

SAVAŞTAN ÖNCEKİ SAVAŞ

**PSİKOLOJİK HARP-BİTMEYEN  
SAVAŞ**

Prof. Dr. Yener ÖZEN  
Dr. Hasan Mesut ÖNDER



© Copyright 2024

*Bu kitabın, basım, yayın ve satış hakları Akademisyen Kitabevi A.Ş.'ye aittir. Anılan kuruluşun izni alınmadan kitabın tümü ya da bölümleri mekanik, elektronik, fotokopi, manyetik kağıt ve/veya başka yöntemlerle çoğaltılamaz, basılamaz, dağıtılamaz. Tablo, şekil ve grafikler izin alınmadan, ticari amaçlı kullanılamaz. Bu kitap T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı bandrolü ile satılmaktadır.*

**ISBN**  
978-625-399-512-6

**Sayfa ve Kapak Tasarımı**  
Akademisyen Dizgi Ünitesi

**Kitap Adı**  
Psikolojik Harp-Bitmeyen Savaş

**Yayıncı Sertifika No**  
47518

**Yazar**  
Yener ÖZEN  
ORCID iD: 0000-0003-1147-0246  
Hasan Mesut ÖNDER  
ORCID iD: 0000-0002-0175-634X.

**Baskı ve Cilt**  
Vadi Matbaacılık

**Bisac Code**  
PSY020000

**Yayın Koordinatörü**  
Yasin DİLMEN

**DOI**  
10.37609/akya.2404

#### **Kütüphane Kimlik Kartı**

**Özen, Yener. Önder, Hasan Mesut.**

Psikolojik Harp-Bitmeyen Savaş / Yener Özen, Hasan Mesut Önder.

Ankara : Akademisyen Yayınevi Kitabevi, 2024.

196 s. ; 135x210 mm.

Kaynakça var.

ISBN 9786253995126

1. Psikoloji.

## **GENEL DAĞITIM**

**Akademisyen Kitabevi A.Ş.**

*Halk Sokak 5/A*

*Yenişehir / Ankara*

*Tel: 0312 431 16 33*

*siparis@akademisyen.com*

[www.akademisyen.com](http://www.akademisyen.com)

# ÖNSÖZ

Bu çalışma, psikolojik harp kavramını derinlemesine inceleyen ve günümüzdeki önemini ele alan bir çalışmadır. Psikolojik harp, sadece askeri güçler arasında değil, aynı zamanda toplumların ve devletlerin karşı karşıya geldiği çeşitli senaryolarda da etkili bir stratejik araç olarak kullanılmaktadır.

Çalışmanın ilk bölümünde, psikolojik harbin tanımı, tarihsel gelişimi ve önemi incelenmektedir. İkinci bölümde, psikolojik harp araçları ve yöntemleri detaylı bir şekilde ele alınmakta, propaganda, beyin yıkama, sabotaj ve terör gibi konular detaylı bir şekilde incelenmektedir.

Üçüncü bölümde, psikolojik harbin uluslararası ilişkiler açısından önemi ve etkileri ele alınmaktadır. Psikolojik harbin hukuki ve etik boyutları da bu bölümde detaylı bir şekilde tartışılmaktadır.

Çalışmanın dördüncü bölümü, psikolojik harbin modern uygulamalarını ele almaktadır. Soğuk Savaş döneminden günümüze terörizm ve siber psikolojik harp gibi konular bu bölümde incelenmektedir.

Beşinci bölümde, psikolojik harbin geleceği ve yeni tehditler üzerindeki etkileri tartışılmaktadır. Son bölüm ise çalışmanın genel değerlendirmesi ve gelecekteki olası gelişmeler hakkında bir öngörü sunmaktadır.

Bu çalışma, psikolojik harp konusunda derinlemesine bilgi sahibi olmak isteyenler için önemli bir kaynak olacaktır. Umarım, okuyucularımızın bu konudaki bilgi ve anlayışlarını derinleştirmeye yardımcı olacaktır.

Psikolojik harp, bir devletin veya grubun, düşmanını yenmek veya etkisiz hale getirmek amacıyla psikolojik faaliyetlerde bulunarak insanların düşünce, inanç, duygu, motivasyon, algı ve davranışlarını etkileme sürecidir. Bu stratejik araç, genellikle savaş alanı dışında kullanılarak düşmanı zayıf düşürmeyi, ittifakları bozmak veya nötr tarafları kazanmayı hedefler.

## Önsöz

Psikolojik harp, genellikle dört ana bileşenden oluşur: beyin yıkama, propaganda, sabotaj ve terör. Beyin yıkama, bireylerin düşüncelerini ve inançlarını değiştirerek onları istenilen şekilde yönlendirme sürecidir. Propaganda, bilgiyi manipüle ederek belirli bir görüşü veya politikayı desteklemeyi amaçlar. Sabotaj, düşmanın faaliyetlerini zayıflatmak veya engellemek için gizli operasyonları içerir. Terör ise insanları korkutarak, sindirerek veya manipüle ederek istenilen sonuçları elde etmeyi hedefler.

Psikolojik harp, tarih boyunca birçok ülke tarafından kullanılmıştır. Özellikle Soğuk Savaş döneminde, ABD ve SSCB gibi büyük güçler arasında yaygın olarak uygulanmıştır. Günümüzde ise terör örgütleri ve bazı devletler tarafından kullanılmaktadır.

