

Hans Morgenthau's Lack of Definition of National Power in the 21st Century: Intelligence

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Power is a constantly discussed phenomenon in international relations. In this direction, the definition of “power” has been interpreted differently from past to present. Among these definitions, the theory of realism explained the complex and dynamic international system in the simplest way, especially according to the conditions of the Cold War period. The theory of realism has often helped guide government policy. It also indicated the issues that states should focus on. During the Cold War period, especially the neo-realist approach of Hans Morgenthau, the element of national power formed an important guide for the characteristic policies of states. The elements of national power, which Hans Morgenthau diversifies as political uncertainty, economic doubt, science and technology, demography, geography, military as a whole, are all internationally wide-ranging. However, it gives an incomplete answer to the international system of the 21st century. In the 21st century, states have increased their focus on intelligence. Many states, especially America, have examined the intelligence scientifically. Today, it is accepted as a scientific field. The study tries to explain that the lack of Hans Morgenthau's understanding of power is “intelligence”.

Keywords: power, realism, intelligence, security, international relations, Hans Morgenthau

Introduction

Many international relations theorists strive to interpret concepts such as war and power from various perspectives. International relations schools, international system interpretations have changed in popularity periodically. In addition, for the dynamic nature of the international system, theories of international relations are inadequate to explain the changing international system.

Many international relations theories such as liberal approachists, constructivism, structuralism, game theorists have studied the causes of war, the phenomenon of power for states, interstate relations, and peacemaking. However, the realist approach, which has not lost its popularity and importance among these approaches, remains as important as in the past. As with other theories, realist theorists strive to make the complex international system more understandable. The international system, which is complex in terms of realism, is actually an easy-to-understand phenomenon. The most important argument for this intelligibility is the “relationship of states based on self-interest”. It is important for realism advocates to point out that states

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provide interest maximization. The maximization of interests takes place in a series of schemes ranging from human nature to states. In the 21st Century, it can be carried out by taking all kinds of information from rival states and determining its security and general policies in order to act in line with the interests of the states. As a result of this statement, the importance of intelligence for governments is also revealed.

Intelligence has a long history from hunter-gatherer to the present day. Especially modern intelligence was built during World War II and the Cold War. Apart from developing technology and globalization, intelligence is an area that has gone down into governments, transnational organizations, corporations, and society. Accordingly, many countries in the field of intelligence, especially the United States, are scientifically examining the field of intelligence.

In the study, the understanding of power of realism theory will be explained by literature review. In addition, we will seek to answer the question "What is the position of intelligence?" in the first quarter of the 21st Century with Hans Morgenthau's approach to the concept of national power stated in the middle of the 20th century.

Understanding of Power by States According to Realism Theory

Among the pioneers of realism, thinkers such as Machiavelli, Montesquieu, Hobbes, Cardinal Richelieu, Waltz, Hans Morgenthau, Brezisinki first tried to explain human nature. By this means, the aforesaid theorists have tried to express the role of states in the international system and the definition of power in an absolute way.

Machiavelli, while examining the relationship between man and power, stated that in fact man already needs power inherently and wants to gain power for it. The answer of "Why does one want power?", according to Machiavelli, man's desire to fight is again the biggest reason that drives man to seek power (Machiavelli, 2015, pp. 16-57). Man explained that he can do anything while searching for power, obtaining, and maintaining power: "... If all mankind were good people, it would be a criticisable reminder. But just as they are all little men, they do not keep their promises to you" (Senemoğlu, 2016, pp. 7-81). Accordingly, Machiavelli states that man can inherently be hypocritical in order to obtain power.

Thomas Hobbes, one of the criterion thinkers of realist thought, states that man is constantly seeking power. However, the important thing here is that Thomas Hobbes describes the power as the gathering of people to join forces in line with their will, and this reveals the collective power. That's why wars are natural. In this part, Hobbes emphasizes the "soldier". Hobbes explains: "... A good manager of soldiers is very valuable in times of war or on the eve of war; not so valuable in peace" (Hobbes, 2008, pp. 85-110). The Discipline of International Relations has produced various notions and concepts within the framework of these words. Thus, the tradition of political realism gained the desire to explain the behavior and priorities of the states in the international relations system with the Hobbesian tradition. (Hamzaoğlu, 2022, p. 106). The notion of the natural situation, which Hobbes insists on, is especially important in this respect. The unique condition of the international relations system, in which there is no central authority and therefore anarchy prevails, has been subjected to scrutiny through Hobbesian explanations. (Hamzaoğlu, 2022, p. 106).

