

TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY: NEW CONCEPTS AND REFLECTIONS

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## ABSTRACT

### TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY: NEW CONCEPTS AND REFLECTIONS

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Turkey has been in the process of taking its foreign policy position in the post-Cold War international schema. Through this process of adjustment, Turkish foreign policy has been developing new perspectives with new concepts. The objective of this thesis is to analyze these new concepts with its theoretical basics and reflections in policy formation. In this sense; traditional Turkish foreign policy, systemic changes behind the new foreign policy path, Strategic Depth Doctrine and new conceptual tools of Turkish foreign policy are the topics covered along the chapters. Turkish foreign policy has a new conceptual and theoretical frame, which could not be fully tested and ultimate policy results could not be observed. In this thesis, new concepts are analyzed as a contribution to Turkish Foreign Policy literature, within a descriptive methodology.

Keywords: Vision, Concept, Foreign Policy, Strategic Depth, Change.

## ÖZ

### TÜRK Dİ POLİTİKASI: YENİ KAVRAMLAR VE YANSIMALARI

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Türkiye, Soğuk Savaş sonrası, uluslararası sistemde, politika pozisyonunu belirleme sürecinde. Uyum sürecinde, Türk dış politikası, yeni kavram ve yeni perspektifler geliştiriyor. Tezin amacı, bu yeni kavramlar, teorik temelleri ve politika belirleme sürecindeki yansımalar, açısından analiz etmektir. Bu bağlamda, geleneksel Türk dış politikası, yeni dış politika trendi altında yatan sistemik faktörler, Stratejik Derinlik Doktrini ve yeni kavramsal araçlar bölümlerde ele alınmış, Türkiye dış politikası, henüz tam olarak test edilememiştir ve sonuçlar, gözlenememiştir bir yeni kavramsal ve teorik çerçeveye sahip. Bu tezde, literatüre bir katkı olarak, Türk dış politikasının yeni kavramlar tanımlayıcı bir metodoloji ile ele alınmış, Türkiye.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Vizyon, Kavram, Dış Politika, Stratejik Derinlik, Değişim.

*To my dear daughter,*

*Leyla Nisa*

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## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Turkey is living a dynamic transformation process in a dynamic international environment. This process is an inevitable necessity of post Cold-War international relations. This is also a consequence of Turkey's geo-political position. Turkey has been re-adjusting its foreign policy principles and priorities in accordance with its domestic changes and the new route of the World politics.

During the period following World War I, Turkish state was in a whole turmoil related to domestic and foreign affairs. Turkey was both militarily fighting against the outsiders who were competing with each other to have a share of the Ottoman territories and, testifying the culmination of an uneasy reform process inside. Within the destructive ruins in the wake of the First World War and the following the War of Independence, Turkey tried to consolidate integrity inside and sovereignty outside, in order to survive as a newly established nation-state. Thus, in the early ages Turkey was busy with conducting its westernization agenda in domestic politics, while trying to normalize its foreign relations. Those mentioned extra-ordinary conditions strictly shaped and limited the foreign policy behavior of the new Republic and mainly resulted in security-oriented foreign policy formation.

With the arrival of the Cold War international system, Turkey's sphere to maneuver strategically in the international arena was also constrained. Cold War bipolar system forced the states to place themselves within a one of the two rival power poles, the US and USSR. In this power polarization, Turkey determined its position under the Western security umbrella. In this context, Turkish foreign policy was mainly in harmony with the Western expectations. Until the end of the Cold War, use of Turkey's geo-political position were mostly subordinated to the questions of security, due to Cold War polarization outside and the hard domestic politics inside.

Decline of the Soviet system signified a vital transformation in the parameters of the Cold-War international relations. Bipolar balance of power system collapsed. The end of the strategic balance between the two continental powers left behind an ambiguity for the future of international order. Consequentially, political instability remained after the bipolar order paved way to the strategic monopoly of the US leadership. The period in the aftermath of Cold-War ages, until the 9/11 incident has been a re-adjustment process for Turkey to define its position in the new World politics.

September 11 attacks constituted the new turning point for the World politics. United States-initiated war on so-called "global terrorism" in the wake of the attacks has brought the security question as the main point to the international political agenda. In this insecure international environment, the parameters for the post-Cold War international relations have been re-defined. Unilateral hard-power oriented policies under the leadership of the United States inclined to deepen the differences and complicated to live in common peace and order. Re-increase of the security question with newly defined enemy, Islamic terrorism, has launched searches for alternative solutions for peaceful settlement of the disputes instead of military engagements.

Post-September 11 direction of the international politics re-elevated Turkey's international position and its foreign policy orientation. Islamic radicalism, blamed for the September 11 incidents, carried Turkey to top of the new international order questions. Turkey has been addressed as a road for the peace in its region. Likewise, Turkey has appeared as "the role model" for the Muslim Middle Eastern Countries, as the only Muslim state with a Western orientation, with its functioning democracy and its managements to conciliate its modernization project with its traditional Muslim population.

Within the context of the above-mentioned systemic scheme and Turkey's socio-political transformation, Turkey's foreign policy has undergone considerable changes in the last decade. Turkey adopted a proactive engagement with its neighborhood and started to revise its past conflicts through a different perspective. Therefore, this

thesis aims at examining Turkey's foreign policy making, in the light of the main argument that Turkey has new approaches with new dimensions in foreign policy formation during the AKP government.

Following questions are aimed to be responded throughout a descriptive and analytical methodology:

*What are the main principles of traditional Turkish foreign policy?*

*How did internal and international changes affect Turkey's traditional foreign policy until the end of Cold War?*

*If it is possible to define theoretical and practical changes in Turkey's foreign policy-making, what are these?*

*What are the new conceptual tools of Turkish foreign policy?*

*How these conceptual tools are transferred to the implementation of the foreign policy?*

*What are the possible challenges and critical perspectives against these new concepts and their usage in foreign policy formation?*

In the light of these questions, the transformation of Turkish foreign policy with its new theoretical basis and policy initiatives through the AKP government will be analyzed.

The thesis consists of five chapters. The first chapter is devoted to the introduction part. The second chapter discusses the traditional foreign policy making of Turkey. Firstly, general picture is analyzed with the principal tendencies of the traditional Turkish foreign policy. In the following lines, the chapter is divided in two sub-topics, which elaborates the underlying factors of the traditional foreign policy making as outlined in the previous paragraphs. First sub-topic searches the domestic influences, basically the Kemalist foundations, on foreign policy formation. Second sub-topic is allocated to the international factors, mainly the impact of the Cold-War international order.

In the third chapter, change in Turkish foreign policy is covered. In this chapter, the causes behind the changes are studied in detailed analysis. The chapter includes four sub-headings. The first sub-heading deals with the changes brought about by fading of the Cold-War international paradigms. Second one is related to impact of September 11 incidents on Turkey's international stance, in which impact of the relations with the US is also covered. Third sub-topic is devoted to contributions of the EU process and its reflection in Turkey's foreign relations. In this frame, the program of political, legal and administrative reforms with their impacts on domestic politics, and their reflections on foreign policy making are evaluated.

Fourth chapter discusses the new concepts of Turkey's foreign policy and its theoretical sources. In the first sub-heading, Ahmet Davuto lu's Strategic Depth Doctrine with reference to his major academic work, "Strategic Depth: International Position of Turkey" is studied. It is examined through its theoretical and methodological premises within a descriptive methodology, as a contribution to the literature. While defining the new concepts in the second sub-heading, Davuto lu's writings, speeches and policy practices is studied. And, transition of these new concepts to the foreign policy formation is detailed with various political initiatives. Additionally, ongoing debates on Turkey's new foreign policy vision through the new concepts and executions are touched upon. This part is studied under below-mentioned conceptual topics:

1. Balance between security and freedom
2. Zero-problems with the neighbors
3. To develop relations with the neighboring regions and beyond
4. Rhythmic (pro-active) diplomacy
5. Multi-dimensional foreign policy

The thesis is finalized with the conclusion part. In this part, findings with respect to questions are summarized. And lastly, questions for further research are recommended.

## CHAPTER II

### DETERMINANTS OF TRADITIONAL TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY

There are many concepts employed to define Turkey's traditional\* foreign policy principles as *conservatism, caution, protectionism, isolationism, autonomy, balance of power, passive, neutrality, reactive, bilateral*. More concepts are possible to add. There are two principal concepts explaining the traditional Turkish foreign policy as *Status Quo* and *Westernization*. Traditionally, Turkey's foreign policy was formulated to rely on two principles; first, "maintaining the established order within the existing borders and balances" second, "realization of a Western oriented foreign policy formation"<sup>1</sup>

Traditional foreign policy principles were determined under the influence of the actual conjunctural and structural factors.<sup>2</sup> These factors were shaped through an actual historical background with pre-given sources. In this context, Murinson delineates four main sources of the traditional foreign policy as "the historical experience of the Ottoman State, the nationalist Kemalist revolution and the creation of the Republic itself, classical Western orientation and distrustful perception of foreign powers and foreign interests"<sup>3</sup> In these years, Turkey's foreign policy making emerged within the constraining conditions of the complex interplay between these underlying variables.

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\* The term "traditional" is used to refer Turkey's foreign policy until the end of the Cold War throughout the whole thesis. Traditional period is conceived in two phases; early foundational period and the Cold War period.

<sup>1</sup> ORAN, Baskin ed. (2006); Türk D. Politikası; Kurtulu Sava 'ndan Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar, 12.Bask., Cilt I, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, pp.46-49.

<sup>2</sup> There are two basic variables shaping the foreign policy of a country; (i) *structural variables* which are continuous and static as "geographical position, historical experiences, cultural background, together with national stereotypes and images of other nations, and long term economic necessities" (ii) *conjunctural variables* which changes under domestic and foreign developments and has temporary influence, changes in decision-makers individually, non-permanent economic fluctuations. Further see, Mustafa AYDIN; "Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy: Historical Framework and Traditional Inputs", *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol.35, No.4, 1999, pp.155-156.

<sup>3</sup> MURINSON, Alexander; "The Strategic Depth Doctrine of Turkish Foreign Policy", *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol.42, No.6, November 2006, p. 945.

In addition, the emergence of the Cold War in international relations in the 1940s constituted an additional factor constraining Turkey's foreign policy making. Cold War system of international order limited Turkey's capability of maneuver in world politics. In order to secure itself from the danger of any hot-tension of the dominant power polarization, Turkey defined its position under the Western security system and behaved in harmony with the Western interests.

This chapter seeks answers to the following questions: What are the traditional sources of Turkish Foreign Policy? And in which way this understructure did shape the route of foreign policy making? In this respect, two basic topics are covered; analysis of the Kemalist foundation and the Cold War international relations paradigm. These were selected as the most prominent conjunctural factors shaping Turkey's traditional foreign policy making.

## **2.1. Early Republican Ages and the Kemalist Foundations**

Foreign policy in the early period of the Republic was conducted in an extra-ordinary domestic and international environment. In this period, the First World War, Ottoman disintegration, the Republican Revolution and the establishment of the new Turkish state were co-emerging historical transformations within a complex cause and effect relationship. These series of significant historical transformations had serious impacts on the new Republic's foreign policy formulation.

After the end of the First World War, Turkish liberation movement under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal rejected the Peace Treaty of Sevres signed by the Istanbul government, which aimed at sharing the Ottoman territories between the Allied Powers. The Turkish Liberation War of May 1919 and July 1923 against the Greek forces, as an instrument of the Allied Powers in practice, ended up with the Turkish military success and concluded with the Treaty of Lausanne on 24 July 1923. The fundamental Turkish claim was to secure the boundaries as defined in the

National Pact in 1920 and to ensure economic and political independence. The Treaty of Lausanne, as a result, had been the international recognition of the demands in the Turkish National Pact. Main theme of the Pact had been to establish sovereignty inside and independence outside, within the existing borders. The National Pact had been the declaration of Turkey's political borders with no alternative to Western priority in foreign politics.

Meanwhile, establishment of new Turkish Republic formulated the principles and political priorities of national foreign policy; (i) the ultimate objective of foreign policy formation of the Ottoman State transformed from enhancing the sphere of influence by means of territorial conquest, to the national survival within the existing borders of the new Republic, (ii) harmony between domestic and international politics was acquired, (iii) and security concerns gained priority in foreign policy agenda.

