizations. Some analysts also argue that sectarian groups such as Sipah-e-Sahaba, Lashkar-e-Jhangvi and Baloch Musalla Difa Tanzeem enjoyed protection from security agencies as some attacks took place in areas with a strong Frontiers Corps presence; perpetrators often have not been caught, and; intelligence agencies prevented investigations about the attacks (Grare 2013, 18).

Military support of sectarian groups is a distinct possibility if one takes into consideration that it perfectly fits the traditional divide-and-rule strategy of the Pakistani army. The sectarian violence in Balochistan has played a significant role in the lack of a unified force in the province as religious and secular Balochs confronted each other. In

addition, the sectarian violence against religious minority groups increased during the civilian period and this phenomenon also created many inter-group rivalries in Balochistan. Especially sectarian violence against the Shia Hazara community, which had been targeted since 1999, significantly increased in the post-Musharraf period and brought the Hazaras against both the Balochs and Pashtuns in the province. During the civilian regime, more than 400 Hazaras were killed by Sunni religious groups and another 450 were injured as a result of over 110 sectarian attacks between 2008 and 2011 (Gishkori 2012). Among the bloodiest attacks against the community, there was a Taliban attack during a Shia rally in Quetta which killed fifty people in September 2010, a shooting of twenty-six pilgrims in Mastung in September 2011 and a suicide attack on a bus carrying pilgrims which killed fourteen people in June 2012 (Siddiqi 2013). Although in most of the cases the perpetrators were identified as Taliban or extremist Sunni groups, there was a belief that the Hazara killings were part of the divide and rule policy of the security forces which wanted to create strife between Hazaras and Balochs and Hazaras and Pashtuns. This belief was strengthened by the observation that some attacks took place really close to military checkpoints, yet the perpetrators easily fled and that the state showed little effort to capture the assailants.

Similar to the Musharraf period, the divide-and-rule strategy was also observable at the intra-tribe level as the military's support of some sectarian groups aimed to divide Baloch tribes into parts. For example, Tehreek-e-Nefaz-e-Aman Balochistan, reportedly supported by the military, was the armed wing of Siraj Raisani's Mutahida Mahaz Balochistan (United Front Balochistan). Siraj is the brother of Balochistan's Chief

Minister Aslam Raisani, who was not happy with the army's way of dealing with the Balochistan problem and told the international press that the security agencies were involved in enforced disappearances and extrajudicial killings. Similarly, Baloch Musalla Difa Tanzeem, another ISI-supported organization that targeted Baloch nationalists, was headed by Shafiqur Rahman Mengal who had a rivalry with Baloch nationalists Sardar Ataullah Mengal and his sons. Therefore, supporting these groups helped the Pakistani army to target Baloch activists, and it also divided Baloch tribes into factions so that a unified political force did not emerge in the province. Finally, it is also possible to emphasize the divide-and rule strategy between Balochs and Pashtuns as Frontier Corps mainly recruited ethnic Pashtuns as soldiers and it was seen as an outside force by the ethnic Balochs. While each violent act of the Frontier Corps was pitting the Balochs against the Pashtuns, the Baloch Liberation Army's attacks against Pashtuns created further instability in the region.

In sum, it is difficult to claim that the civilian regime in the post-Musharraf period brought any change in the military's influence in the Balochistan conflict and the militarist policies against Baloch nationalists. Although the civilian government and judiciary attempted to take some measures to alleviate the Balochs' problems, the conflict continued as the army-supported security agencies were involved in several human rights violations and supported anti-Baloch groups in the province. The militarist policies adopted in the Musharraf period such as decapitation efforts, ethnic disappearances, extrajudicial killings, arbitrary arrests, torture, and divide-and-rule policies were followed despite the fact that these policies turned an autonomy demand into a nationalist struggle

during the military regime. In addition, the military leadership kept claiming that the Baloch problems were not genuine and they were triggered by foreign states, especially India. Civilian politicians and officials often did not have the capacity or intention to stop the military's acts and some were ready to accept the military rhetoric.

7.3 Conclusion

Compared to the military control in Turkey and military participation in Israel, what we see in Pakistan can be defined as military rule as the state was ruled by military generals for much of its lifetime. Military generals started dominating the decision-making process in 1954 and since that year they have not left power – except for Zulfikar Bhutto's years to some extent – even when the civilian governments were in power. Civil-military relations norms created during the state-building process survived many decades and whenever civilian regimes attempted to change these norms, they were taken down under arbitrary executive decisions or military coups. Aware of this fact, civilian governments preferred not to challenge the military's dominant role in the decision-making process, especially on security issues and particularly ethnic policies. Both in the Bengali and Balochistan conflicts, military officers were the prime-decision-makers in the use of force against nationalist groups and this situation did not really change in the civilian regime after 2008. Although the Zardari/Gillani regime took some political and judicial steps to ease Balochs' concerns, their efforts proved futile as the security agencies continued the militarist policies in the background. The military's dominant role in Pakistani politics and the preference for militarist policies in both the Bengali and

Balochistan conflicts proves the explanatory power of historical institutionalism in terms of civil-military relations and ethnic policies.