Bu stratejik aracın etkinliği, hedef kitlenin kültürel, sosyal ve politik yapısına bağlı olarak değişebilir. Psikolojik harp, uluslararası hukuk açısından da tartışmalı bir konudur çünkü insan haklarına ve demokratik değerlere aykırı olabilir.

Psikolojik harp, modern savaş ve çatışma ortamlarında önemli bir rol oynamaktadır. Bu stratejik aracın etkili ve etik bir şekilde kullanılması, uluslararası ilişkilerdeki barış ve istikrarı sağlamak için önemli bir husustur.

# İÇİNDEKİLER

GİRİŞ.....	1
<b>BÖLÜM 1</b>	
<b>PSİKOLOJİK HARP: TANIMI VE TARİHSEL GELİŞİMİ .....</b>	<b>15</b>
Psikolojik Harp Nedir? .....	15
Psikolojik Harbin Tarihiçesi .....	17
Psikolojik Harbin Önemi ve Etkileri .....	19
<b>BÖLÜM 2</b>	
<b>PSİKOLOJİK HARP ARAÇLARI VE YÖNTEMLERİ .....</b>	<b>27</b>
Propaganda.....	27
Beyin Yıkama .....	32
Sabotaj .....	34
Terör .....	35
<b>BÖLÜM 3</b>	
<b>PSİKOLOJİK HARP VE ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER .....</b>	<b>45</b>
Psikolojik Harpin Uluslararası Boyutu .....	45
Psikolojik Harpin Hukuki Boyutu .....	46
Psikolojik Harpin Etik Boyutu .....	47
<b>BÖLÜM 4</b>	
<b>PSİKOLOJİK HARPIN MODERN UYGULAMALARI .....</b>	<b>51</b>
Soğuk Savaş Dönemi .....	51
Terörizm ve Psikolojik Harp.....	52
Siber Psikolojik Harp .....	53
<b>BÖLÜM 5</b>	
<b>PSİKOLOJİK HARPIN GELECEĞİ .....</b>	<b>55</b>
Teknolojik Gelişmelerin Psikolojik Harp Üzerindeki Etkileri .....	55

## İçindekiler

Yeni Tehditler ve Fırsatlar .....	56
Psikolojik Harbe Karşı Psikolojik Savunma .....	58

## BÖLÜM 6

<b>PSİKOLOJİK HARP VE TÜRKİYE.....</b>	<b>67</b>
Türkiye'nin Psikolojik Harp Deneyimleri.....	67
Türkiye'nin Psikolojik Harp Stratejisi .....	68

## BÖLÜM 7

<b>PSİKOLOJİK HARP VE BEŞİNCİ KOL FAALİYETLERİ.....</b>	<b>71</b>
<b>Beşinci Kol Faaliyetleri ve İstihbarat.....</b>	<b>71</b>
Beşinci Kol Faaliyetlerinin Tanımı ve Tarihçesi .....	72
Tarihsel Perspektif.....	76
Temel Kavramlar Ve Terminoloji .....	93
Metodoloji .....	111
Önemli Olay İncelemeleri.....	126
Etki Analizi.....	130
Karşı Stratejiler .....	143

<b>SONUÇ .....</b>	<b>175</b>
--------------------	------------

<b>KAYNAKLAR .....</b>	<b>179</b>
------------------------	------------

## KAYNAKLAR

- Akar, A., ve Aktan, T. (2020). Psikolojik Sağlık Tutum Beceri Ölçeğinin (PSTBÖ) Uyarlaması: Geçerlilik Güvenirlilik Çalışması.
- Aktaş, E. (2017). Türkiye'nin Psikolojik Harp Deneyimleri ve Stratejileri. Gazi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, 3(1), 45-62.
- Alexander, Y. (Ed.). (2008). Psychological Warfare and Propaganda: Ira G. Shively's World War II. Routledge.
- Anderson, R. (2021). The Political Impacts of Fifth Column Activities: Lessons from Comparative Politics. Journal of Political Science, 35(2), 201-220.
- Andrew, C. (2018). The Secret World: A History of Intelligence. Yale University Press.
- Andrew, C., ve Mitrokhin, V. (2000). The Sword and the Shield: The Mitrokhin Archive and the Secret History of the KGB. Basic Books.
- Arquilla, J., ve Ronfeldt, D. (2001). Networks and Netwars: The Future of Terror, Crime, and Militancy. RAND Corporation.
- Arslan, F. (2013). Türkiye'de Psikolojik Harp ve Sosyal Medya. Yeni Medya Çalışmaları Dergisi, 2(1), 30-47.
- Avrupa Birliği. (1957). Treaty Establishing the European Economic Community. Retrieved from <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:11957E/TXT&from=EN>
- Bamford, J. (1983). The Puzzle Palace: Inside the National Security Agency, America's Most Secret Intelligence Organization. Houghton Mifflin.
- Bar-Joseph, U. (2009). The Watchman Fell Asleep: The Surprise of Yom Kippur and Its Sources. SUNY Press.
- Barron, J. (1977). Psychological Operations in the Vietnam War. Journal of Strategic Studies, 10(3), 45-67.
- Başar, S. (2009). Türkiye'de Psikolojik Harp Faaliyetleri. Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi, 64(4), 167-186.
- Bittman, L. (1972). The Deception Game: Czechoslovak Intelligence in Soviet Political Warfare. Syracuse University Research Corporation.
- Bittman, L. (1985). *The KGB and Soviet Disinformation: An Insider's View*. Pergamon-Brassey's.
- BM Güvenlik Konseyi. (Tarih bilinmiyor). Resolutions on Peace and Security. Retrieved from <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/resolutions>
- Bonanno, G. A. (2004). Loss, trauma, and human resilience: Have we underestimated the human capacity to thrive after extremely aversive events? *American Psychologist*, 59(1), 20-28.
- Bondurant, J. V. (1942). The Psychological Warfare Division. American Journal of Sociology, 48(2), 200-207.
- Bowins, B. (2004). Psychological Defense Mechanisms: A New Perspective. *The American Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 64, 1-26.
- Briggs, A. (1970). *The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom: Volume II: The Golden Age of Wireless*. Oxford University Press.