Republican reform process did directly influence the post-Ottoman pace of foreign policy formation. Throughout the full Ottoman past, Islamic/religious motives became the only basis of state's existence and legitimacy in both domestic and foreign politics which was considered as an extension of internal politics. Military power and its enforcement to foreign powers in Ottoman state, was for the sake of the expansion of Islam, protection of the Sharia and the interests of the Muslims, in other words it was the promise in the name of the Faith.<sup>4</sup> However, foundations of the new Republic were based on the ultimate goal of exclusion of the religious sentiments from the whole public sphere. Instead, nationhood is located in the center of all kind of legitimacy for statehood within a secular set of Western principles.<sup>5</sup> So, new Turkish State was leaving its centuries of contradicting position behind and declaring its demand for full integration to the Western civilization.

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<sup>4</sup> FULLER, Graham E. (2008); The New Turkish Republic: Turkey, As a Pivotal State in the Muslim World, United States Institute of Peace Press, Washington, p.19

<sup>5</sup> BOZDA LIO LU, Yücel; "Modernity, Identity and Turkey's Foreign Policy", *Insight Turkey*, Vol.10, No.1, 2008, pp.60-61.

On the other hand, harmony between domestic reform agenda and foreign policy goals was especially significant in the early foundation years. The principle of 'peace at home, peace abroad' became a clear indication of the interrelation between the domestic order and the international relations. According to this perspective, not only foreign politics was defined as an extension of internal politics, but also it was emphasized that peace in foreign relations could be attained through the domestic peace. With this respect, Kemalist innovations in domestic sphere also drew the borders of foreign policy making. Any kind of foreign policy alternatives contradicting with the Republican foundations were left. For instance, Ottoman discourses in practical policy-making in international arena were refused. Likewise, secular domestic structure should not have been disturbed or threatened by religious motives or affinities in foreign policy searches especially, while engaging with the Muslim countries <sup>6</sup> (mostly Middle Eastern), and the nation-based homogenous state structure should have not been endangered. It meant the end of any expansionist tendencies. In short, foreign policy principles mainly served to post-war domestic power consolidation with the establishment of the republican revolution.

In this frame, above-outlined security motive behind traditional Turkish foreign policy could be explored within two-fold explanation. Firstly, Turkey desired to follow an independent domestic politics by means of preventing the foreign intervention. Özlü and Kibarolu explain this security motive behind Turkey's foreign policy formation using the concept of 'the logic of fear'. It was this logic, which compromises the eradication of the potential of threat and interference to domestic issues by the Western powers could be provided by means of Western-oriented reforms and cooperation with the Western security organizations.<sup>7</sup> Despite the inherent perceptions about foe, Turkey tended to be near by the foe: Western

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<sup>6</sup> In this respect Fuller express that, 'Decades of Kemalist-oriented history instruction indoctrinated the country to think negatively about the Islamic world in general and the Arab world in particular. Turks have been socialized to associate the Muslim world only with backwardness and extremism. Yet these Turkish views are based more on ideology and prejudice than on genuine knowledge of the area'. This negative manipulation of domestic view of the neighborhood was ultimately been resulted in perceptual deficiencies in decision-making mechanism with lack of strategic thought in foreign policy formation. FULLER, op.cit., p.13.

<sup>7</sup> ÖZLU, Tarık; KIBAROLU, Mustafa; 'Is the Westernization Process Losing Pace in Turkey: Who's to Blame?', *Turkish Studies*, Vol.10, No.4, December 2009, p.579.



countries. It was also necessary to strengthen the internal power of the new political ideology as Fuller explains:

While the republic did face genuine external enemies, Kemalist ideology tended to incorporate a fear of external powers and conspiracies as a key element in its world outlook. This paranoia toward the outside world helped both to preserve Turkey's domestic power and to justify an authoritarian approach to guarding the nation against external threats.<sup>8</sup>

Within a similar perspective, Turkish people has been educated and socialized through an indoctrination process of being under constant external and internal threats. Historical experiences were introduced as current realities.<sup>9</sup>

Second aspect of the security issue is concerned with the socio-political reform process by new political elite under the leadership of Atatürk. Throughout this process, large social segments having strong religious sentiments were claimed to be excluded from various socio-economical and political spheres of the new Turkish Republic. Governing elite and the governed society were differentiated and thus, the old Ottoman practice of establishing bridges that linked elite and mass through the recognition of religion as discourse -*foundation of society*- were broken, as Mardin argues.<sup>10</sup> After declaration of the Republic, an intensive reform process was launched with the secularist motive. State, education and law system all were secularized many radical reforms. All religious symbols were removed and reforms were enlarged to details of the social life. The abolition of sultanate and caliphate, removal of the Islam as the state religion from the constitution in 1928, the adaption of Swiss civil code and Italian penal code, adaption of the Law on the Unification of Education in March 1924, ban on the traditional headgear and religious attire, adaption of the Western clock and calendar, adaption of the Latin alphabet,

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<sup>8</sup> FULLER, op. cit, p.29.

<sup>9</sup> JENKINS, Gareth; *Context and Circumstance: the Turekish Military and Politics*, No: 337, Adelphi Paper, IISS, 2001, pp.16-18.

<sup>10</sup> MARDIN, Serif; *Projects as Methodology: Some Thoughts on Modern Turkish Social Science*, in BOZDOĞAN, Sibel; KASABA, Reza ed. (1997); *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, Washington, p.71.

suppression of the dervish orders (*tarikats*) have been some examples of above-mentioned reforms.<sup>11</sup>

In international arena, when contextual factors are taken into consideration, continuation of the Ottoman pace in foreign policy making after the establishment of the new Republic was not a plausible choice. Remnants of the First World War caused serious structural shifts in international context surrounding the new state. Thus, post-war international environment was not similar to the Ottoman ages in the wake of the First World War. Not only the Ottoman state, but also Russian and Austria-Hungarian Empires were also disintegrated. The War left behind new politically and economically unstable international actors. In addition, balance of power system was shaken with decline of European dominance. International system transformed into a global one. And, whose dominance would prevail did remain as a question until the end of the Second World War. In such an international disorder, territorial conquest could no more be a foreign policy choice, new state could not afford it either. Instead new Turkish Republic was in need of a realist policy orientation which could serve the existence of the state.<sup>12</sup>

In this framework, Turkish Republic redefined its foreign policy preferences within these new domestic and international conditions. Turkey searched good neighborly relations in general, tried to secure it by means of several pacts and alliances and signed numerous documents. Kemalist tradition, with a clear emphasis on non-intervention, a Western orientation, and vigilance with regard to national sovereignty<sup>13</sup>, shaped the foreign policy attitudes of the young Republic. Turkish foreign policy, until the emergence of the early signs of the Second World War, was conducted in search of main goals as, preservation of neutrality by means of avoiding

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<sup>11</sup> For details, see ZURCHER, Erik J. (2004); *Turkey: A Modern History*, I.B. Tauris & Co, third Edition, New York, pp.186-195.

<sup>12</sup> AYDIN, Mustafa; "Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy: Historical Framework and Traditional Inputs", *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol.35, No.4, 1999, p.156.

<sup>13</sup> LARRABEE, F. Stephen and LESSER Ian O. (2003); *Turkish Foreign Policy in an Age of Uncertainty*, Pittsburgh, RAND, pp.18-19.

the conflicts, becoming a part of Europe and the West, and the protection of its territorial integrity.<sup>14</sup>

In order to preserve territorial and political integrity of Turkey, Atatürk signed a series of treaties of friendship. The Treaty of Moscow, March 1921 agreement was re-signed with the Soviet Union in 1925; and in June 1926, the integration of the Mosul to Iraqi territory was accepted; the Treaty of Friendship or the Treaty of Ankara with Greece was signed in 1930; and the Balkan Pact (1934) with Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania and Greece was established with the aim of normalizing its relations with the new states of Europe. In 1934, with Reza Shah of Iran visited Ankara, and several agreements on tariffs, trade, borders and security were signed between Iran and Turkey in the 1930s. Besides, the two countries signed a non-aggression pact called the Treaty of Saadabad in 1937, including Afghanistan and Iraq.<sup>15</sup>

The main aim of Turkish policy appeared as staying out of the war and maintaining the neutrality. Solution of the Hatay question in favor of Turkey remained as the only exceptional case before this aim. With the apparent signs of the Second World War, major foreign policy question of neutrality was consolidated. According to Millman, Turkey defined some principles to reach her goals as follows; keeping the alliance and cooperation with Russia in order to have secure borders in the East and the Black Sea, to ensure common action of Balkans in case of any external threat, as in the example of the Balkan Entente, and lastly the rapprochement with the West with the aim of providing security against the Italian and German threats, and to guarantee security in his South borders with Iraq and Syriaö.<sup>16</sup> Until 1937, Turkey tried to reach these goals by means of the agency of the League of Nations. Turkey did also search

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<sup>14</sup> BROWN, Cameron S.; öTurkey in the Gulf Wars of 1991 and 2003ö, *Turkish Studies*, Vol.8, No.1, March 2007, pp.89-91.

<sup>15</sup> Available at, [http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/archives\\_roll/2003\\_07-09/jung\\_sevres/jung\\_sevres.html](http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/archives_roll/2003_07-09/jung_sevres/jung_sevres.html)

<sup>16</sup> MILLMAN, Brock; öTurkish Foreign and Strategic Policy, 1934-1942ö, *Middle Eastern Studies*, July 1995, Vol.31, No.3, pp.487-490.

to consolidate its good relations and remove its potential enemies by the formation of alliance networks outside the League.<sup>17</sup>

In the inter-war period, primary motive was to preserve the new state with its newly defined domestic build up while formulating the foreign policy posture of Turkish Republic. Turkey followed a realist foreign policy orientation with no challenge to ruling Western system, so that assertive Ottoman foreign policy stance was left. Turkey preferred to be a part of Western civilization and adapted its domestic socio-political structure to this end. As a result, new Turkey's foreign policy emerged in search of keeping the existing balances and status quo with a clear Western orientation.

## **2.2.Cold-War**

After the end of the Second World War, America and Soviet Russia emerged as the two rival powers with different ideological structure. Rivalry and possible threats for world peace and security has constituted the Cold War international relations paradigm. It had been a consequential determinant not only for Turkish state but also whole international system. It resulted in transformation of the balance of power system to a bipolar power structure. It forced the other actors to place themselves within one of these power poles.

Emergence of the Soviet Union as a superpower, with a rival ideological construction became the accumulator of the new international relations paradigm. Cold War bipolarity constituted geo-strategic balance between the "Trade-Dependent Maritime World and the Eurasian Continental Power."<sup>18</sup> This balance ensured a strategic stability which hindered any offensive engagement between the partners and secured

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., pp.491-493.

<sup>18</sup> "Trade-Dependent Maritime World" refers to the whole of the Americas, Western Europe, Africa except the northeastern corner, offshore Asia and Oceania. "The Eurasian Continental Power" contains the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, Eastern and Central Asia, borrowed from Cohen; COHEN, Saul. B. (2003); Geopolitics in the World System, Rowman and Littlefield, New York.

the strategically sensitive areas. Rule was broken only in the case of this strategic stability which was threatened by one of these super powers in any way to control the heartlands of geopolitics. The Cuban missile crisis, the Korean and Vietnamese Wars, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan remained as the limited confrontational relations between the partners.<sup>19</sup>

Within the above mentioned Cold War international paradigm, Turkey defined its position in the Western Block<sup>20</sup>. Membership to the OECD (1948), the Council of Europe (1949), NATO (1952), and an associate membership of EEC (1963)<sup>21</sup> were accepted as Turkey's consolidation of its position. After its membership to NATO in 1952, Turkey ultimately defined its Western position in Cold War years' power polarization. Cold War international order paved for way the full embodiment of Turkey's centuries of Westernization project in international sphere, as Mufti characterizes the Cold-War period of Turkish foreign policy as 'Westernization of Turkey's international relations'

[1]. This phase was characterized by the westernization of Turkey's international relations. Stalin's abrogation of the Turkish-Soviet friendship pact in 1945 and his demands to return the Kars and Ardahan provinces, as well as to establish Soviet military bases along the

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<sup>19</sup> DAVUTOGLU, Ahmet; 'The Clash of Interests: An Explanation of the World (Dis)order', *Perceptions: Journal of International Affairs*, Vol.2, No.4, December 1997-February 1998, p.5.