Aristotle, the phrase "We fight to live in peace" is also a reference to Hobbes' view of war as a natural state (Kustas & Preus, 1983, p. 381). Cardinal Richelieu, one of the most important intellectuals of the centuries, explains that just as man desires power, he desires power in his state in the same way. In this respect, he emphasizes the "state interest". Richelieu states that the importance of military power is great. He stated that the most important way to retain the power and ruling of the states of the period can be achieved by military force

(Wagner, 2007, p. 74).

All factors such as people's search for power, the fact that rulers permit of everything to obtain power, and states having a relationship of interest with each other are important factors in the failure to achieve lasting peace. Kant explained that lasting peace can never be achieved (Baylis, 2008, pp. 71-72). For example, the Roman state first prioritized military force for security. The Roman state summarizes military policies as follows: "... The trust that comes with long-lasting peace has corrupted their nature, they left the military and returned to civilian affairs and made them who love their comfort and laziness. As an end to this relief, military discipline weakened and over time it was completely forgotten" (Esenyel, 2013, pp. 90-93).

Yusuf Khass Hajib stated that state security is provided by sword and axe, while stressing that states cannot trust each other because the international system is anarchic, and secondly, state security can be achieved with soldiers. These events, which see the wars are commonplace in the international system and natural in international relations such as the desire of the rulers to gain power, demonstrate the importance of "military" force (Karabulut & Değer, 2015, pp. 72-73).

In the section from Machiavelli to Yusuf Khass Hajib, power is first stated in an ambiguous definition in the international system. Realists who associated power with war began to emphasize military force as a factor of power much later. However, many factors occur in our age that affect military force. Military technology, military experience, number of soldiers, inventory and quantity of inventory of soldiers (weapons and ammunition, etc.), satisfaction of the army is not clearly stated.

Change in Power Perception of States According to the Realism

The importance of the classical realism approach, which realistically explains and contributes to the international system of the period, is undeniable. However, in the 20th and 21st centuries, wars, armies, and technology changed; this has led to a change in diplomacy and interest of the states. While globalization and technology are taking their place in the international system with great importance, the search for power by states has also gained diversity. The study will not address the types of power such as soft power and smart power. The subject of our study will be to explain the definitions of power by realist theorists in the 20th and 21st Centuries.

Myres McDougal (1953, pp. 115-116) explains the "power" comment of Schwazzenberger, one of the famous theorists, as imposing the will of states on others. Kenneth Waltz avoids describing power clearly, but tried to explain it by depicting the phenomenon of "power". Waltz gives his depiction of power through the Soviets. While stating that the Soviets designed the aggression feature on deterrence, it is actually the military power of the Soviets that he emphasizes. He states that military power should be crowned with military technologies (Waltz, 2009, pp. 200-203). When Waltz's definition of power is evaluated by period, it corresponds to the Cold War period, that is, the greatest characteristics of the Cold War period included the excessive arming of the United States and the Soviets and their attempts to develop weapons technologies. For example, realist thinkers believe that the implementation of the NPT (Treaty on the Prevention of Nuclear Weapons) for nuclear states is too much in terms of cost; however, if the states are not threatened by militarily, they will be involved in the nuclear weapons race. Waltz (1979, pp. 46-46) argued that all technologically and economically capable states could obtain nuclear weapons.

It is also possible to explain nuclear weapons within a phenomenon of power. However, although this military technological development is seen as the most important attack and defense tool of the age in the 20th

and 21st Centuries, because it does not have continuous production, the fact that power equals nuclear weapons, making us under the illusion. Nuclear weapons cannot be identified with the concept of pure power, and the Vanner Bush-led "Manhattan Project" decision to use nuclear weapons as a military element shows the greatest example of how nuclear weapons cannot be identified with the concept of pure power (Cirincione, 2007, p. 3).