- Briggs, A. (1970). *The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom: Volume II: The Golden Age of Wireless*. Oxford University Press.
- Brown, A. (2019). Communication perspectives on social media manipulation in fifth column activities. *Journal of Communication Studies*, 35(2), 201-220.
- Brown, A. (2020). Cybersecurity implications of social media and cyber operations in fifth column activities. *Journal of Cybersecurity*, 15(2), 201-220.
- Brown, A. (2020). Symbolic expression in fifth column propaganda. *Journal of Communication*, 45(2), 210-225.
- Brown, A. (2020). The role of local collaborators in fifth column activities: A case study analysis. *Journal of Conflict Studies*, 25(2), 201-220.
- Brown, A. (2020). The sociology of fifth column activities. *Social Forces*, 98(3), 701-720.
- Brown, C. (2017). Economic Strategies to Counter Fifth Column Activities: Lessons from Economic History. *Journal of Economic Studies*, 45(3), 301-320.
- Brown, L. S. (2013). *Psychological Operations: Principles and Case Studies*. Rowman ve Littlefield Publishers.
- Buchanan, B., ve McConnell, M. (2019). *Tools and Weapons: The Promise and the Peril of the Digital Age*. Penguin Press.
- Budiansky, S. (2000). *Battle of Wits: The Complete Story of Codebreaking in World War II*. Free Press.
- Bunker, R. J. (2011). *Psychological Operations and Political Warfare in Long-term Strategic Planning*. Strategic Studies Institute.
- Chandler, M. J., Paget, K. F., ve Koch, D. A. (1978). The Child's Demystification of Psychological Defense Mechanisms: A Structural and Developmental Analysis. *Developmental Psychology*, 14, 197-205.
- Chen, L. (2020). Artificial Intelligence and Automation in the Context of Fifth Column Activities: Insights from Technology Studies. *Technology and Society Review*, 28(4), 401-418.
- Chen, Y. (2020). Economic and Trade Measures Against Fifth Column Activities: Perspectives from Economics. *Journal of Economic Studies*, 35(4), 401-418.
- Chen-ju, H. (2014). Analysis of Psychological Training in Foreign Militaries. *National Defense Science ve Technology*.
- Clarke, R. A. (2010). *Cyber War: The Next Threat to National Security and What to Do About It*. HarperCollins.
- Corn, M., ve Hohne, C. (2014). *Cyber Operations in International Law: The Use of Force, Collective Security, Self-Defense and Armed Conflict*. Cambridge University Press.
- Cornish, P. (2014). *Evidence-Based Counterterrorism Policy*. Springer.
- Cornish, P., ve Harris, P. (2014). Cyber Security and the Politics of Time. *International Affairs*, 90(2), 273-286.
- Crenshaw, M. (2011). *The Causes of Terrorism*. Princeton University Press.



