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Hybrid Threats

and **Strategic Foresight**
In The Age of Uncertainty

The 97th Anniversary of
the Foundation of

The **National**
Intelligence
Organization



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HYBRID THREATS AND STRATEGIC FORESIGHT IN THE AGE OF UNCERTAINTY

We live in an age of great uncertainty.

Hegemonic power struggle, global injustice, deepening crises, hybrid and asymmetrical threats, as well as the opportunities and risks brought by new technologies, have led to an environment of deep uncertainty and insecurity. The prospects for the future is wavering between that of a utopia and a dystopia. Rules and principles which are presumed to constitute the basis for the international system are violated, worn down and rendered useless by the actors of the current system.

While we are enduring the pains of transitioning to a multipolar world order, the instability and insecurity caused by this transition is bringing in its wake new hybrid threats and wars of attrition. Current international system does not remove, but indeed deepens this uncertainty and instability.

Hegemonic powers are damaging the reliability of the international order by violating the rules they set themselves. Constant violations of the systematic process of the supposedly rule-based global system undermine the concept of "terra firma," which is imperative for justice and order. The very glue holding the people and societies together is dissolving. We have reached the point where we cannot speak of, even from an ideological standpoint, "perpetual peace" theory of Kant that he put forward in reference to the liberal international order. Conflicts and wars in the regions where Islam, which literally means peace, is the predominant religion point to a widening in the gap between the ideals and the reality. While the ground beneath our feet becomes slippery, the heavens above our head also loses its light.

We cannot build a free, secure and prosperous habitat for all without a firm, reliable and predictable ground.

We, as the National Intelligence Organization, act with a strategic foresight, taking into consideration the risks and opportunities brought by

this period of transition. We aim to establish an intelligence and security perspective a multipolar world requires. We believe that a powerful and resilient Türkiye with a strategic foresight is indispensable for regional and global peace in this age (marked by) of uncertainty, fragility, hybrid threats and asymmetrical wars.

We are putting into practice multivectoral and multidimensional ways of thinking and practices on counter terrorism, preventing the espionage activities against our country, risk management in conflict zones, strategic intelligence, fight against organized crime, protecting our cyber homeland and intelligence diplomacy issues.

In our fight against terrorist organizations targeting our national unity and survival, such as PKK/YPG, FETO, DAESH and DHKP/C, we are trying not to allow any breathing room to any type of terror by using the means and capabilities we have, with a strategic mindset. We act keeping in mind the perspective of a terror-free region, and we aim to build a regional order of peace and stability beyond our borders.

We act with strategic integrity by combining traditional and modern methods in order to protect and make our homeland resilient on land, in the air, at sea, in space and cyberspace.

Current Situation

New global order based on a monopolar world vision led by the US following the Cold War has been driving chaos rather than order, and egocentric and one-sided power politics rather than globalism and fair access. We are faced with a global order that is inconsistent within itself, where the strong determine the rules, and is plagued with arbitrariness. The countries which were loud in citing international law regarding the Ukraine war falling silent when it comes to the attacks of Israel against Gaza, constitute one of the latest examples of this grave situation. Concepts of democracy, rule of law, human rights and freedom of speech are instrumentalized by those holding the power and used in order to put pressure on their opponents. One-sided

and hypocritical policies of the countries which are democrats to their own citizens, but autocrats when it comes to others, call into question the global meaning and value of democracy and participation concepts.

It is rumored that in response to inquiries concerning his thoughts on the Holy Roman Empire, Voltaire said; 'It was neither Holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire!' Similarly, the new global order imposed after the Cold War was neither new, nor global, nor an order. It was not new because it was a continuation of the struggle between conventional powers. It was not global because it was based on a Western-centric paradigm. It was not an order because it was designed to protect the interests of the victors of the Cold War, rather than serving as an order based on rules and principles.

During the thirty-year period after the Cold War, crises ranging from two Gulf Wars to genocides in Bosnia and Rwanda, from 9/11 to invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq, from Covid-19 Pandemic to Russia-Ukraine War, and finally, to the Palestine issue, have proven time and again how unjust, unfair and fragile the global system is.

Current landscape also confirms this; there is no order preventing crises and ensuring stability. There is only a network of connections content with their feeble efforts at managing problems, but also failing to achieve that. Unless the international system can solve the problems, non-governmental actors, proxy forces, paramilitary groups, weak state and government structures will only serve to make the crises even more urgent.