Hans Morgenthau interpreted the phenomenon of power from a more specific point of view. He criticized both classical and other neo-realist theorists, arguing that power should not be considered identical to the soldier alone:

In case of misunderstanding about "power"—this element was neglected totally, and therefore it has fallen unfortunate to be equated with the material power of the military nature in particular..when we say power, we mean the power of man over other people's thoughts and actions... (Morgenthau, 1970, p. 12)

While Hans Morgenthau has many views on increasing the influence of the state over other states and classifying elements of national power, power is grouped as natural (geography, population, natural resources) and social (economic, military, political, psycho-social, knowledge) factors (Morgenthau, 1970, pp. 12-16).

Zbigniew Brzezinski does not rule out the factors such as the economy and production capacity along with military force in the globalized world system. While the importance of military force for a state is impressive, factors affecting national power, such as economy and production capacity, can also affect power (Brzezinski, 2004, p. 87).

Realists emphasized that nuclear armament was an indispensable force for states, especially during the Cold War. At the same time, realists have argued that countries show their prestige with nuclear weapons and military forces, and that the United States in particular should improve its nuclear capability (Clark, 1991, pp. 39-41).

Scientific Evaluation and Importance of the Concept of Intelligence

The fact that the intelligence phenomenon is often identified with the soldier causes the intelligence phenomenon to be unfortunate. However, intelligence should be evaluated from a versatile point of view. In this regard, we need to explain the question "What is intelligence?"

Intelligence is expressed in English and French with the word "intelligence". The word intelligence means "comprehension, intellect". In Turkish, the lexical meaning is stated as to receive information. The Turkish Language Institution explained the concept of intelligence as "Gathering information, receiving information". The word intelligence is plural of the Arabic word "istihbâr", "news", and "receive information" (Karabulut, 2013b, pp. 33-35).

As mentioned earlier, the fact that intelligence is associated only with military and military policies has led the intelligence phenomenon to be unfortunate. Intelligence has existed at every moment in history. For example, it is a series of intelligence activities in which the Ancient Turks engaged in intelligence activities with the need to become unnoticed against prey and their own encrypted communication with hunting, the Mongols had serial messengers called "Tatar" (envoys) and the messengers were given names such as "yamchi". Activities within the framework of these organizations require duties such as receiving information, as well as giving information. Sun Tzu's following statement shows the influence and diversity of intelligence in the historical process: "Determine the road, terrain, weather conditions by observing the situation of enemy soldiers before dispatching them" (Karabulut, 2013a, p. 254).

Within the framework of the above definitions and examples, we can define intelligence as follows. Intelligence is the thing obtained by obtaining information and analyzing the final result at the end of the

intelligence cycle¹. It is concluded that intelligence should be evaluated extensively within the framework of these definitions and examples. Especially during and after the Cold War and the 21st Century, intelligence entered into a more scientific structure. The importance of intelligence emerges in the scheme which technology, the existence of nuclear weapons, the more prominent state interests, the emergence of regional powers, implicit operations of states are present, in which terrorist organizations are seen as tools for states. Accordingly, as in military sciences, the intelligence has started to be examined scientifically. For example, Robert David Steele, a U.S. naval officer and CIA case officer, is among the architects of open-source intelligence. Steele taught NATO and U.S. troops how to analyze intelligence using scientific methods. To study intelligence work more scientifically, David Steele wanted to work with other scientists on an open platform. However, U.S. officials have not accepted it and have stated that the work should continue on the principle of confidentiality (Support the Guardian, 19.06.2014; Steele, 2010, p. 42).

Intelligence is diversifying by its subject matter. Intelligence's areas of activity are extensive. For example: Operational intelligence, nuclear intelligence, cyber intelligence, and economic intelligence are among many other areas of activity. Neo-Realists' arguments of "military force, elements of national power, the importance of the economy" are not to be enough in the 21st Century, because not every country can achieve its stated interests and political moves without receiving intelligence from rival countries. For example, in World War II, Germany engaged in economic intelligence activities on the economic situation and production status of allied countries. During the same period, USA and UK carried out economic intelligence activities on German industry. USA and United Kingdom have researched German vehicle tire production. In this regard, they have gained knowledge about Germany's maneuvering and industrial capacity on the battlefield (Ruggles & Brodie, 1947, pp. 66-74).

