



Kim: Yeni Savaşlarda Asil Vekil Sorunu

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Öz

Bu çalışmanın amacı, yeni savaşlar olarak tarif edilen yeni çatışma düzeninin biçimlerinden biri olan vekâlet savaşının incelenmesi, avantajlarının ve dezavantajlarının tartışılmasıdır. Bununla beraber bu yeni biçimin yarattığı güvenlik meselelerinin tartışılması da hedeflenmiştir. Konunun ve konu etrafında incelenecek ana temanın belirlenmesinde; günümüz dünyasında gittikçe yakıcı bir sorun haline gelen “insani güvenlik” meselesi ve vekâlet savaşının bu mesele üzerindeki olumsuz etkisi; belirleyici olmuştur. Konunun incelenmeye değer bulunmasının bir diğer nedeni ise dilimizde üretilmiş özgün çalışmalar bakımından vekâlet savaşı çerçevesi ile ilgili çok sınırlı çalışma bulunmasıdır. Çalışmada öncelikle yeni savaşlarda asil/vekil sarmalında bulanıklaşan temel bir meseleye, düşmanın “kim” olduğuna ışık tutulmaya, daha sonra ise güvenliğinin insani ve ulusal çerçevede nasıl sağlanabileceğine dair tutarlı bir yol haritası çizebilmeye yardımcı olacak bir tartışma yürütülmeye çalışılmıştır. Bu bağlamda, çalışmada öncelikle vekâlet teorisi ve siyasal teoriye etkisi ortaya konmuş daha sonra ise vekâlet teorisinin temel sorunlarından biri olan, vekâlet maliyetleri ve bunların ne dereceye kadar engellenebileceği tartışılmıştır. Ardından, yeni savaşlarda “vekil” kullanmanın sebepleri ve modern savaş düzenini dönüştürerek vekâlet savaşlarını ortaya çıkaran çerçeve incelenmiştir vekâlet savaşları nedenleri bakımından incelendiğinde, savaşın politik ve iktisadi maliyetlerinin düşürülmesi nedeniyle sapılan bir yol olarak görünmektedir. Sonuçları bakımından incelendiğinde ise ulus-devletlerin savaş tekelleri olma vasıflarını kaybetmeleri, şiddetin simetrik savaş kalıplarını kale almayan gruplar tarafından uygulanır hale gelmesi,

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yürürlükte olan uluslararası hukukun ihlali gibi ciddi insani, iktisadi ve politik maliyetleri olduğu görülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yeni Savaşlar, Vekâlet Savaşı, Çatışma, İnsani Güvenlik, Sürdürülebilir Barış.

Who: Agent/Principle Problem at New Wars

Abstract

The aim of this study is to analyze proxy war under the frame work of new conflict order and discuss the advantages and disadvantages of it. Furthermore, the security issues caused by this new conflict order are planned to be discussed. firstly, we will try to clarify the issue of “who” the foe is, which becomes blurry at the spiral of Agent/Principle problem, then we will try to set a course for reobtaining human/national security at the conditions of new war order. In this context the study first addresses the effect of proxy theory on political theory, then discusses one of the main issues of proxy theory; proxy costs and to what extent these can be curtailed. Subsequently, the reasons for using proxies in new war order and the frame work which transformed the modern war order to generate proxy war order. When the causes of proxy war order are studied it appears to be a method utilized to abate the political and financial costs of war. When consequences are studied however, political and financial costs such as, nation states losing their position of war monopolies, utilization of violence by groups who disregard symmetric war patterns, breach of international law, emerge.

Keywords: New Wars, Proxy War, Conflict, Human Security, Sustainable Peace.

Giriş

*qui facit per alium, facit per se*ⁱⁱ

(Kaldor Mary, 1997)

ii

(Proxy war) incelemektir. Bu incelemede

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McDonald, 2002:278-179).

, 2004:16) enerji

(Clausewitz, 2008:47-48). O halde ya bi

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nonstate), *supranational*), uluslarara *international*),
(*transnational*) *subnational*

Dönüşüm

kutup

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1. Savaşın kademeli olarak özelleştirilmesi :
asimetri ve *demilitarizasyonu*.

2. **Başa çıkılmaz ölçüde askerî asimetri:** asimetri temelde
sub-
Dixit, K.C. Vol 4. No 1. January 2010:121) asimetriyle

3. **Savaşın demilitarizasyonu:**

elerindeki

hedeflerin nadiren

o

2007:69)

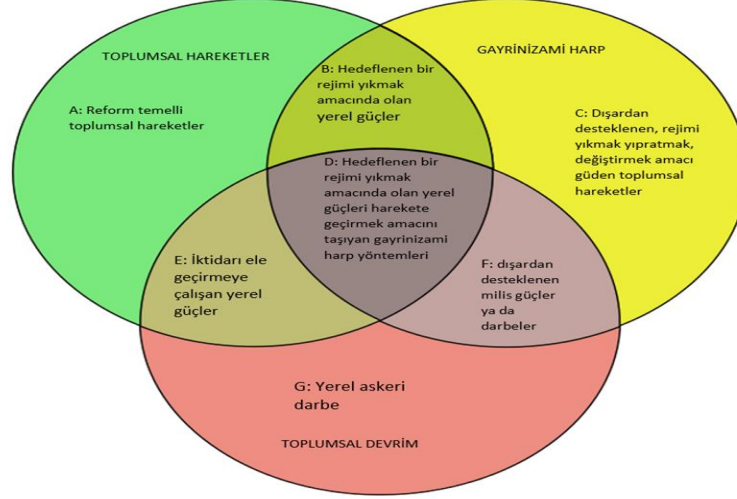
demilitarizasyonunu

jus ad bellum

kapsayan *jus in bello*

(Kolasi, Klevis; Cilt 35, 2017, S. 1-29:4)

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Şekil 1: (Joint Force Quarterly 80, 1st Quarter, January 2016)

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Proxy

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-241).