<sup>20</sup> Mustafa Aydın clarifies the sequence of events that brought about Turkey to participate in the Western Block: 'During the secret German-Soviet negotiations in November 1940, Turkey was one of the bargaining pieces, and was a price asked by the Soviets to enter the Berlin Pact. Subsequently, allied with the West, the Soviets brought their demands to Yalta and Postdam Conferences in 1945. Having received Churchill's acquiescence at the Moscow Conference (October 1944), Stalin presented Soviet position at Yalta (February 1945) vis-a-vis the Turkish Straits. 'It is impossible,' remarked Stalin to accept a situation in which Turkey has a hand on Russia's throat'. Having already received these hints about Soviet intentions on its territorial integrity, and alarmed by the Soviet note of 19 March 1945, denouncing the 1925 Treaty of Friendship and Non-aggression, Turkey was terrified by another Soviet note on 7 June 1945, demanding Soviet bases on the Straits in addition to the territorial adjustments in the Soviet-Turkish border as the price for renewing the Treaty of Friendship and Non-aggression'. In the following years, Turkey did also start to benefit financial aid by means of the Truman Doctrine (1947) and the Marshall Plan (1948). Financial aids indicated Turkey's more other economical motives behind its placement in the Western camp. See AYDIN, Mustafa; 'Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy: Changing Patterns and Conjunctures during the Cold war', *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol.36, No.1, 2000, pp.106-110.

<sup>21</sup> Available at, [http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/archives\\_rol/2003\\_07-09/jung\\_sevres/jung\\_sevres.html](http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/archives_rol/2003_07-09/jung_sevres/jung_sevres.html)

Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, were instrumental in Turkey's decision to seek full affiliation with the West.<sup>22</sup>

When it is evaluated within the Cold War international conditions, it was an inevitable realist foreign policy choice: "Politics of balancing the near threat by means of collaborating with the rising axis."<sup>23</sup> With the arrival of two rival powers, the United States and Soviet Union, it was no more possible to benefit from the clashing interests between the European powers. In addition, Turkey's economic, military and the technological infrastructures were also insufficient to keep the neutrality. Likewise, motives related to liberal democratic position of the West against the Soviet camp were less important than Turkey's territorial and security interests with the explicit Soviet threat.<sup>24</sup>

In the context of the Turkey's position in the Middle East, Cold War period had constituted a deprecating factor for Turkish foreign policy toward the Middle East. Cold War ideological polarization did leave the two sides on opposite sides of the East-West divide, especially after announcement of Turkey as an element of Western defense. During the Cold War turmoil, many Arab leaders turned to Soviet Union as a result of a simple logic of balance of power policy within the lack of any security guarantee behind, while viewing Turkey as serving the Western strategic needs.<sup>25</sup>

Within the coercive contextual factors of the Cold War years, Turkey forced to struggle for survival among the power polarization instead of the pursuit a central position using its geo-strategic position, as it applied in the foundation years. According to Davuto lu, "policy makers received this preference as a static paradigm. And, this situation deprived Turkey of producing alternative paradigms and resulted in Turkey's down play of its "natural spheres of influence" and alternative power centers."<sup>26</sup> In this period, Turkey qualified all international issues

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<sup>22</sup> MUFTI, Malik, "Daring and Caution in Turkish Foreign Policy," *Middle East Journal*, Vol.52, No.1, Winter 1998, p.41.

<sup>23</sup> DAVUTO LU, Ahmet (2001); Stratejik Derinlik; Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu, Küre, İstanbul, p.71.

<sup>24</sup> HALE, William (2000); Turkish Foreign Policy; 1774-2000, Frank Cass Publishers, London, pp.109-110

<sup>25</sup> FULLER, op.cit., p.39.

<sup>26</sup> DAVUTO LU, op.cit.

within a uni-dimensional foreign policy through the perspective of NATO alliance and the United States. Relations with the other actors were kept at the minimum level.<sup>27</sup> During this period, Turkey's relations with the Middle Eastern countries and Third World states in general were also an extension of Turkey's Western-dependent foreign policy.<sup>28</sup>

Despite the continuation of the traditional foreign policy path of status quo and keeping the Western axis, Turkey's Cold War foreign politics did not exhibit a unified body of policy engagement, due to some exceptional cases of the period. From the mid-1960s on, harshness of the Soviet military threat softened, and Turkey's sphere to maneuver comparatively enlarged. Turkey's alienation in international politics because of the Cyprus question became an additional factor influencing foreign policy making in favor of the rapprochement with pro-Soviet bloc. Effect of the domestic political cause as rise of Islamist discourse was also notable as a factor to getting closer to Middle Eastern countries as well. Thus, from 1960s onwards, Turkey began to develop relations with the Soviet Union, Middle Eastern countries and the Third World countries depending upon the above-mentioned causes. Besides, especially relations with the United States were revised in both real politics and public opinion.<sup>29</sup> These changes remained limited in scope and restricted to few actual foreign policy events. Turkey's Cold War foreign policy initiatives remained in harmony with the international system and regional relations in general, with the only exception of Cyprus issue. Traditional Turkish foreign policy did not testify any transformation in its principles and ultimate objectives, until the end of the Cold War.

Consequently, Kemalist point of view with its revolutionary agenda and practices, and the Cold War paradigm of international relations have been the main factors shaping Turkey's traditional foreign policy making and reinforced each other for decades. Principles and the objectives of foreign policy formation in tradition were

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<sup>27</sup> Available at, <http://www.ait.hacettepe.edu.tr/egitim/ait203204/II12.pdf>.

<sup>28</sup> AYDIN, Mustafa; 'Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy: Changing Patterns and Conjunctions during the Cold war', *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol.36, No.1, 2000, pp.111-113.

<sup>29</sup> AYDIN, Mustafa (2004); *Turkish Foreign Policy; Framework and Analysis*, SAM Papers, No.1, Ankara, Centre for Strategic Research, pp.67-82.

defined under these two main factors and experienced no serious change with any alternative perspective. Keeping the country's position within the existing international balances within a clear Western orientation has been constant objectives.



## **CHAPTER III**

### **TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY in CHANGE**

From the early 1990s onwards, Turkish foreign policy has entered into a new process of adaptation to the international and domestic transformations. Fading away of the Cold War international relations paradigm, end of bipolar power system has been the main systemic factor of the search for a new foreign policy path. Period between the end of the Cold War and the September 11 attacks became the transitory period for the re-adjustment of the geopolitical status quo. September 11 events constituted a new turning point of the international order, along which terrorism was presented as the new threat for the world peace and security. In addition to the international factors, socio-political transformations at domestic level have also been influential in the reconstruction of old policy attitudes in foreign policy agenda.

In this section, the thesis aims at answering the research questions such as; what are the basic systemic factors affecting Turkey's foreign policy making from the 1990s to the present? In what shape the influences of these factors have been observed? In seeking answers to these questions, three factors at the international level are analyzed; ending of the Cold War, relations with America and 9/11 events, and lastly the EU integration process.

#### **3.1. Disappearance of the Cold War International Paradigm**

Collapse of the Soviet system signified a vital transformation in the parameters of the Cold-War international relations. Bipolar power system disappeared and international order entered into a systemic ambiguity. Parameters of international relations changed and new opportunities and challenges have emerged.

Very basic result of the collapse of the Cold War power system has been the Western declaration of ideological superiority with liberal values and the representation of these values with American hegemonic leadership.<sup>30</sup> In this respect, the immediate question of the post-Cold War brought was; what should be the future of the Western institutions, mainly NATO, what its future mission should be and also whether it should remain. Failure of the Soviet threat left NATO's function unclear for a short time. After that military and diplomatic triumph over the Soviet Block, the Alliance revised its strategic agenda and announced its "new Strategic Concept" at its November 1991 summit in Rome. New security interests are identified as global problems of terrorism, proliferation of WMDs and ballistic missile technology, within the new geography, the Southern Mediterranean and the Middle East.<sup>31</sup> In the final analysis, NATO remained as a collective security organization by which the United States presented its leadership with respect to international security.

End of the strategic balance between the two continental powers, the US and the USSR, left behind an ambiguity for the future of international order and resulted in the strategic monopoly of the US leadership. United States strategic utilization of the political instability of the post-Cold War era emerged depending upon the following factors: (i) the end of strategic stability, (ii) geopolitical and geo-economic vacuum of power in international relations and international political economy, (iii) the emergence of authentic identities after the dissolution of the pseudo-fronts of bipolarity, (iv) intra-civilizational and intra-systemic competition.<sup>32</sup> Depending upon these factors, political instabilities and conflicts emerged or deepened in territories having strategic significance. And, any system of "balance of power"<sup>33</sup> to impede the attitudes of the bellicose countries towards these fragile territories could not be established after the Cold War. United Nations, as the basic international

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<sup>30</sup> FRANCIS, Fukuyama (1992); The End of History and the Last Man,: The Free Press, New York.

<sup>31</sup> WALLANDER, Celeste A.; "Institutional Assets and Adaptability: NATO After the Cold War", *International Organization*, Vol. 54, No. 4, Autumn 2000, pp.717-718.

<sup>32</sup> DAVUTOGLU, Ahmet; "The Clash of Interests: An Explanation of the World (Dis)order", *Perceptions: Journal of International Affairs*, Vol.II No.4, December 1997-February1998, p.3.

<sup>33</sup> "Balance of Power" is defined as "the power struggle and rivalry process which is formed between one or more states for the sake of impeding the occurrence of a hegemonic power in any region or in whole international system and so, to protect the sovereignty and the presence of the existing national states" in GÖZEN, Ramazan; "Orta Doğu'da Güç Dengeleri"; in BAL, dris ed. (2004); 21. Yüzyılda Türk D. Politikası, Ankara, Nobel Yay.nevi, p.671.

organization which is obliged to execute its mission maintaining international peace and security, has failed especially with respect to the American occupation in Iraq in 2003. And, the lack of any system to protect the balance of power provided the sufficient international environment for America, as a non-substitutable military power, to emerge as a world hegemon.

Regionally, removal of the bipolar power balance increased the fragility of the Muslim geography.<sup>34</sup> The Muslim world left at the center of the intersectional arena of civilizational revival and the strategic competition of great and the regional powers. The collapse of the Soviet system did also influence the strategic position of the Muslim world through the following terms; the central and southern part of Central Asia with Muslim majority states became independent and thus the control and influence of the Muslim world over especially through the Caucasus and Afghanistan, access of Muslims to Europe is eased by means of the Muslim communities of the Balkans, the geo-economics of the Muslim world was more strengthened by the resources of the new Muslim independent states.<sup>35</sup> These all constituted the factors strengthening the multi-dimensional capacity of the Muslim world in Central Asia. Meanwhile, it also meant more possibility for Turkey's contact in these countries.

With regard to Turkey's own position, Turkey stayed under the influence of the end of the Cold War and needed to revise its foreign policy. NATO continued to be the basic organization holding Turkey within the Western security system. Turkey, as a member of NATO, appeared right at the center of the most sensitive region of the world politics surrounded by the Caucasus, the Balkans and the Middle East. Thus, it differed from its all Western allies, which have been secured from the post-Cold War remnant instable territories, and could not immediately locate itself through the new

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<sup>34</sup> "Muslim Geography" refers to the countries with Muslim majority population in the Caucasus, Balkans, Central Asia, and also the Middle East.