In accordance with military activism, we see that Pakistani soldiers are more inclined to use force against ethnic groups than civilians as in both the Bengali and Balochistan conflicts the military generals in power preferred to use militarist methods while, though being inefficient, civilian politicians and officials frequently took some political initiatives to solve the ethnic problems. Ayub Khan, Yahya Khan and Pervez Musharraf refrained from taking political, economic and social steps to solve ethnic problems mainly because officers' organizational interests and military mindset emphasized the use of force, though this policy backfired several times. There is some complexity in this case, which comes from the fact that some civilians were also the staunchest supporters of militarist policies or they had less of an intention to challenge the use of force policy of the Pakistani military. This is related to the form of military influence in Pakistan. Unlike military participation in which soldiers and civilians mutually and equally affect each other, in the military rule, socialization between soldiers and civilians took place in a hierarchical form and civilians simply adopted the soldiers' preferences in order to survive in the political world. Despite this complexity, however, the evidence shows that Pakistani military officers have been more homogenous in advocating the use of force than civilian politicians. While there were some moderate politicians and judiciary members, there were none among the key generals.

Chapter 8

CONCLUSION

> I exist only to protect Krypton. That is the sole
> purpose for which I was born. And every action I
> take, no matter how violent or how cruel, is for the
> greater good of my people.
>
> General Zod, *Man of Steel*

"This is exactly what I am talking about in my dissertation," I told myself when I was watching Zack Snyder's *Man of Steel*, "This is military activism." In the movie, General Zod is a military leader from a distant planet, Krypton, which is about to extinguish and he is planning to use his planet's technology to make Krypton live again on another planet. Of course there is a side effect: the host population must die first. Against this evil plan stands Jor-El, a civilian scientist, who stole the technology after Zod organized a military coup and dismissed the Council. Although Jor-El was killed by Zod, he was able to sneak the technology out of Krypton in a capsule carrying his baby Kal-El, aka Superman, to Earth. Yet, General Zod follows him years later and we watch a battle between Zod, who is ready to extinguish Earth's population to save his own people, and Superman, who fights for humans though it means the end of Kryptonians.

This distinction between evil soldier and good civilian, indeed, has been a research subject in the civil-military relations literature during the last decade as scholars

have given increasing attention to the effect of military regimes on the initiation of international wars. While a group of scholars proposed the theory of military activism by arguing that soldiers are more likely to use force than civilians and military regimes are prone to initiate international wars, another group of scholars, military conservatives, hold the idea that ambitious civilian politicians are the main initiators of wars and soldiers are more conservative about the use of force. Related to this controversy, the military experience of politicians has also been analyzed and scholars tried to find out "how prior military experience influences the future militarized behavior of leaders" (Horowitz and Stam 2014). This study contributed to the literature by applying military activism and military conservatism theories to ethnic conflict cases. The primary purpose was to find out how military influence on politics affects ethnic policies and interethnic relations within a state.

From this perspective, I found that irrespective of the differences between the forms of military influence, in all cases I analyzed military influence on politics is detrimental to interethnic relations and we are more likely to see militarist ethnic policies if the man on horseback has a significant role in the political decision-making. This is most evident in the case of military regimes. The presence of successive military governments in Pakistan is one of the main factors in explaining the anarchic situation we see in the country today. Pakistan is an example of failing/failed states and this is evident in interethnic relations. When Pakistan was founded the founding fathers defined the new state's identity with religious terms while differences in ethnic identities were not given serious attention. This early mistake deteriorated with the Pashtun-dominated military's

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ascension to power in 1958. The military leaders, Ayub Khan and then Yahya Khan, tried to centralize power under their rule while refraining from making reforms to end interethnic disparities. All non-Pashtun ethnic groups, but especially Bengalis, had political, social and economic grievances in the state-building period. However, instead of alleviating these grievances, Ayub Khan adopted political plans such as the One Unit system and Basic Democracies to repress non-Pashtun voices. When Bengalis won the national elections in 1970, Yahya Khan simply forestalled the democratic transition and later used force against the Bengalis. These decisions cost them half of the country after Bengalis defeated the Pakistani army with the help of India and declared their own independent state. Thirteen-year military rule made peaceful interethnic dialogue impossible in Pakistan.

Yet, the Pakistani military officers hardly took any lessons from being the first disintegrated country in the post-World War II era. Civilian regimes came to power, the military overthrew them and these phenomena repeated themselves in a cycle. At the same time, ethnic conflict occurred in every decade and neither military officers nor civilians under military watch produced any effective solution. When General Musharraf faced a Balochistan rebellion in the 2000s, his sole response was to follow militarist policies including military operations, targeted killings, extrajudicial arrests and killings and torture. When civilians came to power they inherited a militarized Baloch nationalist movement which had less of an intention to negotiate with the government. Although the Gillani government took some peaceful initiatives, military officers followed militarist policies in the background without being held responsible for the mutual violence they

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created. All in all, Pakistan does not seem to have any hope for the future because of the successive military governments which created a failing state.

The case of military control is equally problematic but at least more promising for change than the military rule. In accordance with military activism theory, the Turkish case shows that when soldier-politicians rule the state and the military institutionally controls politics, we see militarist policies as the main ethnic policy against the Kurdish groups. During the early Kurdish rebellions in the state-building period, soldier-politicians and the military mainly relied on military measures and security-minded economic and social policies to solve the Kurdish question. In this period, Kurdish identity was ignored by the political elite while negotiation and dialogue with the Kurds, which was followed in the first few years, was deliberately put aside in government policy. Although this policy was effective in militarist terms and the rebellions were suppressed in 1939, it did not solve the Kurdish question in political, social and economic terms.