In the next few decades, uncertainty and distrust will deepen and lay the groundwork for new conflicts. Even though alliances and joint initiatives are important, each actor has to build its own potential and capabilities in order to do crisis management and resolve the problems. It goes without saying that there is no alternate route but this for protecting the rights and interests of our country.

Article 2 of the United Nations (UN) Charter states that the UN 'is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members'. Today, this principle

is constantly violated by stating that power (comes) before ethics, interest comes (before) the law. Interpretation of realpolitik by the global politics proves this finding; those with power only pay any regard to the rules as it suits their interests. Currently, the alliance of the powerful spearheaded/led by the Western civilization is acting selfishly driven by self-interest while using the international rules and principles to put pressure on their opponents and adversaries. This undermines the concepts of democracy and human rights, as well as making the true meaning of basic human values questionable.

Realpolitik and Its Limitations

Policy of the hegemonic powers to impose their own interests as universal values breeds suspicion, resistance and destructive competition, not friendship and solidarity. Tactical gains turn into strategic defeat over time. Defining what constitutes success for the international system as meeting the expectations of the powerful causes deep fractions within the system.

Undoubtedly, each country seeks to further their own rights and interests and makes policies accordingly. This, in itself, is not something wrong. However, it is more probable and plausible for everyone to feel safe in a system where rights of all are protected. Protecting my rights does not mean dismissing the rights of others. When the principles of justice and rights are discarded, a toxic and skeptical atmosphere jeopardizing everyone's rights becomes inevitable. The underlying issue in the conflict between Western and non-Western societies is this basic problem. Without a just and inclusive resolution, it will be inevitable for this conflict to turn into hybrid wars.

Engaging in realpolitik does not mean adopting an unethical policy devoid of any values. Understanding reality does not mean turning a blind eye to what is evil and wrong. Ignoring the reality will only steer us into a head-in-the-clouds idealism. By contrast, realism devoid of moral values will dehumanize us. Absolute realism does not justify a policy devoid of any principle, rule, morality and values. Solidarity, consent and participation are a part of the international order as much as the concepts of security and order.

The principle formulated by Al-Ghazali a thousand years ago is still valid today; everything that exceeds its limits, turns into its opposite. Every power, actor and policy that violates the rights of others by exceeding its natural boundaries prepares its own end.

In a world where the power and the powerful bends all the rules and institutions to their own advantage, it is not possible for justice, equity, equality, peace and tranquility to bloom. In an interconnected world, none of us is secure unless everyone is secure. We cannot guarantee the rights of anyone without protecting the rights of everyone. We cannot protect our interests without considering the security and stability of all.

Türkiye has been emphasizing this fact for years in its fight against terrorism and does not differentiate between its own security and security of its allies. The same principle applies to all emerging hybrid threats such as; far-right, fascist, anti-immigrant and anti-minority movements and cyber-attacks; in a world where risks spread with a butterfly effect, it is not possible for any actor to build a safe and peaceful habitat by solely focusing on their own security.

Closing the gap between realpolitik and moral values is a principal and political necessity. If my security is dependent on the security of the others, then I must choose a system in which everyone feels safe. I support the fight against DAESH for my own country, and for the friendly nations and allies. That being said, it is only natural for me to expect that friendly nations and allies stand by me in my fight against terrorist organizations such as PKK/YPG, FETO, DAESH, etc. It is neither realistic nor ethical for those not standing by my side today in the face of the terrorist threat against me to expect me to stand by them in the face of a threat that may come their way tomorrow.

The gap between the ideals and reality does not necessarily have to become a chasm. This gap, which is a fact of life, should push us more towards our ideals and keep us steady and sharp, not sink us into despair. The act of accepting reality as fact should be for the purpose of transforming it on

the basis of what is good, fair and right. This is not an impossible objective. If one can build a balanced relationship between realpolitik and moral values, it would be possible to decrease the disputes, conflicts, threats and risks prevalent in the world and make them manageable.

On the topic of ideals and the reality, I think it is worth stressing this point; it would be a mistake to compare my ideals to the reality of others. Similarly, it would not be fair to me to compare the ideals of others to my reality. This widely prevalent approach in making comparisons between Western societies and the Islamic World often propels us to commit a categorical error. Comparing Western ideals to the reality of the Islamic World would mean making a deficient and faulty interpretation of the big picture and reaching the false conclusions.