<sup>35</sup> Oil, cobalt and iron pyrite in Azerbaijan; oil coal, non-ferrous metals, cadmium, bismuth, thallium, zinc, copper and natural gas in Kazakhstan; coal, oil, non-ferrous and rarer metal ores in Tadjikistan; oil, gas, coal, sulphur, potassium, barite, magnesium, bromine and iodine in Turkmenistan; non-ferrous metals, gold, coal and gas in Uzbekistan; mercury, antimony, tin and zinc in Kirghizstan. And, Kazakhstan's nuclear capacity and power is another factor. For details, see DAVUTO LU, "The Clash of Interests: An Explanation of the World (Dis)order", p.10-11.

international schema.<sup>36</sup> Thus, Turkey insisted on NATO membership, partly because of its security guarantee and also in order to re-present its Western orientation.<sup>37</sup>

Despite Turkey's decisive position in the Western system in the wake of the Soviet disintegration, the end of the Cold War power balance left Turkey in a comprehensively new international environment with more political instability. Emergence of ethnic-national crisis surrounding Turkey's geography meant also new challenges for Turkey.<sup>38</sup> William Hale points out the strategic position of Turkey in this international environment, in the following statements:

Turkey is the only state, apart from Russia, with territory in both Europe and Asia, and is affected by and affects international politics in both south-eastern Europe and the eastern Mediterranean, in Transcaucasia and the southern regions of the former Soviet Union, and in the northern part of the Middle East. Historically, Turkey's most strategically significant asset has been its control of the straits of Dardanelles and Bosphorus, on which Russia had depended for direct maritime access to the Mediterranean, and the only route through which Britain, France and later the United States could challenge Russia in the Black Sea (or try to assist it during the First World War).<sup>39</sup>

Turkey is located at the crossroads of seaways and land connections of Europe, Asia and Africa and surrounded by various neighbors with different characteristics, ideologies, regimes, and political goals. In Turkey's geography, interests of several great powers intersect and this situation increases Turkey's strategic importance as the number of the actors increase. In addition to its strategic position, Turkey is surrounded with the geo-politically problematic areas of world politics. The existing political realities and the international recognition of the territories in the region from the Northern Caucasus to Kuwait in the south completely contradict. The autonomous Chechnya and Abkhazia in pursuit of international recognition, Azeri territories under partial Armenian invasion, Iraq with undefined territorial integrity

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<sup>36</sup> ROBINS, Philip (2003); Suits and Uniforms: Turkish foreign policy since the Cold War, C. Hurst & Co. Publishers, pp.13-14.

<sup>37</sup> HALE, William (2000); Turkish Foreign Policy; 1774-2000, Frank Cass Publishers, London, p.192.

<sup>38</sup> SAYARI, Sabri; "Turkish Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Era: the Challenges of Multi-Regionalism", *Journal of International Affairs*, Fall 2000, Vol.54, No.1, p.169.

<sup>39</sup> HALE, op.cit., p.7.

and chronic Kurdish question, are all inconsistencies in the chaotic territories of Eurasia. Geo-economic dimension of those land pieces -oil potential of Azerbaijan, the water resources of Eastern Turkey, and the oil fields of Kirkuk in Northern Iraq, Iran and Kuwait- entangles the picture in a negative way, as well. This is why these lands are full of civil wars, regional tensions and tactical maneuvers to have a word in shaping politics in these regions.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, diverse interests and visions of each strategic power in these sensitive regions obstruct a long lasting and comprehensive solution. Thereby, Turkey's strategic position makes its foreign policy vision vital, in his volatile geography.

Within the above-mentioned international and regional environment, Turkey was forced to revise its foreign and security policy interests, in the aftermath of the Cold-war. Turkey began to search foreign policy alternatives with more implication to historical and cultural ties in the region through a more constructive approach. Altun, k elaborates the influence of disappearance of Cold War international parameters on Turkey's international stance:

The end of the Cold War with its new sources of uncertainties and also opportunities challenged the traditional paradigm of Turkish foreign policy and led to the surfacing of strong alternative viewpoints. The emergence of new possible areas of influence around Turkey also led to the re-emergence of a historical/cultural dimension in Turkish foreign policy and freed the country from the shackles of the Cold War. Thus, the changes in the international system provided a context for rethinking foreign policy.<sup>41</sup>

Within a similar perspective, Turkey rediscovered a world of interests and affinities along the Balkans to Western China, which was absent both during the Cold War world politics and in the years of foundation of the new Republic after the Soviet disintegration according to Larrabee and Lesser.<sup>42</sup> End of the Cold War power polarization put forward the elements of historical and geographical continuity of

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<sup>40</sup> DAVUTOGLU, Ahmet; "The Clash of Interests: An Explanation of the World (Dis)order", *Perceptions: Journal of International Affairs*, Vol.2, No.4, December 1997-February 1998, pp.6-7.

<sup>41</sup> ALTUNI IK, M. Benli; "Worldviews and Turkish Foreign Policy in the Middle East", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, No.40, Spring 2009, p.172-176.

<sup>42</sup> LARRABEE, F. Stephen and LESSER Ian O. (2003); Turkish Foreign Policy in an Age of Uncertainty, Pittsburgh, RAND, p.187.

Turkey, as a successor of the last imperial structure in the Middle East, Balkans and Caucasus.

### **3.2.Relations with the US and 9/11 Events**

In the wake of the Second World War, Turkish-American relations gained momentum. Bilateral relations followed a positive direction in general despite the ups and downs time to time. During Cold War, bilateral relations between Turkey and the US were mainly based on the American need to find an ally in the Middle East against the Soviet threat. In addition to Israel, Turkey with its Muslim majority successfully conducted this function throughout the whole Cold-War period.<sup>43</sup> When it came to the middle 1960s, Cyprus issue became a problem between two sides. America refused Turkey's military intervention in Cyprus and declared its clear reluctance to support Turkey, in Cyprus crisis of 1964. In President Johnson's letter of warning, it was clearly expressed that NATO powers would not support Ankara in a case of conflict with the Soviet Union due Turkish intervention on the island. Turkey's military engagement in Cyprus despite the American disapproval was interpreted as resulting in Turkey's more independent foreign affairs with respect to relations with America, in the following years.<sup>44</sup> Besides, by the 1970s, Turkey revised its support to US strategic needs, and tended to prefer the policies compatible with the interest of the NATO alliance and humanitarian goals, instead of pure US expectations.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Incirlik Air Base is an important factor for America's interests in Turkey, in this frame. The US Air Force has been using the base since 1954, except a short time break with Turkey's response to America's arms embargo reaction to Turkey's Cyprus intervention in 1974. In 1980 Turkey and America signed a bilateral Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement (DECA) allowing US's usage of the Base. Besides, under NATO umbrella US uses the base for training. Incirlik is still vital for the American military purposes in the region. And, any other alternatives would be very costly for the US, see BÖLME, M. Selim; "The Politics of Incirlik Air-base", *Insight Turkey*, July 2007.

<sup>44</sup> TA PINAR, Ömer; "An Uneven Fit? The Turkish Model and the Arab World", *Analysis Paper*, Number. 5, August 2003, The Saban Center for Middle East Policy at The Brookings Institution, p.11.

<sup>45</sup> FULLER, Graham E. (2008); The New Turkish Republic: Turkey, As a Pivotal State in the Muslim World, Washington, United States Institute of Peace Press, p.39.

When it comes to 1980s, Turk-American relations were re-considered. During Ozal's premiership, the Bilateral Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement was revised in 1985 under two basic topics: America's modernization of Turkish army and economical assistance, and in return America's use of military establishments in Turkey. Despite the Armenian 'genocide' proposal submitted to the Congress and ongoing Cyprus issue, relations were kept high in these years. From the 1990s, a new concept of 'Enhanced Partnership' symbolized Turco-American relations. Turkey re-proved its loyalty to Western block with full support to all UN resolutions against the Saddam regime in the first Gulf-War and strengthened its partnership with the US.<sup>46</sup>

During the 1990s, Turkey and the US have agreed on a range of issues. In addition to the liberation of Kuwait, American support for Turkey's integration to EU, Turkey's position as a corridor for the Caspian and Central Asian energy resources, minimal Russian influence in the Caucasus, shared suspicion over the regional policies of Iran and Syria and common perspectives in the Balkans and IMF assistance to Turkey, and lastly cooperation with Israeli state have all formed the issues of common ground for the 'strategic partnership' between two sides.<sup>47</sup> Until the 9/11 event, Turkish-American relations seemed not to be disturbed by the regional or international developments, with sufficient harmony in bilateral relations.

On September 11, 2001, United States was shocked by a series of coordinated terrorist attacks. Put aside the humane results of the event, September 11 attacks made serious impacts on the face and the course of international politics, and on the world perspective of the US.

At the global level, September 11 events have brought about new challenges in the international politics. During the period between the fall of the Berlin Wall and

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<sup>46</sup> ISYAR, Ömer Göksel; 'An Analysis of Turkish-American Relations from 1945 to 2004: Initiatives and Reactions in Turkish Foreign Policy', *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations*, Vol.4, No.3, Fall 2005, pp.31-33.

<sup>47</sup> PARK, Bill; 'Between Europe, the United States and the Middle East: Turkey and European Security in the Wake of the Iraq Crisis', *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, Vol.5, No.3, 2004, p. 495.

September 11 attacks, post-Cold War World order could not be re-established.<sup>48</sup> 9/11 events deepened the question what the new course of international system would be.

Initially, 9/11 events and short-tempered American reactions have been a clear indicator of the vulnerability of the United States. American policy-makers and American society faced with the question of liberty and security, which they supposed their living space is free from.<sup>49</sup> It is noticed that America was not free from the security problem no matter whether it comes from terrorism or radicalism, although it is a continental power remote from the politically instable and insecure territories of the World. American administration revised its foreign policy priorities around global terror, enemies and the targets clearly re-identified.<sup>50</sup> American supremacy was shaken and America re-felt the need to present its global power over the world throughout the new enemy, Islamic religious terrorism.

Introduction of Islam as the new enemy pole was not observed for the first time after the 9/11 events. By the 1990s, early signs of the new polarization appeared. Two speculative articles by Huntington and Fukuyama gave early signs of Islam as the new pole, as one declared liberal Western thought's triumph over all human ideological progress, and the other predicted that future clashes will emerge between different civilizational formations, mainly Islam and the West, as Huntington argued:

In Eurasia the great historic fault line between civilizations are once more aflame. This is particularly true along the boundaries of the crescent-shaped Islamic bloc of nations from the bulge of Africa to Central Asia. Violence also occurs between Muslims, on the one hand, and Orthodox Serbs in the Balkans, Jews in Israel, Hindus in India, Buddhists in Burma

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<sup>48</sup> In this respect, Davuto lu argues that after almost all of wars, an instrument for the re-establishment of the order is constructed. For instance, Congress of Vienna after the Napoleonic Wars or the United Nations after the Second World War. But, after the Cold War, no congress, peace or any instrument of power balance could be established. And the United Nations, which is a remnant of the Cold War order, could not be reformed, either. Davuto lu calls the period between 1989 and 2001 as 'ceases-fires'. And, the international system still waits for a new order. For details, DAVUTO LU, Ahmet; 'Turkish Vision of Regional and Global Order: Theoretical Background and Practical Implementation', *Political Reflection*, Vol.1, No.2, June-July-August 2010, Lecture at the Conference Of Turkey's Foreign Policy in a Changing World at the University of Oxford.

<sup>49</sup> DAVUTO LU, Ahmet (2009); Küresel Bunalım: 11 Eylül Konu malar, 15. Bask., Küre Yayınlar, İstanbul, pp.11-12.

<sup>50</sup> BERIS, Yakup; GURKAN Aslı; 'Türk-Amerikan İlişkilerine Bakış: Ana Temalar ve Güncel Gelişmeler', TUSIAD Washington Office, Temmuz 2002, p.44.



and Catholics in the Philippines. Islam has bloody bordersí A Confucian-Islamic military connection has thus come into being, designed to promote acquisition by its members of the weapons and weapons technologies needed to counter the military power of the West... A new form of arms competition is thus occurring between Islamic-Confucian states and the West.<sup>51</sup>

Very premature claims by these two Western academics have been debated since then. The harmony between these claims and the American international attitudes has also draw attention and has deeply been interrogated. Davuto lu was one of the intellectuals questioning the motive behind those systematic examinations on potential of Islam as threat for the current world system<sup>52</sup> and he has problematized the issue whether it is an attempt for creation a new enemy pole instead of the USSR.<sup>53</sup> Strategists stated that the Muslim World was declared as a threat for the world order, since ideological justification was needed for the strategic and tactical operations across the geo-political, geo-economic, and geo-strategic potentialities of the Muslim World.<sup>54</sup> It had already been facilitated with the disappearance of Soviet

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<sup>51</sup> Huntington, Samuel (1993), "The Clash of Civilisations", *Foreign Affairs* 72, Summer, (pp.22-49), p.35-47.