Although civilian politicians followed some moderate policies in the following decades, each military coup in 1960, 1971, and 1980 brought rejectionist policies on the Kurdish issue. The Turkish military gradually took the Kurdish policy under its domain, and limited the policy choices of the civilian politicians in this issue. When PKK violence erupted in the 1980s and continued in the next decade, civilians had a limited opportunity to shape Turkey's Kurdish policy. Although each civilian government started their rule with conciliatory rhetoric and moderate steps, they soon realized that they could not take serious steps while soldiers saw themselves as the main authority on the Kurdish issue.

This picture started changing when the military control over Turkish politics started diminishing following the presidential crisis in 2007 and Ergenekon trials in 2008. After this critical juncture, the Erdogan government managed to initiate the Democratic Opening campaign and took some political and social steps to solve the Kurdish question. Although there is still a possibility of violence as the political tension between the government and Kurdish groups sometimes flares up, the political process is in motion today. All in all, the Turkish case proves the argument that military influence on politics brings militarist ethnic policies and it is detrimental to interethnic relations.

Even in the case of military participation where military officers may have similar preferences to the civilians, military influence on politics has some detrimental effects as the Israeli case shows in this country's relations with the Arabs and the Palestinians. The problem in Israel is not a lack of civilian control of the military but excessive military participation in politics which creates a highly militarized politics and society. Since the foundation of the state, Israeli military officers have been active participants in the political decision-making while civilians have often been the ones who have the last word. In spite of this positive characteristic, however, in the state-building period soldiers played an important role in raising the tension between Israel and neighboring Arab states by supporting hawkish civilian politicians over pro-negotiation ones in the Israeli political structure. In this period, soldiers argued for the necessity of territorial extension and reprisal policies while a small group of politicians, especially Moshe Sharett, tried unsuccessfully to limit Israel's military operations. Military officers such as Moshe Dayan, Ariel Sharon, Yitzhak Rabin, etc. advocated for the use of force policy even when

Israel's deterrence power was at stake and they pushed the politicians to take a militarist stance against the enemies. In the first two decades, not only were soldiers politicized, but their active participation in politics also militarized politics and society.

One positive effect of this politicization was that it provided ideological heterogeneity in the military when polarization took place in Israeli politics after 1967. Consequently, during the intifadas, some Israeli officers supported negotiation with the Palestinians in parallel with the Israeli Left while the others supported right-wing ideologies by advocating the use of force policy. During the first intifada and Oslo peace process pro-negotiation, officers were dominant in the top echelon of the military while they were replaced by hawkish officers in the second intifada. Despite this complex picture and the presence of moderate officers, however, the military influence in general was detrimental to the Israeli-Palestinian dialogue as officers' security concerns have always been an obstacle to conciliatory steps. When violent conflicts took place, soldier-politicians and military officers were adamant in protecting Israel's deterrence power, although most of the time their counter-actions deteriorated the situation. Even during the peace negotiations the concerns for security and deterrence power were evident as pro-negotiation officers and soldier-politicians gave excessive consideration to security arrangements. In some instances, this situation not only frustrated the Palestinians but moderate Israeli politicians as well. In Israel the evidence shows a vicious cycle in which security threats increase the military influence on politics whereas this influence deteriorates the possibility of conciliation between the Israeli government and the Palestinians.

In these cases the variables of military activism explain the behavior of soldiers better than military conservatism. First, the evidence shows that in some cases soldiers preferred military measures in order to protect organizational and individual interests. This motive is most evident in Pakistan as the military officers used the ethnic disturbances as an excuse to rule the country and played out ethnic differences efficiently to weaken the politicians. Although military officers often blamed corrupt politicians for the ethnic disturbances, the increase in ethnic grievances was often the result of their policies to be dominant in Pakistani politics and their ambition to use regional resources in benefit of the military. While non-Pashtun ethnic groups suffered under poverty and instability, the military emerged as the strongest institution in Pakistan by using the state resources in order to increase the military's and soldiers' interests. Consequently, when ethnic groups became a threat to these interests, the officers' first option was to use force as happened in both the Bengali and Balochistan conflicts.

To a lesser degree, organizational and individual interests also played a role in the Turkish and Israeli cases. The Turkish army used the Kurdish conflict to control the politicians while the conflict brought unintentional benefits such as the development of new strategies and an increase in ammunition and weaponry. In Israel, the issue is more complex. During the first intifada, the IDF's organizational interests brought restraint as the conflict challenged the military's priorities, which were to revolutionize the army and prepare it "for the battlefield of the future." The IDF did not benefit from using excessive force against the civilians, mainly women and children. Yet, this situation changed over time as the Palestinians armed themselves in accordance with Oslo Accords and violent

groups gained popularity among the Palestinians. Starting in 1996 the IDF prepared itself for a violent crash and the second intifada gave them an excuse to use excessive power. The IDF reestablished its deterrence power at the cost of the peace process, which was already unsteady. It is also necessary to note that the intifadas provided an important individual interest by giving more opportunity to soldiers to follow political careers and rise to important posts. In this period several soldier-politicians held important seats in the governments including the prime ministry and defense ministry.