What needs to be done is to compare ideals to ideals, and reality to reality and draw the due conclusions. We all need to be vigilant against this categorical error Western countries commit in judging other societies.

Current system of international relations is nowhere near promoting justice and stability, making the pursuits for a new balance of power inevitable. Eurocentrism is losing ground in many mediums including culture, politics, education, media, science and aesthetics while US-centric and monolithic ways of thinking and practices are questioned in a more detailed manner.

Is Multipolarism Possible?

World order is evolving from a monopolar structure led by US to a multipolar structure. China and Russia are trying to play a more active role against the Western alliance.

Regarding this transition process, I would like to draw attention to something; political and geographical multipolarism is gradually becoming more prominent in global politics. However, the economic, technological and institutional infrastructure required for this new reality is lagging behind.

Structures that will build and maintain new centers of power against monopolar order led by US are not yet mature enough. This results in an emergence of a multifactorial and fragmented structure. The closing gap between these two structures will inevitably lead to new power struggles in the decades to come.

As the Western paradigm is called into question, the issue of what will be its replacement constitute one of the basic problems of our age. At this point, it is not possible to predict whether Russia, China, India or another center of power will be an alternative model. There is also great uncertainty about what kind of a future other regional and global actors will build. Economic and military might by itself is not enough to offer a new model/alternative.

Alternative to the Western-centric vision is not, and should not be another form of ethnocentrism. We need to think harder on how and in what way the multipolar world order will be built.

It is important to remember; getting over Eurocentrism does not mean discarding Europe altogether, just as getting over US-centric paradigm does not mean discarding the US. Europe and the US will remain dominant actors within their axis, even within a world order built after Western-centrism. However, emergence of a new power and security architecture will force the global politics into a multipolar structure and set new dynamics in motion.

I would like to emphasize that this process will not be an easy one. Current power groups will fight intensely not to lose their privileges, and will not hesitate to go to new wars to do that. Global order, which is already in a fragile and dysfunctional state, will become even more fragile and dangerous. From now on, every political, military, economic, technological and regional crisis will be abrasive and debilitating to the foundation of the global system, activating the chaotic centers of power and increasing multidimensional hybrid threats.

In an age of global uncertainty and hybrid threats, wars of attrition and proxy wars will continue to replace conventional conflicts. Prolonged wars

of attrition will be brought into play in order to slow down, hold back and wear out an adversary power or a rival on the rise, and this process will be solidified using various methods. The ongoing war of attrition between the Western powers and Russia serves as a tangible example in this regard. In the campaign against China, a formidable rival for some, and a clear opponent and an enemy for others, different tactics of this war of attrition will also be applied.

Proxy wars will continue to be prevalent, as well. The easiest way to wear down and divert the attention of potential rivals is to start a proxy war. Wherever there is a proxy war, there is also another power struggle. The objective is the same here; to wear down, weaken and neutralize the actors considered to be adversaries via prolonged wars of attrition spread over a wide region.

Hegemonic powers either directly intervene in countries that they perceive to pose a threat to them, or strive to wear them down and contain/limit their influence by keeping them busy with proxy wars. Regional and global crises, ranging from the Ukraine War to the Palestinian issue, from the current situation in Iraq and Syria to tensions in Taiwan, from the war in Yemen to Libya, are not insoluble. But it is preferred to leave them unsolved, prolong and deepen them for other regional and global calculations.

We are still miles away from an inclusive and fair global balance of power in which everyone feels safe. Power struggles, new crises and asymmetrical elements of power that are coming our way in the next few decades will determine the nature and the course of this process and will usher in a maybe better, maybe worse world order. We have to consider every possibility in order to prepare ourselves for the future.

We have to think in a multifaceted, multidimensional and multilayered way in order to be able to predict the source of the next big threat and attack. It is clear that traditional and conventional models of security and diplomacy have proved inefficient in this era marked by hybrid threats and attacks.

Hybrid threats require hybrid solutions. In a period in which traditional and modern methods are used together, transitions are frequent, and adaptations and responses are faster, intelligence agencies will play more critical roles and develop new methods of struggle. As the National Intelligence Organization, we are constantly developing new capabilities to get prepared for a period of global uncertainty and hybrid threats.

From now on, all efforts for a global order, regardless of their direction and depth, will have transformative effects on current alliances and cooperation models, and influential and principled actors who do not hesitate to undertake responsibilities will have a determining role in this process.

