

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF FEAR AND THE DOCTRINE OF APPEASEMENT

By George Manios

Prologue

Since 1996, fear and appeasement have been the policy of the Greek ruling political elites. They believe that Türkiye is dangerous, likely to cause physical destruction of the country through war.

Appeasement is the belief that one must give in to the demands of a hostile aggressor (Türkiye) as the way to keep the peace. The belief is based on compromise, accommodation, and concession of territory or sovereign rights, if necessary, all in the name of peace.

In addition, they (the Greek political elites) believe that by accommodating the aggressor (Türkiye) through concessions, the aggressor will be satisfied and hopefully he has no further demands, a false premise when it comes to Türkiye.

Türkiye is never satisfied, until Greece is assimilated into the neo-Ottoman Islamic Empire, as envisioned by the Turkish elites. And thus, for over 25 years articulated the Doctrine of the Blue Seas, taking over the Aegean Sea, questioning Greek sovereignty and international treaties, issued a declaration of war (Causes Belli) against Greece as a means of undermining Greece's exercise of international rights over its domain.

The NATO Alliance

On February 1952, Greece along with Türkiye joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). This was part of the West's Cold War strategies against the Soviet Union. Both countries were offered membership in the NATO alliance because of their strategic location within Europe and the "underlying principle of the Truman Doctrine extending military and economic aid to states vulnerable to Soviet threat expansion." [1]

The basis that led to the formation of NATO was to safeguard the freedom and security of all its members by political and military means, collective defense against adversaries, a spirit of solidarity and cohesion among its members, the rule of law and democratic values.

While enjoying the benefits of the alliance, Türkiye never adhered to the NATO principles. It seems that the Turkish deep state is obsessed of recreating the Ottoman Empire by undermining the independence and sovereignty of Greece and other neighboring countries and has threaten to go war.

This obsession is based on the historic hatred Türkiye's ruling elite has against the Greek State and at every turn through vicious, poisoning rhetoric and threats of war seeks to undermine the existence of Greece. Through threats of war and intimidation Ankara believes that Athens will surrender control of part of its territory, to avoid war. Türkiye also believes that its tactics would eventually lead to the annexation and/or exercise control of over 152 islands and related inlets in the Aegean Sea.

Fear, ELIAMEP and the Doctrine of Appeasement

The fear of war has been embedded into the psych of the Greek ruling political elites through public policy groups such as the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP).

ELIAMEP has links with Greek and European and other educational institutions, former Greek civil servants, and an array of international experts. According to Website, funding for ELIAMEP's projects comes from the European Commission, Greek private foundations and companies, foreign embassies, foreign institutions, and international organizations. Funding determines the policy direction of the organization. Reliance on the EU and other donors, one can argue the organization does the EU's bidding as sixth estate to shape and influence the country's policies.

ELIAMEP over the years has played a significant role in formulating Greek foreign policy. It has dispensed information and advice to governments across the political spectrum. Within the neo-liberal and pro-European paradigm, ELIAMEP has articulated and designed a Doctrine of Appeasement that has shape Greek foreign policy when it came to Türkiye.

ELIAMEP has advised political parties and governments that the doctrine of appeasement is the best option for the country. ELIAMEP, like all other neo-liberal think tanks tend to ignore history and historical events and believe that

their doctrine will serve the greater good, notwithstanding that the consequence of this doctrine is the loss of control of Greek territory.

For ELIAMEP appeasement is the key element and the norm for Greek Turkish relations. There is this belief that if Greece is to survive and exist as a nation state, it must accommodate the demands of Türkiye, otherwise the Turkish military force would phase out Greece's existence. By accepting the Doctrine of Appeasement successive Greek governments, ignorant of history, have sign up to the Finlandization of the country.

The appeasers argue that Türkiye is a G7 country with 10 times the population of Greece, strong industrial and a large military and Greece given its economy and small military is not able to defend its territory. Therefore, give in to Türkiye's demands and do not exercise any international rights that will be seen as an infringement of Türkiye's false claims against the Greece and thus gives the false hope of peace in the area, save NATO's southern flank, at the expense of Greece's sovereignty.

It is true that Greece is much smaller country, and it does not have an economy or large military volume of Turkey, however, if you look closer at what Turkey is, you will find that its economy and industrial military complex relies heavily on Western (American) technology and large investments from Spain, Italy, United Kingdom and Germany.

Western Technologies and Money

Western knowledge, corporations and money have all contributed to the growth of Türkiye's home-grown military industry. Türkiye has built a strong manufacturing base using foreign technologies and money. Foreign companies such as General Dynamics and General Electric have contributed a significant growth of Turkish military weapons manufacturing.