Second, military mindset also explains a lot about the soldiers' preference for militarist measures. Because soldiers are trained to fight against external threats, in all cases we see an attempt to link domestic ethnic grievances with foreign enemies. Although these links between ethnic violent groups and foreign enemies are sometimes real, this linkage often pushes the officers to use force against the ethnic groups as if they were fighting against an external threat. This linkage made the officers exaggerate the security threats from ethnic groups and see the issue as an existential threat. Consequently, the soldiers adopted a no-conciliation policy when they shape ethnic policies. The emphasis on the foreign states-ethnic groups linkage is evident in Pakistan where both Bengali and Baloch nationalism were linked with the Indian threat and in Turkey where the military officers regarded Kurdish nationalism as a foreign-supported separatist movement that would realize the Treaty of Sevres. In Israel, on the other hand, the focus on foreign threats brought a conciliatory approach in the first intifada as the soldiers successfully separated foreign threats and the conflict against a civilian population. Yet, when the PA took the form of a state, this differentiation was lost and

the IDF adopted a massive use of force against the Palestinians as if they are fighting against an enemy state.

A certain political ideology also can be a part of the military mindset if the military officers are trained in accordance with this ideology. We see this situation in the Turkish case where Kemalism were indoctrinated in the military cadets since the first day they enter military school. Because Kemalism did not allow for a recognition of non-Turkish ethnic identities, it played a significant role in the soldiers' rejection of the Kurdish identity and their preference to use force to solve the Kurdish question. Combined with organizational interests, ideological indoctrination had also some role in the Pakistani officers' ethnic policies as they are educated to believe that the military was solely responsible for security policies. When a non-Pashtun ethnic group becomes a threat to this self-imposed role, the officers simply adopted militarist policies as they did both in the Bengali and Baloch conflict. Because political ideologies in Israel are created in the civilian domain and officers are not educated through a political ideology, we do not see this kind of situation in the Israeli military.

Other characteristics of the military mindset are also present in all three cases. The evidence shows that being a "natural-born pessimist" is a shared characteristic among the Turkish, Israeli and Pakistani militaries. The Pakistani military often assumed that ethnic movements were triggered by India in order to disprove the "two-nation theory," weaken the Pakistani state or gain certain advantages in controversial issues such as Kashmir. This belief makes them ignore ethnic grievances. Similarly, Turkish military officers believe that the ultimate objective of the Kurdish movement is to form an

independent state and that any conciliatory moves, including recognizing cultural rights, would serve this objective. In Israel, especially during the second intifada, military officers often questioned Arafat's intentions and believed that he never gave up terrorism. Even during the peace process Israeli officers were quite pessimist, given that they gave significant attention even to small details in the security arrangements.

This pessimism naturally goes hand in hand with a preference for militarist measures to end ethnic problems. In both the Bengali and Baloch conflicts, the Pakistani state heavily applied force against the ethnic groups and what is worse is that although this policy resulted in the separation of Bengalis in 1971, the military leaders did not take a single lesson when they fought against the Balochs in the 2000s. If Balochs did not gain independence it is not because of a military triumph, but due to a lack of resources and internal divisions on the Baloch side.The Turkish military similarly believed that the solution to the Kurdish question lies first with a military defeat of the PKK and any cultural reform cannot be allowed during the terrorist attacks. As the military activism theory argues, they argued that the political and cultural concessions would only prolong the existing problems while a military triumph would decisively end the problem. This thought did not take into consideration that their certain triumph in 1939 did not end the Kurdish question. And concerned with Israel's deterrence power, the Israeli military still believes that the Palestinians understand only military force and any conciliation may be a threat to the Israeli state. Yet, the use of force mainly strengthens the radical movements on the Palestinian side, which makes the two-state solution impossible today.

While military activism theory fares better in explaining military influence in

ethnic policies than military conservatism, one of the main findings in this study is that the explanatory power of military activism theory and the categorical distinction it makes between the soldiers and civilians is dependent on the form of military influence within a state. This finding is important in terms of the socialization effect and the ideological transformation of officers. I found that the categorical distinction between officers and civilians is more apparent in the case of military control in which there is minimal interaction between the soldiers and civilians. Traditionally, Turkish soldiers disdained of party politics and regarded civilian politicians as self-interested individuals. Although there were a significant number of soldier-politicians in the early years, the main priority in this period was to shape norms and institutions in accordance with Kemalist ideology. Former Ottoman soldiers became politicians not because they loved party politics but because they wanted to form a modern, secular and homogenous state. Indeed, after the founding fathers died, military officers rarely followed a political career after retirement. Their disdain for party politics leads them to control the politicians through a governmental and constitutional framework with which the soldiers have minimal participation, only with soldier-politician presidents. They limited their contact to the political echelon while assuming the responsibility for the Kurdish issue and secularism.