Here, I would like to underline a point: Türkiye, as an independent and sovereign country, is a powerful member of NATO. She is one of the most important allies that keep the Alliance alive and make it an influential power. Our country actively takes place in all decision-making processes of NATO and makes strong and efficient contributions to the missions of the alliance in different parts of the world.

However, Türkiye does not consider her commitment to the NATO alliance as an obstacle in the way to other regional and global initiatives. The main reason lying beneath the allegations describing Türkiye as an “unreliable ally” is the decisive action taken by Türkiye as a sovereign and independent country to defend her own rights and interests.

Moreover, in her struggle against terrorist organizations like PKK/YPG, FETO, and DHKP/C, Türkiye cannot get the support she deserves and expects from NATO allies, a fact that might cause crises among the allies.

Türkiye also considers her full membership to EU from that perspective. The perspective of full membership based on mutual interests and respect will consolidate regional security, peace and prosperity. All approaches ignoring, delaying and weakening Türkiye’s full membership perspective are nothing but a strategic blindness. Türkiye’s exclusion from EU would be a strategic loss for Europe.

Deepening Crisis

The crises of the last four years show that global splits have increasingly become deeper and further disruptive. The Covid-19 crisis, the war in Ukraine, and the Palestinian-Israeli issue, which have taken place one after the other, stand in front of us as the crises that have shaken the system to its foundations. Every unsolved and delayed problem is doomed to come back even as a bigger crisis. The problem of biological insecurity that emerged with Covid-19 has caused a global awareness but seems to have been forgotten soon. It is not unlikely that similar pandemics will emerge in the years ahead. There are doubts as to what extent the world is prepared for a new widespread pandemic. We, as the Organization, are closely following all the developments and contributing to the development of preemptive measures against potential threats in that regard.

The main problem lying behind the Ukrainian war, which started in February 2022, is the geopolitical power struggle between Russia and the Western world, and it will not be possible to overcome this crisis unless a just and comprehensive global security architecture is built. The primary reason for the failure of the peace initiatives, where Türkiye took the lead and an agreement was so close, is the reluctance of the sides, struggling for geopolitical power, for peace right now. The wholehearted struggle waged by the Ukrainian people to defend their country deserves highest appreciation. Their amazing devotion and bravery are the most tangible expression of their commitment to their independence. The problem will be solved only on the basis of the territorial integrity, sovereignty, and independence of Ukraine. Nevertheless, it is impossible to ignore the global power struggle taking place in the background.

The issue of Palestine is another area where the existing global system has failed. It is impossible to establish peace, security and stability in the Middle East before the fundamental expectations of the Palestinian people, who have been living under the policies of occupation, intimidation, banishment, aggression, and persecution for decades, are fulfilled. The

deferral of the Palestinian issue will render the global fragility even more dangerous. The implementation of a two-state solution is the only way to prevent new conflicts and crises.

Yet, peace is not possible without justice. The word justice means to put everything in place and make everyone have what he/she deserves. Only a just solution can bring peace to the Palestinian territories, the Middle East and the world in general. As a matter of fact, peace not based on justice cannot be permanent and continuous. We cannot talk of a just and lasting peace unless the Palestinian people gain independence, sovereignty, welfare and security.

We believe that two-state solution is the only option that will bring permanent peace and stability for Israel as well. For this reason, we intensify our multi-directional initiatives with an aim of cessation of attacks, permanent truce, delivering of humanitarian aids, exchange of prisoners, two-state solution and enabling Palestinian national accord.

As the course of history runs faster, regional and global crises have accelerated, repeated more frequently, and has more destructive effects. It will not be surprising that crises in this character, will deepen and turn to clashes in the upcoming decades. Again, US-China rivalry in that regard, may unsurprisingly turn into an Asia-based and global conflict and polarization. The dispute between Russia and the West, which has continued through Ukraine currently, does not remove the fatal dispute between China and Russia, but only postpones it. If precautions are not taken timely, costs of this dispute on the system of global politics and economics will be high.

Artificial Intelligence: Atomic Bomb of the Digital Era

Additionally, we are in the face of a new risk space: Artificial Intelligence. Artificial intelligence, which brings vast opportunities together with severe threats, is the digital atomic bomb of our era. The advanced technology, which eases our lives when used for peaceful and humane purposes, is also vulnerable to any kind of manipulation in nature. The studies of artificial

intelligence, whose boundaries and framework have not been determined, directly threaten the future of humanity.