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savaslari-pon-
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Kartaca

etmekten hem politik olarak hem de iktisadi olarak daha ucuz ol

C. Anthony Pfaff; 305).

. . 264-

Pfaff;

2004:21).

Bu noktada

, 2010:15). Temel olarak
, toplumsal ve insani maliyeti ise
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tz, 2004:20).

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Vekâlet

kullanar

(Mumford,

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(Szekely, 2014:1).

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vekil olarak tarif edilebilir (Szekely, 2014:3).
vekil, her birinin kendi ilgileri ve tercihleri, bir derece

2014:3-

durumunda denetleme, kontr
-4).

organizasyonlar ile haminin sil

(Boon-Kuo, L., Hayes, B., Sentas, V ve Sullivan, G., 2015:45).

Bunlar;

- *Bölgesel iktisap,*
- *Sosyal grupların korunması,*
- *Ekonomik çıkarların korunması,*
- *Diplomatik veya askerî çıkarların korunması,*
- *İdeolojik sebepler,*
- *Bölgesel güç dengeleridir (* -31).

;

- *Muhtemel başarı algısı,*
- *Gerginlik tırmanışı algısı (Mumford, 2013: 30-31)* .

Hız

teorisinde ya
2003:9).

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Bu noktada,

Güçlerin Aşırı Gayreti

the Red Cross, 2015)

(International Committee of

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(Lamp, 2011) bir

Güvenlik

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bu politik h

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Çatışmanın Sonlanması

, 1980:485.)

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ve itibar kaybedecek , 2010)

Sonuç

(John Abbink, 2003:409-410).

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Extended Summary

The aim of this study is to examine proxy war, which is one of the forms of the new conflict order described as new wars. It is also aimed to discuss the security issues created by this new form. In determining the subject and the main theme to be examined around the subject; the human security issue, which has become an increasingly burning problem in today's world, and the negative impact of the proxy war on this issue; has been decisive. The fact that studies related to conflict zones where surrogate armies and private military companies are engaged generally focus on sample conflict, for example, or the fact that the burning agenda produced by the examples, has pushed the discussion of the multidimensional theoretical background of the subject to the background, was effective in not having enough theoretical framework in the academic literature. In addition, the proxy war, but not in the conceptual environment of practice in the framework of new wars, asymmetric war, economic war, cyber war and so on. the fact that it has effective in selecting the subject.

The study will first attempt to shed light on a fundamental issue blurring the agent/proxy spiral in the new wars, in this context, in the ambiguity of the enemy; The gradual privatization of war, inevitably military asymmetry, demilitarization of war, and a series of transformations that occur in mutual interaction are effective. In order to make sense of the reasons for this transforms the wars of proxy into a primary power-use strategy by transforming the modern war order will be examined. In this review, we will also examine the thesis

After examining the proxy war as a strategy of using force in terms of reasons, the consequences will be emphasized. When the issue is analyzed in terms of results, the cheapness provided mainly by the autonomy of violence, social and human costs, for example, the use of child soldiers, the lives of people living in conflict zones under constant threat of displacement, the fear of harassment and death, vulnerable situation in production and shopping in these regions regular, voluntary, deterioration in the economic balance, micro indicators such as human and drug traffic, as well as nation-states lose their qualifications to become

monopolies of war, violence becomes applied by groups that do not take symmetrical war patterns, violations of international law and war law in force.

It is also planned to examine serious humanitarian, economic and political costs. In the same frame; (1) An increase in the number of civil wars, (2) An increase in the intensity of conflict, (3) An increase in the number of displaced civilians in civil wars, (4) An increase in the number of civilians killed in civil wars, and (5) An increase in the proportion of civilian killed in civil wars to military personnel. It is suggested that the use of proxy armies instead of or beside national armies is effective. In the study, it is determined that taking the concept of

authority for nation states. Regarding the proxy war, the issue that is least discussed and, when discussed, the least agreeable is the question of how to end proxy war. Nightery agent nor proxy can end the war because neiheter of them has started. Often the content of the conflict is so blurred as to who the conflicting parties are and the intended political purpose, the sine qua non of the parties in the armed struggle for the sake of the parties, cannot be predicted that the conflict will end. At

f attorney war has ended or should be terminated seems to be in the superpowers. The logic of war economy, the specialization, commercialization of war, the loss of power and reputation of the leaders of war lords or paramilitary groups with peace, the group that will become idle, as well as the mobilization of the social actors who are not fully satisfied with the conditions of their peace. causes conflict to end. In this new form, where war and peace do not exist, a gray zone between diplomacy and war appears to have been created.

Kaynakça

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