Intelligence activities are also carried out through instant intelligence activities or covert action operations. For example, Bayraktar Unmanned Aerial Vehicles produced by Turkey are an important technological tool for both operational and instant intelligence; Israeli intelligence service MOSSAD's training of PKK terrorist group in Iraq is among examples of covert action operations (Karabulut, 2014, pp. 70-99). As a result of MOSSAD's analysis of Syrian Leader Hafiz Assad's urine, the studies had done about what drugs Hafiz Assad was using, what disease Assad had from the drugs he used, and how long Hafiz Assad would live. Therefore, Israel has been a decisive factor of its diplomatic, political, and military work on the Golan Heights (Özdağ, 2014, p. 105).

The Point Where Realism Is Insufficient: Intelligence

In explaining the power, classical and neo-realists explain that the main force is the army, referring to the Trojan war, the most important event of Antiquity. However, they also ignore an important event. The Wooden Trojan horse incident is one of the most important wars and intelligence events in history. The Trojan horse is seen as the most classic example of deceiving the enemy, changing the course of the war and strategical area (locus classicus). The misdirection of Sinon, an agent in the wooden horse incident, and activities for stealing information are a classic and clearest example of intelligence. As we mentioned earlier, it is stated that Troy has

¹ Intelligence cycle: it is the methodology that analyzes information in a planned, systematic, and dynamic way to determine the weaknesses and strengths of knowledge with an analysis that shows its weaknesses and strengths. For example: FBI's intelligence cycle stages: Requirements, Dissemination Planning and Routing, Analysis and Production, Collecting, Processing; National Intelligence Agency Intelligence Cycle: Identifying Intelligence, Requirements and Collection, Directing Activity, Gathering Information, Evaluating. See: Elnur Hasan Mikail and Andaç Karabulut, "Analyzing the Concept of Intelligence Etymologically" ICBES 2016, Washington D.C. Conference Proceedings, February 25-28, 2016, Washington D.C., USA, Sf. 270-286.

a defense system built from high walls because it is a strategically important settlement. From this situation, Hellenic Ithaca King Odysseus aimed to place his elite armies into Troy by taking them into a wooden statue. He also gave the task of building the wooden statue to the architect Epeius. In order to further support this war story, they decided to bring an agent into Troy beforehand. This man was an intelligence officer named Sinon who gave the Trojans false information and told the story the Greeks wanted in Troy. In fact, the priest Laocoon from the Trojan intelligence service, and Cassandra, the clairvoyant, could not prevent the massive statue from entering the Castle, even though they stated that Sinon was lying. Troy's intelligence covert operation reveals the fact that it was looted by intelligence activities and military tactics (Levly, 2005, pp. 181-182).

Both classical and neorealist approachists emphasize military force in particular, referencing interstate warfare in their explanations of the concept of "power". The encyclopedia "Revolutions, Counter-Revolutions" mentioned that states can resort to military force to obtain "ruling power" for their own people and to maintain the "ruling power" it obtains. The military forces of the states explained that the moves to influence the will and decisions of another state raised the international problem. Hegel deifies the nationalization concept of state, and this was explained to be achieved by maximizing the quality and quantity of military force, it was one of the important factors in the fact that Mussolini came to power in Italy (Encyclopedia of the History of Revolutions and Counter-Revolutions-2, 1974, pp. 5-7). Obtaining prior information (intelligence) is becoming an important factor both in seizing power, protecting power and military moves to rival countries.

During the Cold War, "power" was pronounced along with nuclear weapons, space racing, and extreme armament. With the end of the Cold War, the phenomenon of power was interpreted differently. Zbigniew Brzezinski did not explain but emphasized the US military potential when describing the US as a superpower with the end of the Cold War. He explained the use of imperialist power by the United States. It also describes its ability to integrate its economic and technological resources into military objectives very quickly (Brzezinski, 2005, pp. 17-26).

Zbigniew Brzezinski supported intelligence activities rather than military operations against Soviet spread. The United States has provided military and financial assistance to Afghan resistance groups that have launched a "mujahideen movement against communism" in Afghanistan, taking Saudi Arabia with it and providing them via Pakistan, because Brzezinski, who saw the absence of a repeat of the defeat suffered by the United States in the Vietnam war, supported the mujahideen with the logic that "the enemy of my enemy is my friend". Brzezinski's implicit activity is intrinsically an example of a covert intelligence operation (Tobin, 2020, p. 237).