The virtual world, where reason is replaced by algorithms, virtue is replaced by pleasure, and emotions are replaced by prompts, is not virtual anymore and has turned into a threat against our physical existence. It will not be easy for humans beings to protect their mind, heart, emotions, generations and physical future in an era, in which human is mechanized, and mechanics are tried to be humanized through artificial intelligence. Measures, far beyond security methods, are needed to be taken to protect primary characteristics of human beings in an era, where people are defined as a phenomenon, user, consumer, avatar, algorithm, statistics... etc.

Artificial intelligence and related technologies, have brought to light another problem of our era: the right to access accurate and authentic information. It is becoming more and more difficult to access accurate and reliable information in an era of real-time communication whereby information is highly manipulated. As far as the alleged sources of information, such as online accounts, websites, social media etc., are concerned, the questions on their level of reliability, authenticity, the extent and ways of manipulation, what is censored and highlighted point to a crisis far beyond the issue of copyrights. Reaching accurate and reliable information is the main problem of the information age. National and international regulations have to be established in the field of artificial intelligence, just like weapons of mass destruction as well as biological and chemical weapons.

Protection of cyber-homeland against artificial intelligence, virtual reality, augmented reality, deepfake and other outstanding developments is as vital as protecting our physical borders. Our Organization, effectively fighting against cyber-attacks targeting our country, maintains efforts to keep all of our institutions and organizations safe and resistant to cyber-attacks.

Self-Sufficiency, Deterrence and Sovereignty

All of these risks and threats strikingly present the fragile, uncertain and insecure nature of our era. No matter how dark and pessimistic the scene is, despair is not our way. For us, the twilight is the harbinger of sunrise while the winter heralds the upcoming spring. We rejoice the night to embrace the day.

Uncertainty is not obscurity. Unpredictability is not short-sightedness. Chaos is not despair. Threat is not surrender.

Multi-dimensional and multipolar thinking is imperative in our era. So, we need to develop Türkiye's strategic capabilities in a multi-directional and multi-layered manner in order to prepare against conventional, asymmetrical and hybrid threats that we are simultaneously exposed to. Reading the striking developments from a single parameter would lead us to strategic blindness and making tactical mistakes.

In the era of multidimensional threats and global vulnerabilities two main concepts are of vital importance to protect our sovereignty and independence: self-sufficiency and deterrence. In the absence of these two concepts, a country is not likely to pursue an independent policy and secure its sovereignty.

The principle of self-sufficiency is a matter of national security and survival in areas of strategic significance. Countries that are self-sufficient with the help of domestic and national resources and relations based on mutual interests and respect, assure their sovereignty and independence and contribute to the security of friendly nations and allies.

The principle of self-sufficiency is of critical importance in the main areas such as defence, assault, technical intelligence, industrial technologies as well as cyber security, biological security and diversity, energy security, food security and economic security. In the age of uncertainty in which we are facing hybrid threats, we must be on guard against all kinds of challenge and improve new capabilities each day. Accordingly, we need to invest in critical fields that will make us self-sufficient, and we should always be

in a continuous state of progress. Türkiye has become a stronger and more resilient country after the steps taken in recent years in line with this goal. We have to pursue this strategy for all critical sectors in a decisive manner. In full awareness of this fact, Türkiye's strategic wisdom, has been taking steps accordingly.

Deterrence, the second basic concept, is the ability to eliminate a threat before it emerges. In a nutshell, we can define deterrence as a situation whereby a person should know well that he will be retaliated with a bullet if he throws a stone at you, and thus he should think twice before he even touches the stone. Real force is the force that you do not have to use and the ability of deterrence is the most tangible form of it. A potential threat will know well before it appears what will be the consequences and act accordingly. No injustice will remain without retaliation. No crime against the state and the nation will go unpunished. Ensuring justice and prevention of future attacks depend on the uncompromising and decisive implementation of this principle. When the deterrent power of justice and diplomacy is combined with preventive force, threats and crises become foreseeable and manageable.