This minimal interaction between the military and civilian echelons created different socialization processes within the institutions. In the military schools and barracks, officers socialize with each other through Kemalist ideology which provided for their rejection of political and cultural concessions and their preference for military measures as ethnic policies. The socialization in the military was closed to different

political ideologies and different views on the Kurdish issue. In the civilian arena, on the other hand, different political preferences emerged because the military control was mainly about the policy preferences of the ruling party and military officers gave less attention to the presence of alternative ideologies among the politicians. While some of these political ideologies, for example the NAP's, were more militarist than the military's preferences, there were also political views that supported conciliation and dialogue with the Kurds. The presence of alternative ideologies in the civilian echelon, but a single ideology within the military, provided an observable categorical distinction between the two in terms of policy preferences towards Kurds.

The categorical distinction is hard to make in the cases of military participation and military rule. As mentioned, in Israel doves and hawks have been present in both the civilian and military echelons, especially in the post-1967 period. The excessive interaction between the civilians and officers was an important factor in this situation. Given that the state is located in a hostile environment, security has always been of the utmost concern, and the military officers had a significant role in national security decision-making. In addition, almost the entire society has been prepared for a war situation by being in the reserve army and there has been a constant and excessive interaction not only between the military officers and politicians in Israel but the military and the society as well. Moreover, unlike Turkish military officers, Israeli generals have always been interested in party politics. With the practices of early retirement and soldiers' parachuting into politics since the early years, Israeli military officers served as president, prime minister, minister, ambassador, and Knesset members following their

military career. These characteristics of Israeli political life provided a high degree of socialization between the civilian and military echelons.

It is important to note that this socialization took place under the civilian domain as civilian control of the military was provided for in the state-building process. In fact, there were some civil-military relations crises, the most significant of which was the one before the Six Day War when Prime Minister Levi Eshkol was afraid that the generals would lock him in a room and start the war without him (Tyler 2009, 71), and Israeli officers occasionally tried to influence political processes through their actions in the military operations. Nevertheless, principally the military officers obeyed civilian orders even when these orders contradicted with their preferences. With civilian control of the military and the lack of an institutional ideology, similar to Kemalism in the Turkish military, the Israeli military officers were ideologically influenced by what was going on in civilian politics rather than influencing the civilian politicians' ideology as the Turkish military did. During the state-building process, the military officers were more homogenous in terms of their militarist preferences; nevertheless, the civilians were also homogenously militarist, at least at the public level, as the moderate politicians generally raised their concerns in the state institutions, not in the press or public speeches. Polarization in Israeli politics has started in the post-1967 period as two opposite ideologies on how to reach peace with the Arabs were born. Being influenced by civilian politics, Israeli officers were also ideologically divided and they followed either the land-for-peace formula or the no-concession approach. Therefore, socialization between the civilian politicians and military officers provided parallel changes in the civilian and

military echelons which made a categorical distinction difficult in the Israeli case. Although this process made some civilian politicians and part of the society more security-oriented and hawkish, it also provided for the transformation of the military mindset and moderated some soldier-politicians such as Yitzhak Rabin, Ezer Weizman and even Ariel Sharon.

Categorical distinction is also somewhat difficult to observe in the military rule which allows for a significant degree of socialization between the military officers and civilian politicians but under the military domain. This is the case in Pakistani politics which in some senses is a conglomeration of Turkish and Israeli politics. Similar to Turkish military officers and also being influenced by them, Pakistani generals traditionally disdained party politics and distrusted the civilian politicians. However, this did not prevent their interest in becoming a politician as military generals did not limit themselves to controlling politics and ruled the country almost half of Pakistan's lifetime. The disdain for party politics and interest in ruling the country, as well as the concern to legitimize the military regimes, brought a model of governance in which the military generals headed the state with minimum military presence in the civilian posts and by cooperating with the civilian bureaucracy and politicians who did not oppose the military rule. Consequently, with some differences, all military rulers civilianized their regimes during their rule and it provided a hierarchical socialization between the civilian and military echelons under the military domain.

This kind of socialization brings no change in the military officers' ideology and preferences but leads to the militarization of some civilian politicians as well as

militarizing politics in general. In the Pakistani case, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto is a perfect example of the militarization of civilian politicians. Bhutto entered politics under Ayub Khan's government and his policies against both Bengalis and Balochs were as militarist as Yahya Khan's policies against the Bengalis in 1971. Similarly, in the 1980s and 1990s, both Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif were hardliners against their ethnic opponents as successive military regimes had militarized the political arena and made dialogue an ineffective way to solve political problems. During the Musharraf regime, his civilian allies were not critical of the militarist policies while Baloch groups were gradually militarized and overwhelmed their pro-negotiation ethnic kin. All in all, socialization under the military regime militarized the politicians and politics in Pakistan, which, to some extent, blurred the categorical distinction between civilian and military echelons.

Finally, I found in this study that history matters. In all three cases historical institutionalism provided a good explanation for the persistence of institutional relations and security norms. As a critical juncture, the developments in the state-building period are critical in the form of military influence in the following decades. Military control in Turkey started during the first fifteen years when the military was given the role of protecting the state identity. Although there were a significant number of soldier-politicians in this period, unlike Israel, the form of military influence was not military participation because the main priority of the soldier-politicians and the military was to organize the political structure and shape the state identity. After the founding fathers died, Turkish military officers did not participate in politics and used a governmental and constitutional framework to control politics. Although there were some civilian

politicians, such as Adnan Menderes and Turgut Ozal, who wanted to bring civilian control of politics, it was difficult to change the institutional relationship set during the state-building period. Although military influence on Turkish politics diminished in 2007, it is too early to talk about the definitive end of the military control as any political, economic or social crisis may reignite the calls for military interference in Turkish politics.