<sup>52</sup> Davuto lu's "The Clash of Interests: An Explanation of the World (Dis) Order" published in 1998, is in fact a critique of Huntington's and Fukuyama's views. In response to Fukuyama's thesis about the "End of History" which defines the liberal thought as the ultimate form of human thinking, he states that "Fukuyama's thesis, which glorifies the universalization of the political values and structures of western civilization, furnished the principal perspective in evaluating the political affairs in the post-Soviet and pre-Bosnian era". And according to Davuto lu, the Bosnian crisis "revealed the imbalances of western civilization and also the deformities of the existing world order". The failure of the UN mechanism to solve the Bosnian crisis is explained as: "The United Nations did not defend the territorial integrity of a member state, nor did it recognize that state's right of self defense. The intra-systemic conflict between the US and Europe and the lack of consensus among European powers over Bosnia became the end of the premature slogan of the "New World Order." The basic principles of international law have been defeated in Bosnia by a wanton pragmatism and by the medieval prejudices of Europe." On Huntington's thesis about the Clash of Civilizations, which is an analysis on the current political disorder, Davuto lu notes that "Huntington ignores the hegemonic character of western civilization, and also neglects the fact that the most destructive global wars of human history were the intra-civilizational wars among the systemic forces of Eurocentric western civilization which were wars fought to decide who will provide systemic leaderships, whose rules will govern, whose policies will shape systemic allocation processes, and whose sense or vision of order will prevail." For further analysis see, DAVUTO LU, "The Clash of Interests: An Explanation of the World (Dis)Order".

<sup>53</sup> Immanuel Wallerstein argues that "We all presume too blithely that there was a shift in US policy towards the USSR from the accommodation of Roosevelt to the Cold War hostility of Truman and his successors. I disagree. It seems to me that the US policy was a continuous one behind the change in rhetoric. The US wanted a Stalinist USSR with a mini-empire, provided it remained essentially within the 1945-48 borders. Stalinists served the US as ideological justification of and cement for its hegemony in the world system." See Wallerstein, Immanuel, 'Marx, Marxism-Leninism and Social Experiences in the Modern World System', Thesis Eleven, Vol.27, p.46.

<sup>54</sup> Davuto lu, Clash of the Interests, p.9.

Block as the balancing power, which prevented the direct inclusion of the West, mainly the US, in the region.

In the wake of the September 11 attacks, post-Cold War vague international relations have taken a compatible direction with the US's international hegemonic strategy. Islamist terrorism was declared as the new enemy in international arena in its power demonstration. America divided the world countries in two parts, friends who would be near by the US in its war to religious terrorism and foes that would not. America behaved in an offensive manner and more complicated the co-existence of the different life choices, while he was denouncing the whole Muslims as the potential offender.<sup>55</sup>

America practiced the first war against terror in Afghanistan with her allies. Turkey declared its support to America's fight with global terror. In Afghanistan case, sufficient international consensus was guaranteed within the related UN resolutions. And, Turkey undertook necessary international responsibility within International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). Due to its exceptional dual identity, as a country with serious Western leanings and a Muslim population, Turkey has been placed to a special position with this war. In this context, America did take the advantage of claiming his stance as not a crusade against Islam, when Turkey, with a high percentage of Muslim population, declared its support for the war against terrorism in the first stage with the same tongue of US administrators. It also provided a relative legitimacy for American war in Afghanistan.

Turco-American relations entered into a difficult period because of Turkey's 2003 Parliamentary refusal to the US opening a northern front against Saddam regime in

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<sup>55</sup> In this respect, Fuat Keyman, defined the post-September 11 World politics using the indicators of US hegemonic use of power, as: (i) military power and security over economic power and social justice, (ii) unilateralism over multilateralism, (iii) politics as a friend-foe relationship over politics as negotiation, (iv) hard power over soft power, (v) community and security over liberty and freedom. America's harsh reactions to terrorist attacks in its borders became a clear depiction of these new principles under the US hegemonic leadership. It has made the establishment of the post Cold War international order more difficult, in the post September 11 era. In KEYMAN, E.Fuat; "Globalization, Modernity and Democracy: In Search of a Viable Domestic Polity for a Sustainable Turkish Foreign Policy", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, No.40, Spring 2009, p.14.

the Second Gulf War.<sup>56</sup> America perceived the Iraq war as a crucial step for the reconstruction of the post September 11 global and the regional order. But, unilateral engagement of US after September 11 caused some hesitations in bilateral relations of Turkey and America, which was practically emerged with the refusal of opening the Northern front to American military forces. Turkey's refusal was explained on two grounds; one is lack of international legitimacy for American intervention. Second is the rise of antiwar and anti-American public voice in large segments of society from religious people to leftist elites.<sup>57</sup> Consequently, March 2003 parliamentary rejection of stationing of American troops in Turkish territories exposed the different policy priorities with clashing interest in bilateral relations. However, the TGNA accepted to open the Turkish airspace for US forces and provided US logistical support to Iraq via Turkey.<sup>58</sup>

“The Document of Shared Vision and Structured Dialogue” was declared by Turkish Foreign Minister Abdullah Gül and Foreign Minister of America, Condoleezza Rice in July 2006, has been the basic element for the re-adjustment of damaged bilateral relations. Shared Vision Document envisaged diversifying the relations in economic, scientific and technological fields. This document was defined as a road map of the direction and the scope of the bilateral cooperation. In this context, an action plan was adopted after the Turkish-American Economic Partnership Commission's Third Meeting, which was held in Turkey on 8-9 February 2007, and updated during the Commission's Fourth meeting on 16-17 April 2008, in Washington D.C. It enlarged the issues of bilateral cooperation in the fields of economy, trade, energy, investment, science and technology, research and development programs, academic cooperation and human to human interaction, defense and security. It was also planned to launch regular energy and trade dialogues, cooperation for the safe

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<sup>56</sup> The US demand for Turkey's inclusion in the Second Gulf war as a northern front in the war against Saddam and his regime did go far to pressure. Americans did offer serious amounts of grants, loans and incentives. \$25 billion dollars was what did appearing in the newspapers. However, the result was not what the “conventional mindset replies as expected”. Turkey demanded; (i) a joint command arrangement in Northern Iraq, (ii) an American guarantee to disarm the Kurds (including the KDP and PUK), (iii) and a UN Security Council resolution umbrella under which to operate ; Further details see, ERICKSON, Edward J. : “Turkey as Regional Hegemon -2014: Strategic Implications for the United States”, *Turkish Studies*, Vol.5, No. 3, Autumn 2004, p.16.

<sup>57</sup> CAGATAY, Soner; “Where Goes the US-Turkish Relationship?”, *Middle East Quarterly*, Fall 2004, pp.46-47

<sup>58</sup> Available at, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkish-us-political-relations.en.mfa>

transportation of the Caspian energy resources to world markets and the growing interest of the US companies in Turkey, as manifestation of concrete policy steps.<sup>59</sup>

With respect to second Gulf War, PKK issue has been another complicating factor for Turkish-American relations.<sup>60</sup> Mutual doubts on how to cope with PKK matter seemed to be lessened with the November 2007 meeting between US President and Turkish Prime Minister. PKK has been announced as 'the common enemy' and US promise for a comprehensive intelligence is attained and in return, abstention from 'large-scale ground operations' in the Northern Iraqi territories is ensured by Turkish side.<sup>61</sup>

When it comes to Turkey's position after September 11, Turkey's Cold War strategic significance began to be re-debated after the events.<sup>62</sup> In post September-11 world, the main question of international relations is summarized as how to cope with the problem of radical Islam as newly introduced threat for World peace and security. In the aftermath of the attacks, American administration declared that Islamist extremism which was blamed for September 11 attacks, could be defeated only by means of more political participation and stabilization with strong democracies.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Turkey's main concern with American occupation with the second Gulf War had been the Kurdish population in the Northern Iraq. Establishment of an independent Kurdish state within the division in Iraq has the potential to politicize the Kurds in Turkey and further demand to join with the new Kurdish state. Besides, triggering an ethnic division within the Iraqi state, may also articulate Shia separatism, also a weak Sunni state. Increase in Iranian domination, with its Shia majority, is a further threat for Turkey in the region. For further analysis see, ARAS, Bülent; 'Iraqi Partition and Turkey's War on Terror: A Wider Perspective', *Insight Turkey*, Vol.9 No.3, 2007, pp.59-66. In addition, the situation of the Turkmens in the Northern Iraq, under the threat of being a part of a possible Kurdish state in the future, is direct area of interest for Turkey. Likewise, clear indicators of the Northern Regional Administration's future planning for the establishment of a Kurdish State including the Kurdish people in Syrian and Iranian borders, has been observed. Since, Regional Government intervened in the territories as Mosul, Diyala, Kerkük and Telafer, which are out of its control, in order to have a contact with foreign Kurdish people. See DUMAN, Bigay; 'Barack Obama'nın Irak Politikası, ve Türkiye-Irak ilişkilerine Etkileri' *Ortadoğu Analiz*, Cilt 1., Say, 1, Ocak 2009, pp.29-36.

<sup>61</sup> AYDIN, Mustafa; 'Reconstructing Turkish-American Relations: Divergences Versus Convergences', *New Perspectives on Turkey*, No.40, Spring 2009, p.137-139.

<sup>62</sup> ÖZÜZLU, Tarık; 'The Future of Turkey's Westernization: A Security Perspective', *Insight Turkey*, Vol.9, No.3, 2007, p.48-49.

<sup>63</sup> EVREN Ahmet Ö.; 'Turkish Foreign Policy: Limits of Engagement', *New Perspectives on Turkey*, No.40, Spring 2009, p.228.

In this picture, Turkey is assigned to the position of the only democratic country with Muslim population and having deep relations with the non-Muslim world. Turkey, for several times, has been praised in the official explanations of US Administrators in this context, as a role model for Middle Eastern countries. Ta p,narø perspective with respect to Turkeyø being introduced as a model for the Middle Eastern countries holds light to the issue:

The September 11th terrorist attacks thus transformed the Arab predicament into a national security priority for the United States. Today, it is primarily such security concerns and the need to address the root causes of terrorism that bring urgency and realism to the idealist discourse of democratization in the Arab world. This has thus led to the search for democratic models in the Islamic world, to which the U.S. can point as positive end-goals. At the forefront of this is what has become known as the Turkish model.<sup>64</sup>

In addition to Turkeyø emergence as a model country, Americaø failure of -democratizationø of the Muslim world strengthened Turkeyø position. The USø polarization or differentiation policy after the 9/11 events functioned in a negative way for American politics in the Muslim world. American intervention of Iraq in 2003 caused a serious rise of anti-Americanism while resulting in decline of American legitimacy in the region. On the other hand, American led political instability and chaos have given Turkey the opportunity to re-present itself as a regional actor. Likewise, strategic environment emerged in the region after the Iraq War of 2003 has resulted in regional countries getting closer to Turkey, as well.<sup>65</sup> With this respect, Stephen Larrabee defines American invasion of Iraq as a òmajor catalystö for Turkeyø more focus on the Middle East and the rapprochement with especially with Iran and Syria. Basically, these two countries both have Kurdish minorities and possible fragmentation of the Iraqi state means a threat for Turkish, Iranian and Syrian territorial integrity.<sup>66</sup>

Consequently, Turkish-American relations have a special character. Foreign Minister Ahmet Davuto lu, calls the United States as òthe first global powerö in human

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<sup>64</sup> TA PINAR, op.cit., p.2

<sup>65</sup> Available at, <http://carnegieeuropa.eu/publications/?fa=41198>.