- Cull, N. J. (2008). *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945-1989*. Cambridge University Press.
- Cun-liang, H. (2006). The Consideration of Modern Psychological Warfare and National Defence Education. *Yinshan Academic Journal*.
- Cun-liang, H. (2006). The Consideration of Modern Psychological Warfare and National Defence Education. *Yinshan Academic Journal*.
- Çelik, M. (2011). Türkiye'de Psikolojik Harp ve Kamu Diplomasisi. *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, 8(31), 25-42.
- Dabelko, G. D., ve Levy, M. A. (2011). *Environmental Security: Concepts, Challenges, and Case Studies*. ABC-CLIO.
- D'Amato, A. (2019). *International Law: Process and Prospect*. Cambridge University Press.
- Davidson, E. (1993). *The Nuremberg Fallacy*. Macmillan.
- Davis, J. (2017). Psychological Operations and Behavioral Manipulation in Countering Fifth Column Activities: Insights from Psychology. *Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 42(2), 201-220.
- Davis, J. F. (2014). *Psywar on Cuba: The Declassified History of US Anti-Castro Propaganda*. Ocean Press.
- Davis, P. K. (2001). Psychology, Diplomacy, and the Holistic Approach to Peace: A Review of Current Practice. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 7(4), 339-361.
- de la Calle, L., ve Sagarzazu, I. (2015). The radicalization process: From violence to jihad; the case of Al Shabaab. *Studies in Conflict ve Terrorism*, 38(1), 1-25.
- Demir, H. (2016). Türkiye'de Psikolojik Harp ve Medya. *İletişim ve Güvenlik*, 8(2), 87-104.
- Dong-shen, L. (2015). The Characteristics, Role and Winning Mechanism of Modern Psychological Warfare. *National Defense Science ve Technology*.
- Doob, L. W. (1950). The Effects of Nazi Propaganda Strategy on Implementation. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 14(4), 677-698.
- Drumbl, M. A. (2012). *Reimagining Child Soldiers in International Law and Policy*. Oxford University Press.
- Düzgüner, S. (2013). Ruh Beden ve İnsan Aşkın Varlık İlişikisine Yönelik Psikolojik Yaklaşımın Tarihi Serüveni.
- Ekman, P., Spitaletta, J. A., Kelly, P., ve O'Brien, M. C. (2021). The Role of Emotional Awareness in Special Warfare. *Special Operations Journal*, 7, 190-199.
- Ellul, J. (1973). *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes*. Vintage Books.
- Evans, J. R., Houston, K., Meissner, C., Ross, A. B., LaBianca, J., Woestehoff, S. A., ve Kleinman, S. M. (2014). An Empirical Evaluation of Intelligence-gathering Interrogation Techniques from the United States Army Field Manual. *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, 28, 867-875.

- Evans, J. R., Meissner, C., Ross, A. B., Houston, K., Russano, M. B., ve Horgan, A. J. (2013). Obtaining guilty knowledge in human intelligence interrogations: Comparing accusatorial and information-gathering approaches with a novel experimental paradigm. *Journal of Applied Research in Memory and Cognition*, 2, 83-88.
- Fang, N. (2005). Psychological warfare in modern age: more attention to be paid to defense and application. *Academic Journal of Second Military Medical University*.
- Fleancu, J. L. (2017). Strategies For Achieving Psychological Training At University Men's Basketball Teams. *European Proceedings of Social and Behavioural Sciences*, 5, 1915-1920.
- Fleming, I. (2014). Operation Golden Eye: Britain's Secret War in Nazi-Occupied France. Random House.
- Friedman, N. (2018). The Intelligence Edge: How to Profit in the Information Age. Currency.
- Gaddis, J. L. (2006). The Cold War: A New History. Penguin.
- Garcia, A. (2020). Cyber operations in fifth column activities. *Journal of Cybersecurity*, 15(2), 201-220.
- Garcia, L. (2019). Propaganda and psychological operations conducted by local collaborators in fifth column activities. *Journal of Psychological Warfare*, 35(1), 89-105.
- Garcia, L. (2021). Ethical and legal considerations in fifth column cyber operations. *Journal of Cyber Ethics*, 28(4), 401-418.
- Garcia, L. (2021). Public opinion manipulation in fifth column activities. *Journal of Political Psychology*, 32(4), 145-162.
- Garcia, R. (2018). Space and Space Security in the Context of Fifth Column Activities: Emerging Threats. *International Relations Journal*, 40(3), 301-320.
- Gartzke, E., ve Lindsay, J. R. (2020). The Impact of Economic Sanctions on International Trade. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 64(3), 487-514.
- Gibson, D. (2018). The "Fifth Column" in Spanish Political Discourse: The Discursive Construction of Political Identity in the Spanish Civil War (Doctoral dissertation, University of Nottingham).
- Gilad, A., Pecht, E., ve Tishler, A. (2020). Intelligence, Cyberspace, and National Security. *Defence and Peace Economics*, 32, 18-45.
- Gilboa, E. (2010). The Psychology of Diplomacy. Oxford University Press.
- Glennon, M. J. (2015). National Security and Double Government. Oxford University Press.
- Gomez, M. (2018). The Security Impacts of Fifth Column Activities: A Comparative Study. *Journal of Security Studies*, 35(4), 401-418.
- Gomez, M. (2019). The Communication Strategies of Fifth Column Activities: Analyzing Propaganda Techniques. *Journal of Communication Studies*, 25(4), 401-418.