The origins of military participation in Israeli politics are also rooted in the institutional relations organized during the state-building process. Although there were several Jewish paramilitary groups in the pre-independence period, Ben-Gurion organized civil-military relations within the six months after the formation of the state and established rules for civilian control of politics. In these years, military officers also assumed some political tasks which increased their political experience even during their active military career. The tradition of soldiers' parachuting into politics after retirement started in this period, and, even if they weren't in top government posts, soldier-politicians did serve as ministers and Knesset members. While Israeli politics passed through several political and military crises which may have affected this military influence on politics for better or worse, civilian control of the military and military participation in politics persisted in the following decades. During the intifadas, several prime ministers, defense ministers, party leaders, and presidents were politicians with a military background while the military as an institution played a significant role in the political decision-making. What is critical is that in spite of the presence of contradicting preferences, the civilians were able to have the last word in political decisions.

A comparison between Israel and Pakistan is striking in order to understand the role of the state-building process in determining civilian control of the military in the future. Historical institutionalism aims to show how small differences in the critical junctures lead to different paths for countries in similar conditions. In several ways the conditions in the Israeli and Pakistani state-building processes were similar. Both countries were formerly ruled by the British government and gained independence in post-war conditions. As soon as they were formed, they faced external enemies; Arab states in the Israeli case and India for Pakistan. In the early years, armies in both countries also played a significant role in helping their respective governments to deal with social, economic and political challenges. Yet, all these similarities notwithstanding, they went down different paths in terms of military influence on politics. Israeli politicians succeeded in controlling the military while the Pakistani state suffered under successive military coups. An important cause for this difference is that Israeli founding fathers established the rules for civil-military relations under strong political party and civilian leadership while in Pakistan the founding father, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, died a year after the proclamation of independence without leaving a constitution, a strong successor, or an integrative political party.

Consequently, although following the partition of British India, the Pakistani military was weak, under-equipped and under-manned; it turned into a strong political institution in less than a decade after independence. As soon as 1954, the military officers started controlling the political decision-making, and four years later General Ayub Khan came to power. Ayub Khan re-formed the governmental and constitutional framework in

accordance with his and the military's preferences and successfully repressed the civilian opposition to military rule. Civilians were integrated into the state governance as long as they cooperated with the military regime. When his rule did not prevent political and economic instability, Ayub Khan turned the power to another general, Yahya Khan, instead of providing for a civilian transition. The military's further resistance to giving power to a civilian regime following the 1970 national elections resulted in a civil war and separation of Bengalis from the Pakistani state. In spite of this military defeat, however, it was difficult to reverse the military influence on Pakistani politics. During his seven-year rule, Bhutto could not establish strong civilian institutions and was overthrown by the military in 1977. In the following decades, the military regimes of Zia-ul Haq and Pervez Musharraf simply reiterated the old practices. They refrained from giving power to civilians, cooperated only with those civilians who did not oppose the military regime, repressed civilian opposition, re-formed the governmental and constitutional framework by excluding political parties and popular party leaders, and prioritized the military preferences over societal grievances. Although there is no military regime in Pakistan today, civilians function under the shadow of the military and the possibility of a military takeover remains high in Pakistani politics.

In addition to military influence, history also matters in terms of ethnic policies. The evidence in this study shows that ethnic policies adopted in the state-building process have a long-lasting effect and followed in later decades, although these policies often fail to bring an effective solution to the ethnic problems. In Turkey, some of the dominant ethnic policies in the early years were the rejection of Kurdish identity, assimilation,

population movement, use of force, resistance against negotiation with the ethnic groups and closure of political parties which could voice the ethnic grievances. Although the government effectively repressed the Kurdish rebellions in 1939, these policies did not bring a long-lasting solution to the Kurdish question. Nevertheless, the very same policies were adopted in the following decades. Kurdish identity was rejected until the 1990s and unwillingly recognized when the PKK violence and the Iraq War brought it into the spotlight; yet, the governments under military control opposed Kurdish education and broadcasting until recent years. Assimilation and population movements also continued even before the PKK violence started in 1984. During the PKK violence, the military's preference was to militarily crush the PKK and then proceed with social and economic development in the Kurdish region. They disdained the civilians who proposed cultural and political steps to solve the Kurdish issue. All in all, the military officers wanted to deal with the PKK problem as the founding fathers had eliminated the Kurdish rebellions in early years, despite the fact that these methods did not actually solve the problem.

The ethnic policies in the Israeli state-building process were also determinative for the strategies that would be followed in the intifada. In the early years, Ben-Gurion and military officers followed an iron-fist policy against the Arab states because they believed that Arab states would come to a peace agreement with Israel once they saw that they cannot militarily crush them. They knew that territorial expansion could not provide for Israeli security because in the Middle East the Israeli state was a drop in the ocean in terms of territorial size and population. Nevertheless, they tried to conquer new lands in order to draw the Arabs, who would like to regain the lands they lost in war, to the peace

negotiations. This complex strategy gave birth to two opposing ideologies in the post-1967 period. While the Israeli left followed the land-for-peace formula and preferred negotiation with the enemy, the Israeli right emphasized the security dimension of Ben-Gurion's ideology and argued that the Arabs/Palestinians only understand the use of force and that Israel is in a disadvantaged position in terms of territorial size and population. Although both of these ideologies are in contradiction on how to reach peace and security, there are coming from the same source, the early ideological position of the founding fathers. It is also important to note that the Israeli military's obsession with deterrence during the intifadas dates back to the state-building process as several military actions, especially the Six Day War, were not based on genuine security threats but on the Israeli army's ambition to protect Israel's deterrence power.