<sup>66</sup> Available at, <http://www.acus.org/publication/us-turkey-relations-require-new-focus/larrabee>

history. Despite its geographical remoteness to Africa or Asia (main lands of human history), American influence in these regions makes the US unique. On the contrary, Turkey is right at the center of Africa, Europe and Asia. And, all geo-strategic challenges of its geography are relevant for Turkey's foreign policy vision due to its geographical and historical continuity. These challenges are all in the global agenda of American strategy, as well. This unique relation between two states makes their strategies compatible, not competitive. Since, United States needs allies in Africa Eurasia because of its geographical discontinuity; and complementarily, Turkey needs the strategic weight of a global power. These endemic characteristics of bilateral relations make Turkey-US relations a special partnership.<sup>67</sup>

The same endemic features also increase the fragility of bilateral relations. America is free from the possible risks of its policies in Turkey's region, while Turkey's foreign affairs might be severely injured by the same policies. In this frame, Davuto lu makes a further analysis the risks and the roles of US and Turkey in Turkey's sensitive geography where they try to fulfill their strategic ends in the post-Cold war era, as:

When we analyze the flashpoints of world politics and the areas of military confrontation in the post-Cold War era, we can see an intensification in those regions where three basic factors intersect: the geopolitical areas of strategic vacuum, geo-economic transportation routes (including energy transfer), and geo-cultural zones of encounter. The end of bipolarity has created sensitive regions where there is a vacuum of power needed to control the strategic capabilities of the geopolitical core areas as well as the vast resource-production-trade capabilities of the international political economy and ethnic / sectarian confrontations. US had to face this challenge as the superpower of the uni-polar system while Turkey, as a country at the heart of all these sensitive regions, had to respond to the risks they pose.<sup>68</sup>

Still, application of the post-Cold re-adjustment of the bilateral relations to the post 9/11 international schema does not seem easy. From the very beginning, Turkey's

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<sup>67</sup> Available at [http://www.cfr.org/publication/21916/conversation\\_with\\_ahmet\\_davutoglu.html](http://www.cfr.org/publication/21916/conversation_with_ahmet_davutoglu.html), interview with Ahmet Davuto lu, accessed on 2010-05-21.

<sup>68</sup> DAVUTO LU, Ahmet; "Turkey's Foreign Policy Vision: An Assessment of 2007", *Insight Turkey*, Vol.10, No.1, 2008, p.88.

strategic position has always been a function of American objectives in Turkey's geography. After the second Gulf War, different foreign policy agendas between Washington and Ankara became crystallized. Turkey began to declare its discomfort of the political instabilities in its region originating from American strategic planning. Disagreement between US and Turkey on whether post-Cold war international relations would be designed on a multi-polar or uni-polar ground of world politics occurred as the main dilemma shaping the bilateral relations, in the post-September 11 period.<sup>69</sup> However, despite the vision-based disagreements<sup>70</sup> between two states, a common strategic vision to keep the alliance intact exists. Turkey's logistic support to US's operations on both Afghanistan and Iraq, and Turkish-American shared view on territorial integrity, democratic and stable existence of Iraqi state should particularly be emphasized as samples of shared understanding.<sup>71</sup>

Today, Turkey has more confidence and credibility to take political initiatives in its foreign relations in its geography. It tends to use more diplomacy with more soft-power instruments within its borders.<sup>72</sup> In this scheme, convincing Turkey to collaborate on various issues in its region seems to be more difficult for the United States. Considering Turkey's consent for granted on regional issues might not be rational choice for American policymakers.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> AYDIN, Mustafa, op.cit., p.130-131.

<sup>70</sup> Vision-based disagreement here refers to the clashing attitudes on how to conduct the processes and how to achieve ends. It could be analyzed through the different perspectives of the EU and the US and Turkey's possible dilemmas to prefer one of them, in this regard. With respect to security concerns for instance, the US behaves in a militarily formed approach, while Europe pursues peace and believes in multilateral cooperation. EU seems more dependent to multi-national and non-military alternative solutions to the security challenges. Thus, Europe relies upon the importance of UN resolutions on the problems, while America insists on more local alternatives and initiatives through the unilateral engagements. Those clashing attitudes have different structural, cultural and interest-based undergrounds. But, Turkey seems to have difficulties how and where to place her. For detail, see KAGAN, Robert (2003); *Paradise and Power, America and Europe in the New World Order*, London, Atlantic Books; GORDON, Philip H.; "The Transatlantic Allies and the Changing Middle East", *Adelphi Paper*, 1998, No. 322, IISS, pp. 24-32.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid, p.136.

<sup>72</sup> PARK, Bill; "US-Turkish Relations: Can Future Resemble the Past", *Defence & Security Analysis*, Vol.23, No.1, March 2007, p.43.

<sup>73</sup> Davuto lu defines Turkey's new position before the US as; "Turkey is no longer a sole alliance nation whose support is taken for granted, but a significant country with regional and global influence with strong vision and the proven capacity." Foreign Minister takes attention to the fact that Turkey has his own words to say in his region and he informs of the possibility of future disagreements on

### 3.3. Implications of the EU Process

Turkey's more than a half century's European journey has followed continuous rises and falls. In this course, Turkey has never abandoned his claim of being a member of the European Union. Turkey's decisive stance toward EU membership increased Turkey's international credibility and also helped to improve bilateral relations with neighbors, with Greece in the late 1990s, for instance. Throughout the EU integration process, various domestic reforms were attained, which contributed to Turkey's path to democratization. In this respect, below a brief history of Turkey's European journey is discussed along with its implications in Turkey's policy behaviors.

Turkey embarked its journey to join the then European Economic Community (EEC) with signing of the Ankara Association Agreement in 1963. In 1987, during the Ozal government, Turkey applied for membership to the European Community (EC). This application was rejected with the cause that it was not ready to take on the obligations of membership. Instead, Turkey was offered the formation of a customs union.<sup>74</sup> The Customs Union was signed in 1995 and put into force in 1996. In December 1997, the European Council decided not to include Turkey among the list of candidate countries for the next round of enlargement. Before this critical decision, military confrontation between the Turkish security forces and the PKK terrorists increased. Greece and Turkey lived a crisis due to Kardak islands in the Aegean Sea in 1996, and questions related to Cyprus issue could not be resolved, all which were pronounced as the underlying causes for the refusal of Turkey's candidanship.<sup>75</sup>

On the other hand, relations with EU made positive influences to problematic issues with some neighbors. In the late 1990s, Turkish-Greek relations have positively improved. In negative atmosphere of Kardak crisis, EU warned that "the relations

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regional issues between two countries. See DAVUTO LU, "Turkey's Foreign Policy Vision: An Assessment of 2007", p.90.

<sup>74</sup> Available at, [http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/72921.pdf](http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/72921.pdf), p.2.

<sup>75</sup> Available at, [http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key\\_documents/1998/turkey\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/1998/turkey_en.pdf)



between Turkey and the EU have to be based on a clear commitment to the principle of respect for international law and agreements, the relevant international practice, and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the member states and of Turkey.<sup>76</sup> In this regard it could be claimed that the EU, as an upper political body over both Greece and Turkey, functioned to draw a road-map for the resolution of dispute through its positive interventionist position.

EU's funding support for Greek-Turkish civil society initiatives and positive atmosphere grew in the social level as well, after the autumn 1999 earthquakes and Greek cabinet change. Cooperation on various issues from tourism to the fight against terrorism was attained. Turkey and Greece submitted a joint resolution to the UN, on the establishment of a 'Joint Stand-by Disaster Response Unit', which was a first in the UN history.<sup>77</sup> Greek support for Turkey's EU membership was also taken. All these developments are realized while Greece is a member state and while Turkey is a non-member state. EU's 'connective impact' is re-emphasized out in this regard.<sup>78</sup> EU suggested an alternative outlook for both sides on 'perceptions of their interests and conflicts' despite of relative decrease in mutual understanding in the following years.<sup>79</sup>

After the candidate status was declared, Turkey has been supposed to implement pre-accession strategy<sup>80</sup> to prepare for EU membership. Turkey was asked to comply

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<sup>76</sup> Available at, <http://www.hri.org/MFA/foreign/bilateral/declaration.htm>

<sup>77</sup> Available at, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkish-greek-relations.en.mfa>

<sup>78</sup> ÇELİK, A.Betül; RUMELİLİ, Bahar; 'Necessary But Not Sufficient: The Role of the EU in Resolving Turkey's Kurdish Question and the Greek-Turkish Conflicts', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol.11, 2006, Kluwer Law International, p.219.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid, p.216.

<sup>80</sup> To prepare Turkey for membership, a pre-accession strategy has been set up. It includes the following frameworks and mechanisms: (i) *The Association Agreement*; the legal and contractual framework between the EU and Turkey, (ii) *Progress Reports*; the European Commission assesses Turkey's progress through the Annual Progress Reports, (iii) *Accession Partnership*; it is proposed by the European Commission on the basis of the principles, priorities, intermediate objectives and conditions decided by the Council. The first Accession Partnership was adopted in 2001. Since then, three new Accession Partnerships were adopted in 2003, 2006 and 2008, (iv) *National Programme* for the Adoption of the Acquis. Turkey has to prepare a National Programme for the Adoption of the Acquis which has timetable objectives established in the Accession Partnership, (v) *Pre-accession Assistance*; it is financial assistance from the EU since 2001, under the Turkish Financial Instrument, (vi) The pre-accession strategy includes also; continuous Political Dialogue between the EU and Turkey, participation in EU programmes (Competitiveness and Innovation Programme, 7th Research Framework Programme, Lifelong learning Programme, Programme for Employment and Social

with the accession criteria defined through the Copenhagen European Council in 1993 and strengthened by the Madrid European Council in 1995. These membership requirements, known as the Copenhagen criteria, includes ensuring stability of the institutions, guaranteeing democracy, complete freedom of expression, human rights, respect and protection of minorities and efficient market economy. The political criteria also contain freedom of expression on the use of one's mother language, eradication of human rights violations, as prohibition of torture, and a solution-seeking settlement of the problems with neighbors.<sup>81</sup> In this respect, changes in the Civil Code to extend gender equality and alterations in Penal Code to eradicate the death penalty, torture and ill-treatment, the revision of the Anti-Terror Law for the sake of allowing broadcasting in languages other than Turkish and regulation of crimes against the indivisible unity of the Turkish Republic, and a number of changes concerning the role of the military in politics through the National Security Council, abolishment of the State Security Courts are definable as the basic transformations through the various adjustment packages and constitutional changes.<sup>82</sup>

In December 2002, the EU asked the European Commission to monitor the adoption of the remaining reforms and to advise the European Council on whether accession talks with Turkey could start without delay. On December 17, 2004 European Council Summit, it is decided to start the negotiations on October 3, 2005 by the European Council.<sup>83</sup> Turkey is still in the process of fulfillment of the membership criteria.

Furthermore, the EU process made positive influences on development of civil society in Turkey. Similarly, Turkish civil society contributed Turkey's membership to the EU. It accelerated the development of social and legal framework for the

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Solidarity) and Agencies, co-financing from International Financing Institutions. <http://www.etcf.org.tr/EN/Genel/BelgeGoster.aspx?17A16AE30572D313AAF6AA849816B2EF60E8C60D83DBA36D>.

<sup>81</sup> CIZRE, Umit; "Demythologizing the National Security Concept: The Case of Turkey", *The Middle East Journal*, Vol.57, No.2, Spring 2003, p.223.

<sup>82</sup> For detailed analysis, BAC, Meltem M.; "Turkey's Political Reforms and the Impact of the European Union", *South European Society & Politics*, Vol. 10, No. 1, March 2005, pp.16630.

<sup>83</sup> Available at, [http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms\\_Data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/83201.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/83201.pdf)

democratic contribution of the civil society, by means of membership criteria. In terms of financial aspect, for example, Turkish NGOs were supported by different EU programs with an amount of EUR 4.2 million, in 2003 and 2004 alone. Meanwhile, TUSIAD and ARI movement have been the some samples of NGOs opening their branch offices in Brussels to have more active policies and lobbying activities for Turkey's integration.<sup>84</sup>

Turkey's reform agenda through the EU process made important contributions to Turkey's domestic vision as a locomotive for renewal of the foreign vision. In this context, announcement of the European integration as the ultimate goal and associated reforms increased the legitimacy of domestic reform rhetoric. It contributed to the differentiation of Turkey's centuries of security perception. EU has been an agent of transformation by "deconstructing the security based exclusive nature of the Kemalist structure."<sup>85</sup> With the theoretical pre-assumption that security is a "socially constructed concept" Aras and Polat identifies Turkey's old foreign policy position as continuous adaption for defense with extra-ordinary emergency tools and procedures due to security threat motivation.<sup>86</sup> Analogous to this premise, Turkey experienced the rivalry of the perceptual disparity between the bureaucracy / military and the political elite, since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Securitization of certain issues by bureaucratic/military elite (Aras enlarges this group to higher education and judiciary system, as well) limited the scope of public debate and democratic participation by means of perpetually mobilized power status.<sup>87</sup> Relatively free atmosphere of public opinion and proper ground for action has been acquired by the consolidation of Turkish democracy in accordance with the Copenhagen criteria. EU integration process facilitated the realization of domestic reforms to overcome these inherent deadlocks in Turkey's domestic politics.