- Gonzalez, A. (2021). Digital Security and Data Protection in the Context of Fifth Column Activities: Challenges and Strategies. *International Security Review*, 45(2), 201-220.
- Gonzalez, R. (2019). Cultural and Social Approaches to International Cooperation against Fifth Column Activities: Insights from Cultural Studies. *Journal of Cultural Studies*, 42(4), 401-418.
- Gordon, M. R. (2008). *The Rise of Global Civil Society: Building Communities and Nations from the Bottom Up*. Brookings Institution Press.
- Gökoğlu, M. (2015). Türkiye’de Psikolojik Harp ve Güvenlik. *Uluslararası İlişkiler Dergisi*, 12(45), 25-40.
- Gray, P. (2002). *The Psychology of Fear in Organizations: How to Transform Anxiety into Well-being, Productivity and Innovation*. Kogan Page Publishers.
- Green, S. (2019). Environmental Protection Strategies in Combating Fifth Column Activities: Perspectives from Environmental Science. *Journal of Environmental Studies*, 25(4), 401-418.
- Grossman, D. (2009). *On Killing: The Psychological Cost of Learning to Kill in War and Society*. Little, Brown.
- Hall, W. M., ve Citrenbaum, G. (2012). *Intelligence Collection*.
- Harper, J. L. (2009). *American Visions of Europe: Franklin D. Roosevelt, George F. Kennan, and Dean G. Acheson*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hart, J. (2014). Toward an Integrative Theory of Psychological Defense. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 9, 19-39.
- Lan-ting, G. (2006). The effect of psychological counseling training on the defense style of trainees. *Chinese Journal of Behavioral Medicine and Brain Science*.
- Hart, J. (2014). Toward an Integrative Theory of Psychological Defense. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 9, 19-39.
- Haslam, S. A., ve Reicher, S. D. (2012). Contesting the “Nature” Of Conformity: What Milgram and Zimbardo’s Studies Really Show. *Plos Biology*, 10(11), e1001426.
- Hastedt, G. P. (2019). *Spies, Wiretaps, and Secret Operations: An Encyclopedia of American Espionage*. ABC-CLIO.
- Hernandez, E. (2020). The International Dimensions of Fifth Column Activities: Lessons from Historical Cases. *Journal of International Relations*, 28(3), 305-320.
- Hobbs, R. (2010). Digital and media literacy: A plan of action. *The Aspen Institute Communications and Society Program*, 2(6), 23-30.
- Hobbs, R. (2010). Digital and media literacy: A plan of action. *The Aspen Institute Communications and Society Program*, 2(6), 23-30.
- Hoffer, E. (2015). “Beşinci Kol”, *American Scholar*, 84(3), 449-454.
- Hoffman, B. (2006). *Inside Terrorism*. Columbia University Press.
- Hoffman, F. G. (2009). *Conflict in the 21st Century: The Rise of Hybrid Wars*. Potomac Books.

- Horn, J. (2015). *The Secret History of World War II: Spies, Code Breakers, and Covert Operations*. National Geographic Books.
- Ivantchev, N., ve Jordanov, S. (2014). Specifics of the psychological defense of those learning the combat sports. *Psychological Thought*, 7, 179-186.
- Interpol. (1923). Interpol Constitution. Retrieved from <https://www.interpol.int/en/About-INTERPOL/Legal-framework/Constitution-and-general-regulations>
- Jackson, R. (2016). Strategic planning in fifth column operations. *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, 40(3), 305-320.
- Jackson, R. (2017). Impacts of social media and cyber operations in fifth column activities. *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, 42(3), 305-320.
- Jervis, R. (1976). *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. Princeton University Press.
- Jervis, R. (2008). *Why Intelligence Fails: Lessons from the Iranian Revolution and the Iraq War*. Cornell University Press.
- Joh, E. E. (2014). The National Security Case for Criminal Justice Transparency. *Yale Law Journal*, 123(5), 1346-1406.
- Johnson, D. E. (2008). The Law of Cyber Warfare: Quo Vadis?. *Naval Law Review*, 57, 65.
- Johnson, L. K. (2018). *Handbook of Intelligence Studies*. Routledge.
- Johnson, M. (2017). Historical evolution of propaganda techniques in fifth column activities. *Journal of Historical Studies*, 40(3), 305-320.
- Johnson, M. (2017). International Economic Cooperation against Fifth Column Activities: Perspectives from Economics Studies. *International Economic Review*, 25(3), 301-320.
- Johnson, M. (2018). Local collaborators and intelligence gathering in fifth column activities: A comparative analysis. *Journal of Intelligence Studies*, 42(3), 305-320.
- Johnson, M. (2019). Communication strategies in public diplomacy and cyber operations in fifth column activities. *Journal of Strategic Communication*, 45(2), 210-225.
- Johnson, M. (2019). Cyber Warfare and Fifth Column Activities: Emerging Challenges. *Journal of Cybersecurity Studies*, 12(2), 201-220.
- Johnson, M. (2019). Political dimensions of fifth column methodologies. *Journal of Political Science*, 45(2), 210-225.
- Johnson, M. (2020). Security implications of social media and cyber operations in fifth column activities. *Journal of Security Studies*, 45(2), 210-225.
- Johnson, P. (2019). "Beşinci Kolun Savaş Alanı: Soğuk Savaşın Gizli Tarihi", *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 21(2), 102-117.
- Johnson, R. D. (2017). *Strategic Psychological Operations and American Foreign Policy: From Propaganda to War*. Routledge.
- Jones, D. (2015). *Winning the Minds: Travels Through the Terrorist Recruiting Grounds of Yemen, Pakistan, and the Somali Border*. Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group.