The similarity of Pakistan's ethnic policies in the Bengali and Balochistan conflicts also proves that ethnic policies are persistent throughout time despite the costs of these policies. Both Bengalis and Balochs had very similar grievances. Both groups were excluded from political participation; they suffered under economic disparity; the natural resources of their respective regions were exploited by the central government and the army, and; they had low representation in the army and bureaucracy. These issues were especially striking in the state-building process because although Bengalis formed the majority of the population, they had little say in the political decision-making. Despite Bengali grievances, both Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan failed to answer Bengali demands for political representation, economic equality and autonomy in East Pakistan. They were inclined to link Bengali political parties with India and when the AL won the

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national elections, Yahya Khan chose to suppress the Bengalis through military force. Although this policy ended with Bengali independence, military leaders did not take a lesson from the past. When Balochs rebelled with similar demands in 2000, Musharraf also linked the rebels with foreign powers and adopted torture, arbitrary arrests, political killings, and military operations instead of relieving Baloch grievances. If the Balochs had had the same geographical advantages and human force as the Bengalis, it is likely that Pakistan would have suffered a second separation.

All these findings have important political and theoretical implications. Theoretically, the findings urge scholars of ethnic conflict to give serious attention to institutional variables when analyzing the causes of ethnic conflicts and their possible solutions. As these cases show, the variables analyzed by rational choice theories – economic factors, security fears, commitment problem, etc. – and social-psychological theories – national myths and symbols, inter-group comparison, group psychology, etc. – play a significant role in explaining the causes of ethnic conflicts. Nevertheless, in the background we saw how military influence on politics and the lack of civilian control of the military deteriorated ethnic problems and even in some cases transformed them. For example, while the Bengali and Baloch issues in Pakistan started mainly with economic and social grievances, they rapidly turned into nationalist struggles when the policies of the military regimes led to the creation of national myths, symbols, and martyrs within these groups. Similarly, the Turkish military's rejection of a Kurdish identity in peace times and the Israeli army's use of excessive force to prove its deterrence power in the state-building period added new problems in interethnic relations rather than solving

them. Although institutional variables alone cannot explain the ethnic conflicts, they significantly contribute to the existing literature.

Related to this, this study also contributes to democratization theories by emphasizing the relations between peace and democratic regimes. The evidence in this study shows that under military and military-controlled regimes, ethnic groups have less opportunity to voice their grievances in peaceful terms. Bengalis could not rule Pakistan even though the AL won the national elections and the Kurdish parties in Turkey were closed by the Turkish judiciary, which was sympathetic to the military's preferences. Even in militarist regimes, we see some problems as Israel is often criticized for applying democratic norms to Jewish citizens but not the Israeli Arabs and definitely not to the Palestinians in the territories. Undoubtedly, the presence of civilian control of the military does not guarantee peaceful relations and dialogue between the ethnic groups and the governments. However, because the militaries are hierarchical institutions in which order is more important than equality and they are not accountable to the people, the risk of ethnic conflict is greater in the military and military-controlled regimes than democratic regimes.

In addition to institutions, this study also calls attention to the ideologies and their formation. In this sense, I have followed a constructivist argument by focusing on the socialization between agents and tried to find out how the presence and lack of interaction between state institutions affect ethnic policies. As the findings show, when a military closes itself to political ideas, as the Turkish and Pakistani army does, the soldiers are socialized within a single ideological mindset which can be detrimental to

interethnic relations. Although the Turkish military socialized with the society through national security courses in high schools and mandatory conscription and the Pakistani army did with the civilian politicians, this socialization process was hierarchical and one-way, from the military to the society/politicians. In Israel, on the other hand we saw mutual interactions among the military, politicians and the society. As argued, although this socialization process played a significant role in the militarization of Israeli politics and society, it transformed the military mindset of some officers. Consequently, I argue that ideas and preferences change as a result of interaction between political agents which is an important point for the literature because this issue is not really discussed by military activism and conservatism theories.

Finally, in accordance with the historical institutionalism, this study calls on scholars to give more attention to some time periods over others. Time periods are not equal in terms of their effects on political developments. A study focusing on recent developments should also analyze the critical junctures within a state's history to provide a successful analysis. In this study, I focused on state-building processes as critical junctures and the evidence shows that these periods are critical on the formation of institutional relations and ethnic policies. It is often difficult to move out of the political and institutional limits established in the state-building process. Nevertheless, this is not a study arguing for historical determinism. While change is difficult, it is not impossible as several political events such as wars, financial or political crises, or military coups may lead to a new critical juncture to transform the institutional relations. Even though the political developments in the critical junctures may not be completely related to the

ethnic problems, they may still play an important role in determining the norms, ideas and rules in the decision-making structure; therefore, critical junctures, even those which have a potential to be, also should be given attention.