Self-sufficiency and deterrence are integral parts of preventive measures to be developed by a country. What we call pre-emptive force is to make interventions before problems turn into crises and risks turn into threats. Türkiye has made a quantum leap and broken the mould in recent years to become a deterrent and pre-emptive power which is self-sufficient in defence industry, A-IHA and critical infrastructure technologies in particular. In spite of all obstacles, concealed embargos, blockages and sanctions imposed by its Allies, Türkiye has been securing its national rights and interests by making new moves and serves as a strategic safe zone for friendly and brotherly countries. Türkiye's anti-terror operations conducted in Syria and Iraq, efforts to bring an end to the internal conflicts in Libya, signing maritime zone agreements, and playing a key role in liberating Karabakh from occupation are recent and tangible examples of this new power projection.

Türkiye's national security and existence requires prudence, deterrence and pro-action in the areas of human security, biological security, cyber security, food security, economic security, ecological security, counter-terrorism, irregular migration, human trafficking, organized crime and fight against drugs and finding solutions to crises.

Arnold Toynbee, studying survival strategies of different civilizations in history, says that the most important character of a nation is its skill to finding solutions to crises. Since a world free of crises and problems is unlikely, what we should do is to keep our skills to generate solutions active and effective in the face of depressions, crises, risks and challenges. Today Türkiye has this capability more than before. However, there are still many other things that we have to accomplish, since this is a dynamic process.

New Forms Of Power, Or Why Türkiye Has To Be Powerful?

Türkiye has to be powerful to overcome the crises of the era. It has to be powerful to preserve its sovereignty and independence. It has to be powerful to be a shield for its friends and allies. It has to be powerful to make the world a more just and liveable place. To achieve all this; Türkiye should be aware of its economic, military, human, cultural, historical, geographical and demographic power and should use these elements of power in a wise, fair and effective way.

Being a self-sufficient, deterrent and pre-emptive power means using the different forms of power in a holistic and strategic way.

Then, what is power?

Our answer to this question will determine our strategic perspective and security policies.

The simplest definition of power is the ability to do something and make people do something. A subject asserting power will be able to do something or have someone to do it. That thing you are capable of doing by yourself, get

done by others and that you do together is the conversion of your power and will into actions.

There are several ways of doing it. You may persuade someone to do something. You tell them that it is in their best interest. You establish commonalities between your goal and their interests. The subject acting for his own interests will act in accordance with your goal and interests as well. In such circumstances, you reach your goal by persuading and having the consent of the other party without coercion. We call it “soft power”.

In contrast, you may do something by using force in some circumstances. You use force to eliminate a threat and you achieve the result that you want. You use force against a person who will not do something voluntarily and make him do what you want. Sometimes you use force for self-defence to defend yourself against threats. We call it “hard power”.

Joseph Nye named the combination of these two powers and their collocation as “smart power”. By using different methods like persuasion, encouragement, reward, punishment, deprivation and physical power, you obtain the desired result and generate the circumstances that will help you reach your goals.

Soft power is achieving the thing you want by using persuasion or consent, encouragement and/or economic tools. But there is always a risk of deviation from your fundamental values and self-alienation while you are winning someone over. Who you are trying to persuade and how you are doing it is as important as your reasons for persuasion.

You may achieve what you want by exerting hard power, but the thing you achieve is always under the risk of destruction. When hard power goes extreme, it backfires, deviates from the original objectives and starts producing strategic costs.

It is always good to remember the thistle story told by Tolstoy in the beginning of his novel, Hadji Murat.

Smart power refers to the use of power rationally in terms of both methods and goals, but the key issue here is to refrain from absolute power and to make it sustainable. Absolute power, deviates it from its original goal. Power itself cannot be an absolute principle, value, aim or goal as a means of influence. Power finds its true meaning only when it serves for a higher value. The thing that makes power sustainable is the goodness, rightness and beauty of the goal it serves. The path towards goodness and rightness should also be good and right. All paths and methods other than this will corrupt the power.

Wise and virtuous power protects goodness and rightness and set the conditions in which people can live a life based on wisdom and virtue. Power based on wisdom and virtue does not bear the risk of becoming absolute and serves for high values. Wise and virtuous power enables people to enjoy their free will in safety and peace. Thus, power itself will no longer be the main objective, but rather a tool which serves individuals and society to lead a peaceful life. Safety and security are of critical importance at this point.

When we analyse the roots of the word “emniyet,” the Arabic word security, we can see that it comprises both trust (emn) and faith (iman). A person can only trust in what he believes. He would believe in the thing he trusts. When faith and trust come together, a person would feel himself secure. This means to be in faith and safe.

It is the fundamental duty of governments to ensure people’s faith in each other and their states. The protection of individual as well as social trust and faith is entrusted to the state. It is definitely not a coincidence that the word “emanet” derives from the same root with faith and trust.