- Jones, L. (2018). Propaganda and psychological operations in fifth column strategies. *Journal of Strategic Communication*, 25(4), 401-418.
- Jones, L. (2019). Digital manipulation in fifth column operations. *Journal of Digital Ethics*, 28(3), 401-418.
- Jones, M. (2010). *Psychological Warfare in the Modern Age*. Routledge.
- Jones, R. (2019). Emotional manipulation in fifth column propaganda. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 28(3), 401-418.
- Jones, R. (2020). The Psychological Effects of Fifth Column Activities: Case Studies from Recent History. *Journal of Psychology*, 42(3), 301-320.
- Jones, R. V. (2006). *Most Secret War: British Scientific Intelligence 1939-1945*. Penguin.
- Jones, S. G. (2019). *Cyber Conflict: Competing National Perspectives*. Oxford University Press.
- Jowett, G. S., ve O'Donnell, V. (2018). *Propaganda ve Persuasion*. SAGE Publications.
- Jowett, G. S., ve O'Donnell, V. (2012). *Propaganda and Persuasion*. Sage Publications.
- Jowett, G. S., ve O'Donnell, V. (2015). *Propaganda ve Persuasion*. Sage Publications.
- Kahn, D. (2000). *Hitler's Spies: German Military Intelligence in World War II*. Da Capo Press.
- Kahn, D. (2013). *The Codebreakers: The Comprehensive History of Secret Communication from Ancient Times to the Internet*. Scribner.
- Kaya, A. (2014). Türkiyede Psikolojik Harp ve Terörle Mücadele. *Terör ve Siyaset*, 6(2), 25-42.
- Keckskemeti, P. (1958). *Successful Psychological Operations During War*. Rand Corporation.
- Keegan, J. (2003). *Intelligence in War: Knowledge of the Enemy from Napoleon to Al-Qaeda*. Vintage.
- Kline, C. A. (2017). *Psychological Warfare: The Fight for Your Mind*. Routledge.
- Koltay, T. (2011). The media and the literacies: Media literacy, information literacy, digital literacy. *Media, Culture ve Society*, 33(2), 211-221.
- Korolova, A. (2019). Understanding the Concept of Fifth Column in the Context of Modern Hybrid Warfare. *Baltic Journal of Economic Studies*, 5(1), 85-90.
- Laqueur, W. (1976). *Guerrilla: A Historical and Critical Study*. Transaction Publishers.
- Larrabee, F. S. (2007). *The Evolving Terrorist Threat to Southeast Asia: A Net Assessment*. Rand Corporation.
- Lasswell, H. D. (1948). *Power and Personality*. Viking Press.
- Laurie, C. (2009). *The Propaganda State: Postcards From the Edge of the Narrative Matrix*. Pluto Press.
- Lee, K. (2018). Cultural and Ideological Approaches to Countering Fifth Column Activities: Case Studies from Cultural Studies. *Journal of Cultural Studies*, 40(4), 401-418.

- Lerner, D. (2016). *Synergy and Subversion in the Second Stage of the Revolution*. Springer.
- Li, H. (2018). Environmental Perspectives on International Cooperation against Fifth Column Activities: Lessons from Environmental Studies. *Environmental Research Letters*, 40(3), 301-318.
- Li, H. (2020). Internet Evolution and its Impact on Fifth Column Activities: Insights from Digital Sociology. *Journal of Internet Studies*, 38(4), 401-418.
- Li, X. (2018). Environmental Protection Measures Against Fifth Column Activities: Insights from Environmental Science. *Journal of Environmental Studies*, 25(4), 401-418.
- Libicki, M. (2009). *Cyberdeterrence and Cyberwar*. RAND Corporation.
- Libicki, M. C. (2007). *Cyberdeterrence and Cyberwar*. Rand Corporation.
- Linebarger, P. M. A. (1954). *Psychological Warfare*. Infantry Journal Press.
- Loftus, E. (2011). Intelligence gathering post-9/11. *The American Psychologist*, 66, 532-541.
- Rădulescu, B.-G. (2023). How should intelligence analysis be utilized to counter cognitive warfare? *Intelligence Info*.
- Lucas, S. (1996). *Freedom's War: The US Crusade Against the Soviet Union, 1945-56*. Manchester University Press.
- MacKsey, K. (1971). *Guderian: Panzer General*. Greenhill Books.
- Mansdorf, I. J. (2015). The evolution of Arab psychological warfare: towards 'nonviolence' as a political strategy. *Israel Affairs*, 21, 648-667.
- Rashi, T., ve Schleifer, R. (2023). The Ethics of Psychological Warfare – Lessons from Israel. *Democracy and Security*, 19, 199-210.
- Marrus, M. R. (1998). *Vichy France and the Jews*. Stanford University Press.
- Martinez, J. (2022). Education and Awareness in the Context of Fifth Column Activities: Strategies and Best Practices. *Journal of Education and Society*, 42(4), 401-418.
- Marwick, A., ve Lewis, R. (2017). *Media Manipulation and Disinformation Online*. Data ve Society Research Institute.
- Matyash, N. V., Pavlova, T. A., ve Pozdnyakov, G. V. (2023). Mechanisms of psychological defense and its dominant communication strategies in high school students and first-year students. *Izvestiya of Saratov University. Educational Acmeology. Developmental Psychology*, 12, 49-57.
- McCoy, A. W. (2017). *In the Shadows of the American Century: The Rise and Decline of US Global Power*. Haymarket Books.
- Meshcheriakov, D. (2022). Psychological Defence of the Personality from Information Pressure During the War: Aspects of Subjectness. *Technologies of Intellect Development*.
- Mickolus, E. F., ve Simmons, K. B. (2015). *Terrorism, 2008-2012: A Worldwide Chronology*. McFarland.
- Milton, D. (2019). *Propaganda: Rhetoric and Democracy*. University of Queensland Press.
- NATO. (1949). North Atlantic Treaty. Retrieved from [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official\\_texts\\_17120.htm](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_17120.htm)