The political implications of this study should also be pointed out before concluding. Starting with the last theoretical implication above, political actors, both domestic and international, should be insistent in providing for civilian control of the military during critical junctures. This is especially important for newly-founded states. Domestic political actors must establish strong democratic norms and civilian control of the military while international actors should push the states to make reforms in early years. It is true that in newly-founded states the armed forces may play a significant role in the political, economic and social development of a country. This is not a problem as long as the military functions under strong democratic norms. The earlier the democratic norms are adopted, the better the chances to provide for civilian control of the military and prevent the militarization of ethnic problems as the ethnic groups can voice their concerns through democratic and peaceful means.

Politicians also should not miss the chance to democratize their states during or after critical events, not just during the state-building process. As we saw, in Pakistan it was mainly Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's authoritarian tendencies that led to the reemergence of military rule in the 1970s. If Bhutto had prioritized the establishment of democratic norms and strong civilian institutions after the 1971 War had significantly damaged the military's political influence, it would have been more difficult for the military officers to reclaim power in 1977. The same can be argued for Turkey. Although after 2008 military

influence in Turkish politics significantly diminished, after this date the Erdogan government stopped pursing EU reforms while the opposition blamed him for following authoritarian tendencies especially after the use of excessive police force during the Gezi Park protests in 2013 and Erdogan made it clear that he wanted to bring presidential system in Turkey. As the political opposition against him grew, Erdogan started taking more conciliatory steps towards the military which made some authors comment about the "return of the generals" to Turkish politics (Marcus and Karaveli 2014). All in all, politicians' behavior during and after critical events is important for the military influence on politics and politicians should democratize state governance when they have a chance and the power to do it.

In parallel with these political steps, military officers should internalize the understanding that the elected representatives of society are responsible for making the decisions on national security. This rule can be provided by the governmental and constitutional framework, but for countries which have experienced military regimes or military coups, the important thing is the officers' sincere belief in democratic norms and civilians' hegemony in political decision-making. Although civilian control of the military may not guarantee interethnic peace, it may prevent further militarization of an ethnic conflict. It may be also beneficial if the military focuses on external threats while leaving the domestic ethnic policies to the civilian politicians. As we saw in the Israeli case, one of the main reasons for the military officers' conservatism in the first intifada was the soldiers' focusing on the external threats from Iran and Iraq. Finally, the armed forces should refrain from ideological indoctrination and focus on the military profession.

Military education should not have political characteristics, while socialization with the other professions should be increased. If there is a general interest in politics among the officers, the Israeli model provides a good example of the conditions under which the militarization of politics and society is controlled.

It is important to note that I had no intention of arguing that military influence on politics is the main reason for the ethnic conflicts in Turkey, Israel and Pakistan. Neither have I argued that the militaries alone are responsible for the ethnic problems. This study intentionally focuses on state policies while ignoring the part ethnic groups played in the ethnic conflicts. This is a limited study focusing on a limited number of cases and undoubtedly the questions it created are more than the answers it provided. Yet, this is the main objective. I adapted military activism and conservatism theories to ethnic conflict cases because it was not attempted before, although these theories are used to explain the initiation of international conflicts. The intention was to form a bridge between the civil-military relations and ethnic conflict literatures. Future studies may use the arguments of this study to clarify the theoretical framework and may bring more robust explanations about the military influence on ethnic conflicts. I believe several third-world countries that simultaneously suffer from military coups and ethnic conflicts provide a good opportunity for scholars to further the work begun here.

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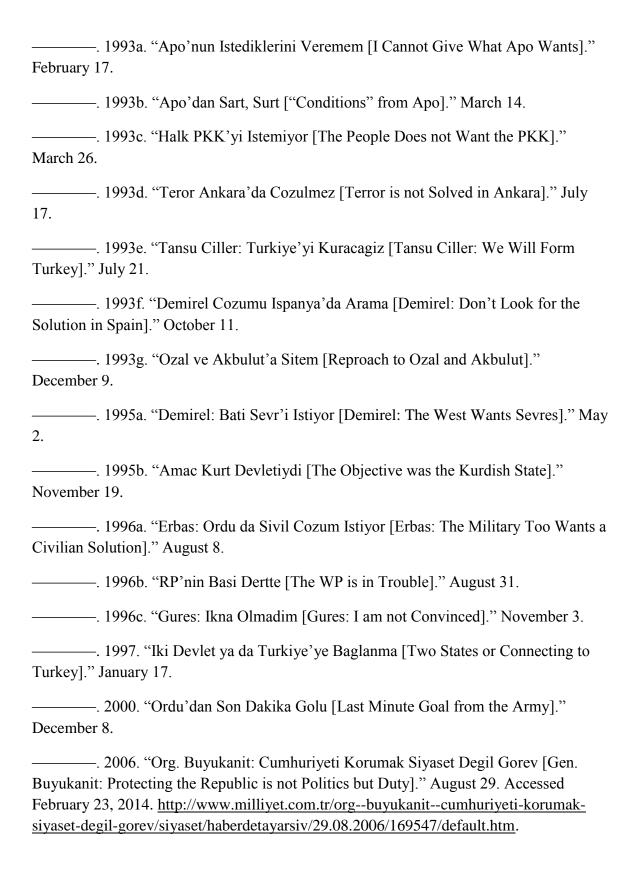
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