For the past 30 years Türkiye has developed a home-grown military industrial complex that has acquired the ability to build its own naval and air capabilities. These weapons are based on reversed engineering and in most cases require western technology to operate them.

According to a retired Indian Air Marshall, Anil Chopra, the "FX-1 was akin to a twin-engine Lockheed Martin F-22. FX-5 was somewhat like the F-16

configuration, and the F-16 was like a single-engine canard-delta Saab JAS 39 Gripen.” But the plan to join Saab or the Russians for a joint program was abandoned by the Turkish military establishment, and instead, Türkiye chose to go in partnership with the BAE Systems of United Kingdom.

The KAAN jet fighter, a fifth-generation fighter, is built with the assistance of BAE Systems of the United Kingdom and requires an F110 engine developed by General Electric to operate. Ten General Electric F110 engines were delivered to the Tusa Engine Industries (TEI), a significant partner in the production of KAAN. [2]

In addition to the British BAE Systems, there are other international corporations such as General Electric, which have investments in Türkiye and assist the military industrial complex in technologies. Under license, Türkiye has the third manufacturing plant outside the U.S. to produce the Fighting Falcon to a third nation in the history of the F-16 program. [3]

If the Americans and other western nations curtailed the transfer of technologies and materials, restrict their corporations, as they have done with respect to Russia, the home-grown military industry would not flourish, nor it would be a powerful arm of the Turkish military postures or exports.

Since the mid-1990s Türkiye has sold weapons to countries like Egypt, Algeria, Chad, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Somalia, Azerbaijan, Saudi Arabia, and others. All these weapons are the products of western based technologies and military financial assistance, especially from the United States.

The point here is that without western support the Turkish military industrial complex cannot be sustained. Erdogan’s decision to go to war in Syria and his purchase of the S-400 missiles from Russia irked the Americans and imposed sanctions. The American military sanctions undermined Türkiye’s military capabilities.

This clearly has shown that the Turkish economy and military cannot survived without Western and American financial and technological assistance.

Türkiye is not a friend of the alliance, yet the west keeps supporting it with money and technology. For example, the Turkish Bayraktar drones uses components manufactured outside Türkiye. American, Canadian, Austrian,

British, French, and German firms provide critical parts to the production and operation of the drone. Turkish drones use a Canadian-made surveillance and targeting system (Supplied by L3Harris WESAN), as well radio transmitter and amplifier (Microhard Systems Inc.). The Austrian firm BRP-Rotax manufacturer's the drone engine, and the British company Andair provides the fuel pumps. [4]

Similarly, the Ada class Corvettes currently developed and built at the Turkish shipyards require foreign made engines and sensors to operate. German and French companies produce the engines and sensors, respectively. [5]

Since the late 1980s and early 1990s the Turkish Aerospace Industries (TAI) have produced US military aircraft such as Block 30/40/50 F-16s under license in Türkiye, including "a significant number of General Dynamics F-16 Fighting Falcon jets ... as well CASA/IPTIN CN-235 light transport/maritime patrol/surveillance aircraft." [6]

When will the west come to its senses and cut the umbilical cord with Türkiye?

Türkiye is a Rogue Country

Türkiye has been operating outside the realm of the international legal order for years. One can say it is rogue state. And it should be held accountable for its actions and behavior. If the west puts effective sanctions on Türkiye, its economy and military established will collapse. Without Western financial, economic, and military assistance, Türkiye would not be able to threaten or intimidate its neighbors.

Türkiye is the only NATO country that has focused its military posture (created an army specifically to fight and invade) not at the enemies of NATO, but its ally, Greece.

On July 21, 1995, Greece ratified the United Convention on the Law of the Seas (LOS) which grants the unilateral right to Greece at its own choosing to extend its territorial waters to up twelve nautical miles.

The LOS enables each state that is party to it to claim a territorial sea that extends seaward up to twelve nautical miles from its baseline. This permits

costal countries like Greece to exercise sovereignty over its territorial sea, the airspace above it and the seabed and subsoil beneath it.

Two weeks before the Greek ratification of the Convention, on June 8, 1995, the Turkish Parliament enacted a Causes Belli against Greece. Türkiye repeatedly has threatened Greece with retaliation (military action) if Athens proceed with any expansion of its territorial waters in the Aegean enable it by LOS.

As a result, successive governments have not exercised the right granted by LOS as so many other countries, including Cyprus, have done, fearing that this will trigger war with Türkiye.