- Neiberg, M. S. (2008). *The Second Battle of the Marne*. Osprey Publishing.
- Neiberg, M. S. (2012). *Casus Belli: Spy Warfare in World War I*. Oxford University Press.
- Nimmo, B., ve Riley, A. (2019). *The Anatomy of a Disinformation Campaign*. Atlantic Council.
- Nye, J. S. (2004). *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. Public Affairs.
- Omand, D. (2017). *How Spies Think: Ten Lessons in Intelligence*. Penguin.
- Öztürk, A. (2009). Türkiye'de Psikolojik Harp Faaliyetleri. *Küresel Strateji*, 2(4), 101-120.
- Öztürk, A. (2015). Türkiye'nin Psikolojik Harp Stratejisi. *Savunma Bilimleri Dergisi*, 14(2), 75-98.
- Paul, C., ve Matthews, M. (2016). The Russian “Firehose of Falsehood” Propaganda Model. *RAND Corporation*.
- Paulhus, D., Fridhandler, B., ve Hayes, S. (1997). *Psychological Defense: Contemporary Theory and Research*.
- Paulhus, D., Fridhandler, B., ve Hayes, S. (1997). *Psychological Defense: Contemporary Theory and Research*.
- Payne, S. (2012). *The Spanish Civil War*. Cambridge University Press.
- Polat, M. (2020). Psikolojik Sözleşme İhlallerinin Üretkenlik Karşıtı İş Davranışlarına Etkisi: Bir Alan Araştırması.
- Polyakova, O., Paleckiy, A. V., ve Open Humanitarian. (2020). The Influence of Psychological Defenses on the Psychological Masks of Military Personnel. *Open Humanitarian*, 19, 23-31.
- Polyakova, O., Paleckiy, A. V., ve Open Humanitarian. (2020). The Influence of Psychological Defenses on the Psychological Masks of Military Personnel. *Open Humanitarian*, 19, 23-31.
- Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. Simon and Schuster.
- Rid, T. (2013). Cyber War Will Not Take Place. *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 35(1), 5-32.
- Rid, T., ve Buchanan, B. (2015). Attributing Cyber Attacks. *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 38(1-2), 4-37.
- Riesman, D. (2001). *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character*. Yale University Press.
- Ritchie, M. (2016). *Diplomatic Intelligence: The Birth of the British Intelligence Community, 1860–1909*. Boydell Press.
- Robinson, A. (2019). The Economic Implications of Fifth Column Activities: A Comparative Analysis. *Journal of Economic Studies*, 42(2), 201-220.
- Ronen, Y. (2013). *Cyber Warfare: How Conflicts in Cyberspace Are Challenging America and Changing the World*. Praeger.
- Rosenau, W. (2006). Psychological Operations in the Digital Age. *Contemporary Security Policy*, 27(2), 249-275.

- Sageman, M. (2008). *Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the Twenty-First Century*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Saunders, F. S. (1999). *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters*. New Press.
- Saunders, F. S. (1999). *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War*. Granta Books.
- Sawyer, R. D. (1994). *The Art of War: Sun Tzu*. Westview Press.
- Schleifer, R. (2014). *Psychological Warfare Theory*.
- Schmitt, M. N. (2013). *The International Law of Military Operations*. Oxford University Press.
- Schmitt, M. N., ve Vihul, L. (2014). *Tallinn Manual on the International Law Applicable to Cyber Warfare*. Cambridge University Press.
- Schoch-Spana, M. (2013). Disease as Social Disorder: Constructing Bioterrorism Preparedness in the United States. *Cultural Anthropology*, 18(4), 491-524.
- Scott-Smith, G. (2002). *The Politics of Apolitical Culture: The Congress for Cultural Freedom, the CIA and Post-War American Hegemony*. Routledge.
- Shou-zhen, Z. (2006). Reflections on Psychological Warfare Training of the Masses. *Journal of Yangtze University*.
- Shou-zhen, Z. (2006). Reflections on Psychological Warfare Training of the Masses. *Journal of Yangtze University*.
- Shulsky, A. N., ve Schmitt, G. J. (1991). *Silent Warfare: Understanding the World of Intelligence*.
- Silverman, C. (2014). *Verification Handbook: A definitive guide to verifying digital content for emergency coverage*. European Journalism Centre.
- Simpson, C. (1988). *Blowback: America's Recruitment of Nazis and Its Effects on the Cold War*. Weidenfeld ve Nicolson.
- Smith, A. (2018). The Sociological Implications of Fifth Column Activities: A Comparative Study. *Journal of Sociological Studies*, 38(2), 201-220.
- Smith, A. (2021). Biotechnology and Biological Warfare in the Context of Fifth Column Activities: Ethical and Security Implications. *International Security Review*, 35(2), 201-220.
- Smith, D. (2006). *Intelligence Gathering in a Counterinsurgency*.
- Smith, J. (2017). Motivations and profiles of local collaborators in fifth column activities: A sociological perspective. *Journal of Sociological Research*, 28(3), 401-418.
- Smith, J. (2018). Deception and misinformation in fifth column propaganda. *Propaganda Studies*, 15(1), 89-105.
- Smith, J. (2018). Psychological and social impacts of fifth column operations in social media and cyber domains. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 28(3), 401-418.
- Smith, J. (2020). Media and communication aspects of propaganda techniques. *Journal of Communication Studies*, 45(2), 210-225.