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<sup>84</sup> Available at, <http://www.turkishpolicy.com/images/stories/2004-03-EUodyssey1/TPQ2004-3-seyrek.pdf>

<sup>85</sup> DURAN, Burhanettin; "JDP and Foreign Policy as an Agent of Transformation", in YAVUZ, Hakan ed. (2006), *The Emergence of a New Turkey: democracy and the AK Party*, UTAH, Salt Lake City, p.281.

<sup>86</sup> ARAS, Bülent; POLAT, Rabia K; "From Conflict to Cooperation: Desecuritization of Turkey's Relations with Syria and Iran", *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 39, No.5, October 2008, pp.497-498.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid, p.498.

Through a similar perspective, Keyman distinguishes the Turkey-EU relations from relations with US and Eurasia, as describing economically, politically and culturally "system-transforming relations". Hence, EU's "soft power" on Turkey by means of the fulfillment of the Copenhagen criteria encouraged Turkey to focus more on soft-power.<sup>88</sup> In this framework, human rights issues and the cultural rights with regard to the Kurdish problem, the removal of the state of emergency (OHAL) in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia, political standards and the rule of law, eradication of military interference to the civilian government have all been underlined as the structural problems for Turkey's consultation with the EU. Various domestic reforms on those uneasy issues, as summarized-above, could be attained within a democratic and peaceful atmosphere through the accession process.<sup>89</sup>

Consequently, EU process has been influential in developments of both domestic and international affairs, which mutually reinforced each other. As the Foreign Minister Davuto lu highlights, European integration process has not been perceived as an ordinary foreign policy process. Conversely, EU integration process became an extensive domestic political, social and economical reform process of the last two centuries and struggle for adaption to the international conditions.<sup>90</sup> Turkey's decisive stance for the EU integration became the institutional embodiment of three centuries of modernization project.

EU integration has been defined as the major foreign policy priority, especially in the first term AKP government. Despite the relative decrease of the weight of the EU process in foreign policy agenda, it is still Turkey's basic foreign policy goal with crucial connotations to domestic development. It also provides a decisive foreign policy stance as an actually defined foreign policy axis.

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<sup>88</sup> KEYMAN, E.Fuat; "Globalization, Modernity and Democracy: In Search of a Viable Domestic Polity for a Sustainable Turkish Foreign Policy" *New Perspectives on Turkey*, No.40, Spring 2009, p.24.

<sup>89</sup> ÇELİK; RUMELİLİ, op.cit., p.209.

<sup>90</sup> Available at, [http://www.mfa.gov.tr/sayin-bakanimizin-9-mayis-avrupa-guvu-vesilesiyle-ab-buyukelcilerine-verdigi-yemekte-yaptigi-konusma\\_-8-mayis-2009.tr.mfa](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/sayin-bakanimizin-9-mayis-avrupa-guvu-vesilesiyle-ab-buyukelcilerine-verdigi-yemekte-yaptigi-konusma_-8-mayis-2009.tr.mfa)

But still, it is debated whether governing party is utilizing the EU reform process as a political instrument instead envisaging it as a social transforming project. Likewise, there have also arisen worries among the Kemalist bureaucratic elite that democratic reforms along EU process might ultimately result in the interrogation of the legitimacy of state bureaucracy. These distrustful positions towards the EU membership have still been raised by Euro-skeptic opposition.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> O UZLU, *op.cit.*, p.49.

## CHAPTER IV

### NEW CONCEPTS in TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY

Turkey has been adopting a new route with a new set of principles in foreign policy making. It is a natural consequence of the above-mentioned domestic and international changes which deeply transformed Turkey. A new conceptual frame has also come into being in this transformation process. In this respect, we have been accustomed to hear some new concepts while defining the Turkish foreign policy, like *a pro-active, multi-dimensional, constructive and forward-looking foreign policy* in many areas.<sup>92</sup> Intensive use of a new rhetoric and practical initiatives has implied transformation in Turkish foreign policy formation. When academic works, speeches of government authorities and policy initiatives are examined, it is possible to find evidences of a common sight on a new direction in Turkey's foreign policy making.

Acknowledging a change in foreign policy making, Aras and Fidan explains the change with special reference to the notion of "Geographic Imagination" (*co rafî muhayyile*). Geographic Imagination shapes the cognitive maps of political elites and thus paves way for naming the regions (i.e., Middle East), constructing mental zones (i.e., East and West) and the making of culture of geo-politics, [1] and provides a framework of assumptions and representations for policy makers.<sup>93</sup> According to the old geographic imagination, for instance, Turkey's near geography was leaving it in a chaos and disturbing its stability and this perception did lead a voluntary isolation from the surrounding regions. Turkey's new geographic imagination with the arrival of the supportive international and internal transformations has reversed the picture. Intensive contact with neighboring countries through different social and political mechanisms has led disappearance of

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<sup>92</sup> Available at, [http://www.mfa.gov.tr/article-by-h\\_e\\_-ahmet-davutoglu-published-in-daily-star-newspaper-lebanon-on-31-july-2009.en.mfa](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/article-by-h_e_-ahmet-davutoglu-published-in-daily-star-newspaper-lebanon-on-31-july-2009.en.mfa)

<sup>93</sup> ARAS, Bülent; F DAN, Hakan; "Turkey and Eurasia: Frontiers of a new geographic imagination", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, No.40, Spring 2009, p.196.

the past threat perceptions. Conversely, Turkey's security has been identified with regional security.<sup>94</sup>

Aras and Fidan's conceptualization of Geographic Imagination is the mental make-up which determines how one perceives and defines his country's geo-politics. It reflects the underlying mindset of how a political geography is perceived and interpreted. In this regard, Turkey seems to be re-interpreting its international position through a new foreign policy vision. One essence of the new vision is to put aside the negative images and prejudices and considering those as left in the past. In this respect, for Aras:

Davuto lu's re-defining of Turkey's role in both neighboring regions and international politics changed the concept of "strategic depth" and expanded the cognitive map in policymakers' minds beyond the borders of Turkey. The territorial limits to Turkish involvement in neighboring countries have disappeared in this new mindset. The relationship between "bordering and othering" lost its meaning after removing the strains of domestic threat perceptions in regional policy.<sup>95</sup>

In this frame, Turkey has employed a different language in foreign policy arguments, which is more committed to the solutions, and more oriented to alternatives. Foreign policy spectrum has ranged from "contributing to peace and stability in the Middle East, to playing an active role in countering terrorism and extremism, from becoming a new energy hub to acting as one of the architects of the inter-civilization dialogue initiative aiming at producing a vision of the world, based on dialogue, tolerance and living together."<sup>96</sup> In addition, different segments of the society have begun to be included in foreign policy-making, as well. In this regard, Kemal Kiriçi makes a comparison of Turkish foreign policy in 1990s and after the 2002 using some policy indicators. March of 1995 military operations in Northern Iraq to destroy the PKK bases did differ from the one in February of 2008, in terms of the process followed. The first one was an implementation of a military decision possessing only bare

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid, p.197.

<sup>95</sup> ARAS, Bülent; "The Davuto lu Era in Turkish Foreign Policy", *Insight Turkey*, Vol.11 No.3, 2009, p.129.

<sup>96</sup> KEYMAN E. Fuat; "Globalization, Modernity and Democracy: In Search of a Viable Domestic Polity for a Sustainable Turkish Foreign Policy", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, No.40, Spring 2009, p.7.

security motives and it was un-opened to domestic and international civil debate or consultation. February 2008 operation, on the other hand, has been conducted in an atmosphere with a wide public debate not only in the Parliament, but also in the media, government, various interest groups and military. International support involving the active parties, as Iraqi government and the Northern Iraq Government, was also demanded and possible anxiety in terms of civilian injure was removed. And lastly, the operation was enforced under an official Parliamentary decision.<sup>97</sup> As in this symbolic representation of two different times of Turkish Foreign Policy, significant implications of change in foreign policy formation has also been observed in the field.

By the 1980s, early implications of change in Turkish foreign policy were observed. Turgut Özal government has been the first questioning the structure of the Foreign Ministry and the Military establishments. Özal did make radical breaks with his domestic and foreign policy decisions as, the 1980 economic reform plans, European Community membership initiatives, his definition of "trade" for American aid, relations with Greece, immediate recognition of the post-Soviet Republics and his openings for cultural freedom for the Kurds with talking to foreign Kurdish leaders have all been radical steps.<sup>98</sup> In addition, projects on "conflict resolution and increased interdependence with neighboring countries" were also put in the agenda. Water pipeline project in order to carry Turkish water to the Gulf countries and Israel in 1986 did signify the promotion of interdependence and peace-building, although it was an unsuccessful attempt. After the end of the first Gulf crisis, Turkey tried to contribute to resolution of Arab-Israeli conflict as well. In 1992, Özal's initiatives for the establishment of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation are also has serious connotation for enlargement of regional interdependence. His works on encouragement of export markets, facilitation of visa requirements and intensification of state visits are also have similar motivations underground. In 1988, removal of visa requirements for Greek nationals, its expansion for Soviet nationals

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<sup>97</sup> K R Ç , Kemal; "The Transformation of Turkish Foreign Policy: The Rise of the Trading State", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, No. 40, Spring 2009, p.31.

<sup>98</sup> BROWN, Cameron S.; "Turkey in the Gulf Wars of 1991 and 2003", *Turkish Studies*, Vol.8, No.1, March 2007, p.93.



in order to provide easy human mobilization, as a result for peace-building, trade and interdependence, are considerable mechanisms articulated along the similar policy orientations.<sup>99</sup>

Equally, by the early 1990s, new concepts were observed in Turkey's foreign policy rhetoric. The concept of 'multi-dimensional' has not been used for the first time in 2000s. The concept of 'activism' in foreign policy making firstly appeared in 1990s, for another instance.<sup>100</sup> Claims on a shift from the 'status quo' to 'revisionism' had appeared with Özal in early 1990s.<sup>101</sup> Ismail Cem, served as foreign minister in the period between 1977 and 2002, announced the construction and implementation of a new foreign policy in the 1990s, as well.<sup>102</sup> In this regard, Dris Bal defines this foreign policy period between 1990 and 2002 as the period through which 'old approaches were questioned and the searches for new perspectives emerged.'<sup>103</sup> Turkey tried to adapt its foreign policy-making to the changing international and internal environment, in this period. The trend has reached its peak especially in AKP government. In AKP era, an alternative theoretical perspective with Davutoğlu's 'Strategic Depth' as a doctrinal codification, has been offered.

Within the above-summarized frame, the following questions are explored in this section: If it is possible to define concrete theoretical and practical changes in Turkey's foreign policy-making, what are these? And what are the new conceptual and theoretical tools of Turkish foreign policy? In search of the answers, firstly theoretical and conceptual basis of Turkey's Foreign Minister, Ahmet Davutoğlu's Strategic Depth Doctrine is analyzed. Secondly, new foreign policy concepts are detailed and implications of the Strategic Depth within current picture of Turkey's foreign policy formation are studied.

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<sup>99</sup> K R Ç ; op.cit., pp.43-44.

<sup>100</sup> SAYARI, Sabri; 'Turkish Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Era: the Challenges of Multi-Regionalism', *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol.54, No.1, Fall 2000, pp.169-170.

<sup>101</sup> ÇALI ; aban H., 'Ülül, Devlet ve Kimlik Labirentinde Türk D, Politikası', in ÇALI , aban H; DA I, hsan D. and GÖZEN, Ramazan ed. (2001); *Türkiye'nin D, Politika Gündemi; Kimlik, Demokrasi, Güvenlik*, Liberte Yayınlar, Ankara, p.7.

<sup>102</sup> ALTUNI IK, M. Benli; 'Worldviews and Turkish Foreign Policy in the Middle East', *New Perspectives on Turkey*, No.40, Spring 2009, p.184.

<sup>103</sup> Available at, <http://www.stratejikboyut.com/haber/turk-dis-politikasinin-87-yillik-analizi--31850.html>.

#### 4.1. Strategic Depth Doctrine

“Strategic Depth Doctrine” refers to Ahmet Davutoğlu’s foreign policy teachings. Ahmet Davutoğlu, an international relations professor, was appointed as Chief Adviser to the Prime Minister and Ambassador after the November 2002 elections. In May 1, 2009 he assumed as the Foreign Minister. He published several books and articles on foreign policy, which have been translated into several languages. He gained his ultimate position as the intellectual architect of the Justice and Development Party’s foreign policy and he became influential in many fundamental foreign policy developments.