Ensuring people’s security also involves making them believe in the order they live in, which is purged from any kind of fear, threat and danger. The state ensures security while citizens trust and have faith in the state. The relation between trust and faith also underlies social unity and peace. Individuals actualize their individualism within collective structures to the extent that they feel secure. Thus, balance and harmony emerge between the individual

and the society, the singular and the plural, and personal and corporate structures. It will then be possible to overcome rugged individualism of liberalism as well as hard socialism of collectivist-socialist-communitarian entities, on the basis of such trust, faith and freedom.

The fundamental principle here is that security is required for freedom.

Security is necessary for enabling individuals to enjoy their constitutional rights and freedom with their free will without being exposed to any pressure, fear and threat. The essential mission of security architecture is to enable people to live the values they believe in safety and peace.

The strategic security concept I mentioned above, enables the individual and society to enjoy their free will in financial, physical, mental, spiritual and social fields. Individuals and societies, feeling secure in this way, take steps to achieve the designated goals. One is unlikely to enjoy his freedom as an individual in the absence of the mentioned security environment.

The balance between freedom and security, is one of the basic principles of the constitutional state. In a democratic system based on rule of law; freedom and security are of vital importance for the survival of individuals and society.

Where there is no security, there is no freedom either. All kinds of individual and collective initiatives such as entrepreneurship, freedom of thought, political activity and political organisation can only thrive in a secure environment.

Obviously, the security concept is being used in broad terms here beyond discipline measures. Human security, security of generations, biological security, energy security, cyber security, social and psychological security and other fields of security are the basic constituents the of strategic security vision.

Owing to this broad semantic field, the concept of security should be discussed with a holistic and strategic perspective. Holistic and strategic security approaches human existence as a whole and do not sacrifice one security field for another. Strategic security depends on the principle of protection of the good and prevention of the evil.

It has been voiced in two ways in tradition. The first one is protecting-promoting goodness and preventing evil. Goodness should be protected for being good, evil should be prevented for being evil. The question as to which comes first has been discussed thoroughly in tradition and led us to this conclusion: "Sedd-i zerayi, celb-i menafiden evladır" which can be explained as follows: Preventing evil comes before doing good. It is basically because; human beings are good at heart. Creatures are neutral in their origin. (In tradition, it is described with the principle of "Eşyanın aslı ibahadır" - anything that is not declared to be unlawful, is lawful-halal.) Those who are given the opportunity of acting on their nature will reach perfectness and contribute to the welfare of the universe. Those who are abusive, corrupt and immoral cause the spread of the evil. When the evil is stopped, goodness will find its way.

The goal of security is to eliminate the barriers before the good and goodness, and eliminate the threats against it. Strategic security takes all security domains as a whole and aims at creating a living space for human beings to live a virtuous and rightful life. Security is the insurance of freedom, peace and trust, when it reaches this holistic and strategic level.

Same principle applies to the international system. A security architecture that does not assure freedom, independence and sovereignty of nations and states, is unlikely to bring justice, trust and constructive competition. The balance between freedom and security is one of the fundamental principles of the international system as well.

Strategic Intelligence and Diplomacy

Strategic security is based on an approach that pays regard not only to our own security and welfare but also to other countries'. A living space based on security, freedom and sharing of welfare creates common objectives by protecting everyone's rights and remedies. The win-win framework, which is embraced by everyone, creates the groundwork to overcome problems, manage crises and have long-term achievements. It would be possible and easy for everyone to win when different power elements are merged with strategic abilities. Our Organization puts the win-win principle into practice through cooperation with states in different parts of the world.

For this reason, our fundamental principle is that;

It is important to win on the table and on the ground. Yet, the real and long-lasting victory is winning hearts and minds.

The way to make the gains made on the ground and at the table permanent nationally and internationally is to win minds and hearts. Trust is only possible through faith. Faith is only possible through absolute confidence in someone and being eager to walk together with that person.

The National Intelligence Organization, which has adopted as a principle the use of soft, hard, deterrent, pre-emptive, conventional, asymmetrical and new technological power elements, plays a critical role in ensuring our country to achieve its strategic targets. This is not only required by our national rights and interests, but also it is a fact of the era.

Asymmetrical and hybrid threats, multi-layered relation networks and new alliances, make intelligence diplomacy more crucial. In an environment of such vulnerable uncertainty, intelligence institutions should make their moves by deepening their analyses while reading the big picture correctly.