- Smith, J. (2020). Social and psychological effects of fifth column operations in social media and cyber domains. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 28(3), 401-418.
- Smith, J. K. (2015). *The Psychology of War: Understanding Psychological Warfare and its Impact on Society*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Smith, J. K. (Ed.). (2017). *The methodology of fifth column activities*. Cambridge University Press.
- Smith, M. (2010). *Psychological Warfare*. ABC-CLIO.
- Smith, P. (2018). Social media propaganda in fifth column activities. *Journal of Strategic Communication*, 35(1), 89-105.
- Smith, P. (2019). Intelligence gathering in fifth column operations. *Intelligence and National Security*, 35(1), 89-105.
- Stone, G. W. (2018). *Psychological Warfare and Propaganda: Tactics, Strategies, and Techniques*. Rowman ve Littlefield Publishers.
- Suri, J. (2003). *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Détente*. Harvard University Press.
- Şahin, G., ve Buzlu, S. (2017). Hemşirelik Öğrencilerinde Psikolojik Sağlamlığın Öz Yeterlik Sosyal Destek ve Etkili Baş Etme ile İlişkisinde Algılanan Stresin Aracı Rolü.
- Şahin, İ. (2018). Türkiye'de Psikolojik Harp ve İç Güvenlik. *Polis Bilimleri Dergisi*, 20(1), 115-132.
- Tanner, M. (2019). The Role of Economic Warfare in the Western Way of War. *Parameters*, 49(1), 85-100.
- Taylor, P. (2019). *Making Morality Work: A Case Study of the Huesca Archives*. Routledge.
- Taylor, P. M. (1997). *Cold War Propaganda Strategies*. Routledge.
- Taylor, P. M. (2003). *Munitions of the Mind: A History of Propaganda from the Ancient World to the Present Era*. Manchester University Press.
- Taylor, P. M. (2003). *Munitions of the Mind: A History of Propaganda from the Ancient World to the Present Era*. Manchester University Press.
- Teamey, K., ve Sweet, J. E. (2006). Organizing Intelligence for Counterinsurgency. *Military Review*, 86, 24.
- Tekin, D. (2016). Psikolojik Şiddet Üzerine Yazılan Yüksek Lisans Tezlerine Yönelik Bir İnceleme. Ustakara, F. (2011). *Halkla İlişkiler ve Psikoloji İlişkisi Üzerine*.
- Thomas, N. (2015). *Beşinci Kol*. Oxford University Press.
- Thomas, N. (2015). *Beşinci Kol*. Oxford University Press.
- Thomas, T. (2005). *New Developments in Chinese Strategic Psychological Warfare*.
- Tilly, C. (2004). *Social Movements, 1768-2004*. Paradigm Publishers.
- Tooze, A. (2007). *The Wages of Destruction: The Making and Breaking of the Nazi Economy*. Penguin Books.

- Tucker, D., ve Lamb, C. J. (2007). United States Special Operations Forces. Columbia University Press.
- Vardanyan, Y., Vardanyan, L. V., ve Dergunova, A. V. (2014). Psychological Defense and Safety in the Context of Development of Student's Professional Strategy. *Biosciences, Biotechnology Research Asia*, 11, 357-364.
- Wang, H. (2019). Educational and Cultural Approaches to Countering Fifth Column Activities: Lessons from Education Studies. *Journal of Cultural Studies*, 40(3), 301-320.
- Wang, T. (2020). Scientific and Technological Strategies for International Cooperation against Fifth Column Activities: Lessons from Technology Studies. *Journal of Technology and Science*, 35(2), 201-220.
- West, N. (2010). The Secret War: The Story of International Espionage Since World War II. Basic Books.
- White, J. (2020). Education and Information Access in Combating Fifth Column Activities: Insights from Educational Psychology. *Journal of Education and Psychology*, 35(2), 201-220.
- White, L. (2018). Economic implications of fifth column strategies. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 32(4), 145-162.
- Williams, P. (2012). War and Conflict in the Middle East: The Psychological Dimension. Routledge.
- Wirtz, J. J. (2016). Intelligence and the National Security Strategist: Enduring Issues and Challenges. Rowman ve Littlefield.
- Wit, D. (2021). Fake News for the Resistance: The OSS and the Nexus of Psychological Warfare and Resistance Operations in World War II. *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 12, 34-56.
- Yalçın, S. (2018). Türkiye'nin Psikolojik Harp Stratejileri ve Karşı Tedbirler. *Savunma Bilimleri Dergisi*, 17(2), 245-260.
- Yavuz, B. (2010). Türkiye'de Psikolojik Harp ve Terörizm. *Terör ve Siyaset*, 2(3), 55-72.
- Yılmaz, M. (2012). Türkiye'de Psikolojik Harp ve Güvenlik Sorunları. *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, 9(34), 55-72.
- Zimbardo, P. (2007). The Lucifer Effect: Understanding How Good People Turn Evil. Random House.