This is a false perception that the Greek governments have, and they do not seem to have the will to advance the interests of Greece, as the Cyprus did - extended the 12-mile nautical miles under LOS and when further and extended Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) by 200 nautical miles.

Türkiye's reaction was not war, but meaningless verbiage.

More Fear, Threats, and War

For years, Türkiye's posturing towards Greece are based on the politics of fear with the primary aim of undermining Greek sovereignty, diminishing its statehood and slowly create "grey zones" in the Aegean Sea.

Several analysts have argued, this would lead to the Finlandization of Greece, and eventually make Greece a Turkish protectorate, as part of its revised Ottoman Empire.

There are 152 islands and islets in the Aegean Sea which Turkey claims ownership and that they must be conquered either militarily or demographically, as she is doing in Northern Cyprus, despite the fact that these islands historically and legally belong to Greece through the 1924 Treaty of Lausanne, 1932 Turkish-Italian Agreement, and the 1947 Treaty of Paris.

For Türkiye, these treaties are invalid or do not exist. In the mind of the Turkish ruling elite, even the United Nations Charter does not apply to Türkiye. And therefore, these islands must be taken back by any means.

For at least the past five years, Erdogan's regime has "threatened to invade and annex the Greek islands in the Aegean." Washington "seems to ignore that Turkey – acting as if is the successor to the Ottoman Empire – does not stop threatening Greece, Cyprus, and Armenia with military invasion."

According to Ezay Bulut, there are two reasons for the annexation of the islands. "The first stems from the belief in neo-Ottomanism and the Islamic concept of conquest, or "fetih," from the Arabic word "fath." The second reason stems from the government's proud denial of its past crimes against Christians." [7]

Türkiye's behavior is anathema to the principles of international law and values, which even the Ottoman Empire respected and adhered to within the parameters of the then political order. Yet, the west and especially America who prides as the beacon of freedom and democracy constantly ignores Turkish behavior or turns a blind eye and hopes that a new Turkish government will come to its senses and behave according to the norms. Little does the American deep state know about Türkiye.

The Turkish rhetoric has elevated to threats against Greece like Turkish forces could "come all of a sudden one night" and take over the disputed islands. In 2022, Erdogan warned Greece that it had develop a missile that could hit Athens unless "you stay calm".

Türkiye's psychological warfare approach has managed to create a mentality within the Greek political ruling class, which has restrained the Greek State to exercise its rights under international and European laws and to respond to the constant bombardment of Turkish threats decisively and effectively.

A case in point is the Imia Crisis of 1996. The Kostas Simitis government without realizing the consequences of its decision not to engage Türkiye and ignoring military advise took a Chamberlain instead of a Churchill approach at the behest of the United States and one could argue that the Simitis' decision was within the Doctrine of Appeasement.

Former military officials who were eyewitness to the crisis, have argued that a Churchill approach – using minimum military force - would have prevented the development of the "grey" zone and would have shown that Greece

mean's business, not afraid of the so call Turkish military might, and most importantly Greece was and is willing and committed to protect its security and sovereignty, even using its military force.

As noted above the Simitis government chose the Chamberlain approach. The decision resulted in the Imia area becoming a "grey" zone. Türkiye used and expanded this grey zone to other islands and over the years prevented Greek and European officials in landing in Greek islands outside the Imia zone.

To Americans this resolved a potential conflict, but to Greece is the loss of control of sovereignty for the Imia area. This has created a bad precedent that gave **de facto** control to Türkiye over airspace in the Imia area.

Türkiye threatened and intimidated Greek and European officials, and using threats, she prevented them from landing on Greek control islands or fly over Imia or any other island in the area.

This fear of war has also held back Greece from meeting its obligations under EU directives relating to marine strategy and to revise water plans. This year, the EU has taken Greece for failure to comply with the directives.

In 2020, there were over 10,000 violations of Greece airspace and a substantial number of sea violations, where Turkish smugglers with the consent of the Turkish authorities Sheppard migrants through the rough Aegean Sea. Greece expanded considerable human and material resources to deter these violations and at the same time save hundreds of migrants from the cold and harsh waters of the sea.

The Greek has protested to the international community respecting the behavior of its neighbor to no avail. Everyone is deaf. NATO and the West are not only deaf but have closed their eyes hoping Türkiye will remain within the west, notwithstanding what damage Türkiye's actions have done to its neighbors.

While the EU, UN, NATO, and the Americans are aware of the Greek diplomatic communications respecting Turkish veiled threats, including the threat of war against Greece, they remain silent and have chosen deliberated not to condemned Türkiye's gunboat posturing, sugar coating their diplomatic messages or impose economic and military sanctions.