To us, intelligence is information which has both tactical function and strategic value. Strategic assessment analyses the processes by taking

this information as a source and makes middle to long-term projections. On that note, information, intelligence, observations, surveillance, analysis and strategic assessments are necessary aspects of visionary policy-making. Our Organization uses every means available in the field of strategic intelligence in order to protect Türkiye's rights and interests, and plays a critical role in decision-making processes.

Our organization, by using means of strategic analysis, game theory, probability calculations, scenario studies and intelligence communication, combines physical strength with wisdom, field knowledge with the ability of analysis, regional expertise with global assessments and aims at securing long-term rights and interests of our country in every domain. The strategic importance of intelligence and analysis is crucial in every field, from foreign politics to energy security and counter-terrorism to cyber security.

All these points confirm the following fact:

We cannot implement effective diplomacy without reliable intelligence.

Internal and external security, defense, intelligence and diplomacy work in coordination, defending, protecting and securing the strategic interests of our country on every stage and every level. The harmony and synergy among these sectors are of vital importance for Türkiye to become a self-sufficient, deterrent and preemptive power.

In this context, we act in complete harmony and coordination with relevant institutions and organizations because we know for sure that governmental wisdom can only be effective by establishing harmony and coordination among institutions. The strategic, skillful and transformative leadership of our President make sure that all organizations work towards the same objective. This constitutes a great value for all of us

As a matter of fact, we observe the successful and tangible consequences of this strategic leadership and interinstitutional coordination in the struggle against terrorist organizations such as PKK/YPG, FETÖ, DEAŞ and DHKP/C,

organized crime structures, cyber attacks and espionage activities, which constitute the main fields of activity of our Organization.

The National Intelligence Organization focuses on strategic intelligence along with tactical and operational processes in the context of the increasing geopolitical significance and efficiency of Türkiye, striving to prepare our country to be ready for new threats and challenges. Our Agency, acting with governmental wisdom on all issues of strategic importance ranging from foreign policy to energy, from food safety to regional conflicts, from cyber attacks to global trends, seeks to defend the rights and interests of our country on every ground and to develop new opportunities and capabilities.

As the centenary of our Republic has just been celebrated and the Century of Türkiye has just begun, it is of utmost importance that our Organization should adopt a self-sufficient, preemptive, deterrent and proactive modus operandi in the struggle against evolving global and regional threats, attaining a capacity in orienting both short and long term developments. Acting as a smart organization with both human and technical capacity, possessing a high level of foresight, capable of making swift decisions, utilizing its resources effectively and updating itself on a perpetual basis, the National Intelligence Organization shall keep on playing key roles in the defense of our State and nation, and the maintenance of regional peace and global stability.

On this occasion, I am happy to announce the inauguration of the National Intelligence Academy, aimed at strengthening the international prestige of our Organization, and turning Türkiye into a pivotal country in regard with the theory and methodology of intelligence. I wish our Academy shall be beneficial for our country, our intelligence efforts, the academia and our Organization.

We also share with you today the very first assessment report of our National Intelligence Academy, titled "Extreme Right Movements in Western Countries". The fact that Turkish expats in Europe have become the target of rising extreme rightist movements has been influential in choosing this subject matter. The mentioned extreme rightist movements bear the potential of constituting a risk for the security of our country and of the world.

Moreover, I feel rejoiced to present to you the redesigned web site of the National Intelligence Organization. By means of our web site, serving as the window of our Organization to the digital world, you can acquire information regarding our agency and our activities, satisfy your curiosity and follow our activities. We are also planning to share certain documents from our archives with the public in our web site.

I also would like to share with you the opening of the National Intelligence Organization Museum, which we have designed over the concepts of "Homeland, Tradition and Future", displaying the metamorphosis of our Organization right from the very beginning along with the outstanding developments in our country and our region. We will be sharing with our public a small selection from the museum in Istanbul Atatürk Cultural Center [Istanbul Atatürk Kültür Merkezi] as of January 19.

On behalf of my agency, I would like to express our gratitude to Mr. President who has never ceased his support for the transformation of our Organization to this level.

At your presence, I extend my appreciation to the devoted and faithful members of our Organization on behalf of myself and my nation, and with compassion and gratitude I commemorate our martyrs who have sacrificed their lives for the supreme benefits of our country.