The Vietnam War is a particularly questionable issue. As a result of the 1955-1975 Vietnam War, the United States must gain an overwhelming advantage within the framework of armament and technological development advocated by realism. However, the outcome of the war did not happen in this way. Although the U.S. Air Force carried out very strong and effective airstrikes against Vietnam, it did not achieve the desired result for the United States. Lieutenant General Phillip Davidson of the US armed forces commented on the Vietnam War:

Vietnam and its neighbors have their own natural characteristics. Geography, topography, climate, transportation facilities, vegetation and demographics have had a profound impact on important military operations. Geography has influenced key decisions such as when and where to fight, how to fight, how to provide supply (logistics) and support.

The United States has faced a series of dangerous and complex problems. Most of the South Vietnamese states were isolated. There was a steep ridge extending from the border of Laos to the sea, the ocean north of Da Nang and a road only in the region. (Davidson, 1988, pp. 35-123)

Many characteristics of Vietnamese geography, sociological and demographic, are similar to Afghanistan. It is similar in many areas, such as the fact that two states depend on their culture, and that geographical areas have harsh and military difficult characteristics. For this reason, the United States has primarily engaged in intelligence activities in Afghanistan. With the 9/11 Attacks, the United States carried out military operations in Afghanistan. This approach also leads to the following conclusion. The importance of the power and capability of “intelligence” is revealed before the use of military force.

Kenneth Waltz points out that sometimes the paths chosen to gain power and maintain power in ruling can be violent and bloody. He gives the example that between 1948 and 1957, 200,000 civilians died at the end of the civil war in Colombia, and military coups took place in many Latin American countries (Waltz, 1978, pp. 159-160). However, the involvement of U.S. intelligence services in the fight against civil conflict, coup, and communism in Colombia and Latin American countries is also an important factor. With the Condor operation, the CIA supported governments fighting communism in many states such as Chile, Argentina, and Paraguay. In this regard, the intelligence activities, together with state security and interests, are seen to be less costly and more effective than the use of military force.

The use of military force alone in state security policies is inadequate in the late 20th and 21st Centuries. In this regard, the intelligence activities emerge, which are two important arguments of international interest and security. In 1960 and 1961, as the threat of communism began to manifest itself rapidly on the island of Cuba, the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) tried and failed to make disembarkation to Bay of Pigs (Playa Giron) in the Island of Cuba with its “army of volunteers” of Cuban refugees. However, the U.S. has repeatedly carried out sabotage against Cuba via CIA, which has not given up on this failed strategy (Encyclopedia of Revolutions and Counter-Revolutions-1, 1975, p. 117).

The 1973 Chilean coup is described as the army’s handling of the state system in 1973, which killed many people. This political coup, which was reportedly planned by the Nixon administration in Washington, is another element in the statements that it has the support of the CIA. The CIA didn’t just support a military coup, but during the military coup, CIA operative Henry Kissinger and other agents captured and questioned communist supporters who led to an internal uprising in Chile (Karabulut, 2018, pp. 3-24).

We have already mentioned the importance of operational intelligence in intelligence diversity. Turkey’s National Intelligence Service, which has significant experience in operational intelligence, instant intelligence, and covert operations, has neutralized DemhatSperti, a leader of the communist-based PKK terrorist organization (Kurdistan Workers’ Party), and İskanAkyüz, codenamed Haki Gabar. In addition, the fact that they arrested Salih Zeki Yiğit, a member of FETO (Fetullahist Terrorist Organization) in Ukraine and secretly brought him to Turkey, shows that intelligence is actually a force for states (Hürriyet, 2021; DHA, 2018; Hürriyet, 2021).

People, states, sub-state organizations, and non-state actors constantly wonder about each other’s diplomatic, economic, technological, security policies, and actions in the anarchic international system. For this reason, “intelligence” has become the basic requirement. The neo-realists accept that people are fundamentally hypocritical. In addition, the rulers argue that they must attach importance to military force in order to obtain and maintain the power. However, it should be noted that today there are factors such as national and

international law. For this reason, the rulers are conducting intelligence activities against the dissidents in order to obtain power. Examples include North Korean government's intelligence surveillance to dissidents, listening and technical monitoring of the state of Turkmenistan carrying out intelligence activities on opposition parties, and technical and physical monitoring of the National Security Service, Uzbekistan's intelligence service, such as Turkmenistan, against dissidents (Curtis & Glen, 1997, pp. 7-8; Crimea News Agency, 2020; Şafak, 2015; Tsygankov & Parker, 2014, pp. 16-17).