Athens Declaration

With the Athens Declaration, analysts and political leaders believe that there may be a rapprochement between the two countries. Little do they know the state of mind of the Turkish elite. The status quo continues, i.e., causes belli, threats, gunboat posturing, and more of the same. While Türkiye maintains its threats, it has easiest on the overflights and sea incursions as show of good will and neighborly love.

This did not last too long before Türkiye retorted to its old ways.

When the Greek government announced the establishment of two ocean parks, during the international ocean conference in Athens this month, the Turkish propaganda machine lost no chance to accuse Greece of exploiting environmental issues to push its geopolitical agenda and blatantly stated that Türkiye would “not allow” the establishment of the marine parks in the Aegean, an area which is exclusively within the sovereignty of Greece.

Türkiye would not change. And it is foolish for NATO, Americans, and the rest of the west to believe so.

Türkiye’s long-established imperialist Islamist foreign policy would continue. The threats and intimidation against Greece and other neighboring countries will be the standing order of the business.

The Myth of an Indispensable Alliance

There is this myth in Washington, and the West that Türkiye is indispensable to the NATO alliance. The perpetuation of this myth in Brussels and western capitals is based on the view that NATO needs to keep Türkiye within the realm of the alliance at all costs, including selling out friends. This is dangerous for western democracies and this big lie is advanced by American and NATO deep state officials.

This view is best articulated by other than the NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg who stated on September 6, 2016, that “A strong and democratic Türkiye is essential for the stability and security of Europe and the region. I am confident that Türkiye will keep its commitment to the rule of law and democratic values at the heart of the Alliance.”

Wishful thinking. History shows the opposite.

Türkiye is not the country that alliance could count in case of a conflict with the Russians or other forces. The West needs to wake up and realize that Türkiye is no longer relevant to NATO.

Without Western monies and technology, Türkiye is just a “tiger with false teeth” and limited military capabilities to be a significant military player in the schema of NATO operations. NATO and the Americans should stop pretending that Türkiye is an important member of the alliance. Those days are gone.

As a former NATO military planner has noted Türkiye’s paper statistics do not translate to on-the ground importance to NATO.

“The country is simply not as vital as it was during the Cold War when it was a frontline state with the Soviet Union, contributed to the Korean War and was Western-oriented. The times has come to call Türkiye’s bluff.” [8]

Further, when Türkiye contributes to NATO’s missions, like Afghanistan, it exploits the mission to advance its Islamic agenda. As Michael Rubin notes “... instead of promoting bilateral Turkish Afghanistan diplomatic relations and business ties based on NATO principles...” it promoted “Islamic solidarity.” [9]

Wake up NATO and America. NATO and Western principles are irrelevant to Türkiye. NATO missions are a means to advance the well-entrenched Turkish Islamic imperialist agenda.

Conclusion

Türkiye has no commitment to NATO, and the values and European norms associated with the alliance, nor to the UN or international institutions or law.

Türkiye is not a democracy, it has an autocratic authoritarian political system plagued by corruption, political entanglements, and blatant disregard of human rights. Like all autocratic states Türkiye puts its political opposition and other dissidents in jail.

The Greek political parties must abandon the Doctrine of Appeasement. The doctrine is detrimental to the existence of the Hellenic Democracy.

The Doctrine of Appeasement, as the late president Roosevelt once stated, is “to feed your friends one at a time to a crocodile with the hopes that you will be eaten last”.

It was a bad policy to begin with that led to the loss and control of island territory and gave rise for Türkiye to make advances in the Aegean Sea and Thrace and through the illegal Turkish-Libya Memorandum to areas well outside the shores of Türkiye.

It is time for the Greek ruling elite to wake up and take stock of the reality that Türkiye is not as powerful as once thought. Despite its home grown military industrial capacity, it heavily relies on Western technologies and finance.

Without the constant infusion of western military technology and materials, such as Optics systems provided by Canada for the Bayraktar UAVs, and the American material support for the modernization of its F-16 fleet, Turkish military capabilities would not be menacing, and the threat of war will be render useless.

The Greek political elites need to develop a new doctrine when it comes to Türkiye, a doctrine that will ensure the security and sovereignty of Greece. It should be made clear that any violations of Greek territory would be met with extreme prejudices.

Greece should vigorously exercise its rights under international and EU laws.

Now is the time to extend the twelve nautical mile and settle the matter for the last time, and implement the marine management plans, like so many other EU countries have done.

And if Türkiye threatens to go to war, call its “bluff.”

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