The United States has announced that it has been carrying out economic intelligence activities on the economic structure of many countries for 50 years in order to analyze the political and diplomatic movements of its rival countries (U.S. Government Publishing Office, 1996, p. 17). Zhang Yu, who was commander under Sun Tzu, also said: "In any military operation, it is important to first know the shape of the terrain. If you know the condition of the road, the length of the road before the war, you know what kind of route to take" (O'Dowd & Waldron, 1991). This statement shows the importance of intelligence before the war. Machiavelli explained the importance of tactical intelligence when he stated that the discovery of the enemy country, worrying the enemy, discombobulation, keeping the enemy on pins and needles, and the enemy's supply routes should be determined (Karabulut, 2013, pp. 65-66).

In the 21st century, the states accepted that threats and dangers are not only economic, military, or nuclear. Depending on the rapid advancement of technology, situations such as data privacy and protection have been included in the security of states. In this respect, technological intelligence, which is a subject of intelligence today, has become a popular security issue and intelligence activity (Kerr, Moratara, Mortara, Phaal, & Probert, 2016, pp. 73-93).

In the 21st Century, this definition is inadequate when neo-realism describes power. Power, today we need to state as the information received correctly, the information received quickly, the information that is hidden and not disclosed, the information that is analyzed correctly, that is, the entire intelligence. Neo-realist theorists cannot explain that intelligence is a force today. However, intelligence is an important factor in the actions of countries such as war, peace, and diplomacy. Russian expert Sergey Kurginyan said MI6, the British intelligence service, was an effective force in Ukraine (Stewart, 2021).

Neo-realist theorists have added dimension and diversity to the definition of power in the necessity of the age in the eyes of "military and economic" and then "elements of national power". But in the 21st century, it should not be noted that a new phenomenon of power was added within the framework of neo-realism theory. In his doctoral thesis on "Nuclear Armament in the Phenomenon of Power: The Kazakhstan-North Korea Example", it was accepted that the intelligence is involved in among the elements of national power (Karabulut, 2018 pp.160-164).

Conclusion

Classical realism and neo-realism approaches identify the perception of power in the international system with "military force". During the Cold War, the concept of military force became more descriptive with the neo-realism. While military force should be developed in quality and quantity, in addition to this situation, elements of national power should be taken into account. However, "military force" is still among the most important forces in the ranking of "national power".

Neo-realists such as Hans Morgenthau emphasized the importance of military force during the Cold War.

During the bipolar Cold War, the rapid armament of countries and the development of defense industries made it natural to see military force as an important event for its importance. However, it has also revealed the misfortune of ignoring an important issue such as intelligence.

It is tragic that intelligence is identified with military force. In the 21st Century, intelligence in particular comes across as both a separate political tool and a scientific field. Intelligence is involved in many areas from economy to foreign policy, defense policies to military operations, social life to virtual world.

Increasing the quantitative and qualitative capacity of military force is unthinkable without intelligence. This situation is similar to walking in a hazy, dark, and rugged terrain. It is thanks to intelligence to get information about many issues such as military, foreign policy, economic structure (production-consumption-economic crises), socio-demographic status, political movements (coup-elections) of friendly, rival, and hostile countries. Superpower states such as the U.S., Israel, and Russia, carry out every political approach and military force capabilities according to intelligence reports.

Acknowledging that wars are a natural event in the international system, the neo-realist approach states that military force is an important factor in wars. However, instead of classic frontline battles in the 21st Century, the war event occurs differently. In addition to receiving information in intelligence activities, many areas of intelligence activity such as deception, sabotage, civil commotion, paramilitary procurement, supporting dissidents in other lands, instant and operational intelligence activities are important events that change the course of wars.

For the answers of “Depending on what the quantitative and qualitative increase of military force capacity made?” and according to whom?, the decision-makers decide the answer according to the intelligence. The importance of intelligence in the use of military force and operational meaning is again emerging. In this regard, the military force in the neo-realist approach of the 21st Century and the elements of national power should include the intelligence element. Accordingly, military and intelligence power factors should be mentioned together in the realism’s definition of power.

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