“Strategic Depth” is mainly based upon Davutoğlu’s geo-political and historical analysis of Turkey’s international position. It is a re-interpretation of Turkey’s history and geography in accordance with the new international context.<sup>104</sup> Davutoğlu systematically collected his theoretical and conceptual arguments in his academic work titled “Strategic Depth: Turkey’s International Position”, firstly published in September 2001. Strategic Depth has been the main reference book addressed to understand the basics of Turkey’s foreign policy vision up till now. Especially after Ahmet Davutoğlu’s appointment to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Strategic Depth Doctrine” has been the concept used to express the strategic roadmap followed in Turkey’s foreign policy practices.

In this regard, analyzing “the Strategic Depth” is essential in order to have a true sight on Turkey’s current route in foreign policy making. According to Kiriçi, the significance of the book stems from “its prescriptive nature and its introduction of the concept of Strategic Depth as a factor that should characterize Turkish foreign policy”<sup>105</sup> Strategic Depth denotes the recommended perspective through which

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<sup>104</sup> DAVUTOĞLU, Ahmet; “Turkish Vision of Regional and Global Order: Theoretical Background and Practical Implementation”, *Political Reflection*, Vol.1, No.2, June-July-August 2010, Lecture at the Conference Of Turkey’s Foreign Policy in a Changing World at the University of Oxford, p.43.

<sup>105</sup> KIRIÇI, Ç., op.cit., p.36.

Turkey is supposed to develop his foreign policy vision. According to this perspective, the geography Turkey is located in and the history and culture Turkey inherited do not afford unilateral and uni-dimensional foreign policy. Strategic significance and historical legacy of Turkey's geography leaves Turkey involved in all geo-political developments in the region. This circumstance places Turkey at the center of all those developments. Turkey's centrality necessitates undertaking the responsibility of being at the center, instead of being channeled by other power centers. Otherwise, different centers of power produce policies or strategies in order to shape and use Turkey's position by means of perceiving Turkey as an instrument. Thus, Turkey has to do on its own while designing his own vision in foreign policy.<sup>106</sup> In this respect, Davuto lu's major work, Strategic Depth is examined briefly in this section. Firstly, the methodological and the conceptual frame of the book are revised. Secondly, questions and the main arguments the book stands on are studied.

#### **4.1.1. Methodological Context**

Methodological essences of the Strategic Depth are outlined within the introduction part of the book. Two principles are emphasized in this part as, (i) a multi-dimensional process approach, (ii) and an inter-disciplinary perspective.<sup>107</sup> These principal premises will be elaborated in the following lines.

Multi-dimensional process analysis denotes covering the social studies within actually defined mental phases. Social studies, including International Relations study, have five interconnected dimensions as; depiction (*tasvir*), description (*aç,klama*), comprehension (*anlama*), signification (*anlamlandırma*) and instruction (*yönlendirme*). These dimensions are also definable as the phases or the pieces of a

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<sup>106</sup> O UZLU, H. Tar,k; The Davutoglu Period in Turkish Foreign Policy, *Ortado u Analiz*, Eylül 2009, Cilt.1, Say,.9, ORSAM, p.44.

<sup>107</sup> DAVUTO LU, Ahmet (2001); Stratejik Derinlik; Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu, stanbul, Küre Yay,nlar,, pp.4-5.

process as a whole. And, a process analysis with scientific validity is supposed to include these units one by one. In the process, 'Depiction' is the picture of what is observed. A proper depiction subsumes the necessary time and space data sets within an objective manner. Lack of time and space dimensions in depiction stage results in a narrow outlook and misperception. It also leads a sequence of errors in the following stages of the process chain. Depictions containing adequate historical and geographical data through a sufficient scientific objectivity render the process of analysis profound and meaningful.<sup>108</sup>

'Description' cycle explains the observed through a cause-effect relation within a sound and coherent conceptualization framework. It gains depth and meaning along the 'Comprehension' dimension. With 'comprehension' transition between the mental process and the fact (*olgu*) is acquired by means of a systematic abstraction. When arrived at the 'Signification' stage, theoretical frame steps into the process. In a phrase, depiction with observation, description with conceptualization, comprehension with abstraction and lastly signification with theory correspond to each other by means. Last phase, 'Instruction' is the part that outcomes are obtained and the processes are influenced. A systematic process analysis with logical consistency and historical validity in the four former levels enables to analyst to make durable and efficient guidance for the policy practices, in instruction stage.<sup>109</sup>

Instruction dimension requires further explanation due to its distinguishing features. Instruction stage is considerable as the result of the whole process. It is also the phase bridging the notional process with the practice. In 'instruction' stage subjectivity reaches at the peak, while analyst is fully objective while depicting the fact. Along the whole process former stage is objective in comparison with the latter one. This situation is an inherent characteristic of the process. Because, moved through to 'instruction' stage from the 'depiction' stage, parameters of the mindset such as perceptions, symbols and also interpretations are involved into the process.

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid., pp.1-2.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., pp.2-3.

So that, in instruction stage, social and political responsibility with scientific ethics is also added to the process.<sup>110</sup>

Strategic analysis with sufficient scientific depth could only be attained by means of the above mentioned "multi-dimensional process analysis". This methodology keeps the analyst from falling into the mistake of "the instant depiction of static pictures" (*statik resimlerin anlık tasvirleri*). Static pictures covered independently from each other causes deficiency in time dimension. Likewise, uni-dimensional instant depictions results in micro analysis broken off the systematical whole. Herewith, multi-dimensional process analysis enables the analyst to establish a correct theory-fact relation through a broad perspective with meaningfully integrated pieces of the process.<sup>111</sup>

Second principle in methodology is "an inter-disciplinary perspective". International Relations today is connected to several other disciplines. Economics, Politics, Sociology, Political Sociology, History, History of Religions, Political History and even Psychology might be enumerated as some of these disciplines. Visible facts of international events appear as outcomes of diplomacy and international politics. But these facts emerge depending upon deep rooted historical, social, political and economic backgrounds. Thus, International Facts (*uluslararası, olgular*) could only be penetrated by means of inclusive researches in related sub-disciplines identified above.<sup>112</sup>

Diplomatic maneuvers or the tactical steps of international politics are insufficient to fully grasp the facts of international relations. In this regard, a healthy analysis of international events with a systematic unity might be acquired when underlying factors are covered within an inter-disciplinary perspective. Under two principles premises, Strategic Depth offers a multi-dimensional process analysis with an inter-disciplinary perspective.

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid., pp.2-4.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., pp.4-5.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., pp.5-6.

Turkey has a central position with its historical and geographical specialties. Turkey is placed in a physical geography at the cross-roads of the world mainland. Likewise, historical interactions and transformations have intensively come along for centuries in Turkey's political geography. Strategic analysis of Turkey's place in world politics gains validity when it is formed in a correct strategic scope, historically and geographically. In this sense, shortcomings in any time or place dimension result in static signification contexts. Such an approach paves way to lack of cognition on strategic significance of Turkey's international position. After all, an adequate test on Turkey's place in World politics calls for a broad perspective transcending the given parameters of the Turkey's current position. It may be obtained through a process-centered perspective with historical and geographical depth and a multi-disciplinary research.<sup>113</sup>

#### 4.1.2. Conceptual-Theoretical Frame

Defining "the power" as the central input of international politics, Davuto lu firstly determines the parameters of power. There are two basic power parameters of the states: power equations, as stable and potential.<sup>114</sup>

Stable parameters are the unchangeable factors as; history, geography<sup>115</sup>, population and culture. States are not able to alter these factors with their own will in the short and the medium-term. But if states wisely re-assess the weight of the each factor in

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<sup>113</sup> Ibid., pp.6-9.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., p.17.

<sup>115</sup> When countries' physical geographies are taken in the consideration, there sub-definitions in this part need further attention. Differentiation between the concepts, *boundary* and *frontier* is important in this respect. Boundary refers to the legally recognized territorial borders of a country, while frontier (*jeo-politik ön hat*) connotes the front geographical spaces that societies head towards. Divergences between the boundaries and the frontiers constitute the dynamic spaces where mostly clashes occur. DAVUTO LU (2001) p.19. Another term is *land basin*. It refers "geographical regions with internal strategic unity" where many geo-political, geo-economical and geo-cultural lines intersect. It signifies the strategic maneuvering spaces of the countries. Different perceptions of land basins by different countries bring about the strategic struggles to arise. DAVUTO LU (2001), pp.21-22.

their power equation, conjunctural changes in international environment constitutes the sufficient ground for a dynamic foreign policy formation.<sup>116</sup>

Potential parameters are changeable variables in the short and the medium-term depending upon the states' employment of their potentialities. These are economic, technological and military capacities of the countries. When these variables are efficiently stimulated, countries' influence in power-balances of international politics increases.<sup>117</sup>

In addition, three more factors provide the connection between the power parameters. These are the complementary elements of a country's power equation with multiplier effect as; strategic mindset, strategic planning and political will.<sup>118</sup> Strategic mindset is 'the sum of societies' perception of time, place and identity that gives direction to their foreign policy formation'. It is nourished by historical assets and geographical domain of lives with the consciousness of identity. Strategic mindset, in other words, is designed by the stable power parameters of the countries. And it determines the societies' point of view regarding their position in the world.<sup>119</sup> Countries could have an influence in defining the direction of international politics as long as they establish and maintain the continuity of their strategic mindset by re-adapting it to the ruling international conditions.

Strategic planning is embodiment of the strategic mindset. It is defined within the borders of the countries' above-mentioned potential power parameters. Strategic planning emerges in the form of *strategies* in the long-term and *tactics* in the short-term. Tactics are the minor steps to realize the long-term strategies. In this regard, right tactics with flexible policies and adaptive alternatives enables the countries to realize long-term strategies. Likewise, well-planned strategies require successful utilization of the potential power parameters with a strong political will.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid., p.17.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., p.24.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., pp.29-31.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., p.29.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., pp.31-32.

Political will is the element associated with the human factor. A strong and consistent political will might be constructed by a qualified human factor with a strategic mindset. It could transform a country's power parameters into successful political initiatives. Furthermore, such a mindset is also able to increase the weight of each power parameter in country's power equation. In contrast, a mis-channeled or strategically inadequate mindset might have negative impact. It wastes the potentials of existing power parameters, and even decreases the weight of the country's power equation. These parameters could be converted into the elements of a strategic power only by means of their integration with a viable strategic planning and a consistent political will consolidated by a well-equipped human factor.<sup>121</sup>

#### **4.1.3. Review of Turkey's power parameters**

Stable and potential power parameters are the main elements of a country's foreign policy making process. When they are correctly utilized within a strategically formulated foreign policy vision, these variables fulfill the necessary understructure to construct well-functioning foreign policy practices. Thinking of Turkey's status in this context, Davuto lu has a critical stance. He mainly emphasizes the failures in strategic thinking and formulation of a well-settled strategic theory in Turkey's foreign policy formation. Deficiencies emerge depending on the perceptual and interpretive divergences on Turkey's power parameters, and insufficiencies of the strategic mindset, strategic planning and political will.<sup>122</sup>

Turkey's problems with strategic thinking have institutional, historical and identity based background. First of all, institutionally, strategic theory initiatives are shaped in a bureaucratic and formal context in Turkey. These initiatives pursue short-termed political ends which are constrained with ideological concerns. And, throughout the foreign policy making process, activities become routine formalities with lack of any strategic approach. This situation makes negative impact on developing strategic

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid., pp.34-36.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., pp.45-46.



thought and producing strategic alternatives.<sup>123</sup> Strategic thinking is a free mental and rational process. In order to improve the institutional understructure of strategic thinking, independent research centers and universities are the main factors. Universities serving as the occupational education centers could not function as the agents of strategic research. Improvement of universities' capacity for strategic research and establishment of free research centers are needed with sufficient financial and institutive regulations.<sup>124</sup>

Political will with un-qualified human source is an additional sub-factor of institutional deficiencies in Turkey. Political will is the active factor of a country's foreign policy making. It provides the passive power variables' transition to actual policy applications by means of strategic planning. Weak coordination between the power parameters and the strategic planning leads lack of long-termed strategies and deflection (*sapma-yönde i tirme*) in strategies.<sup>125</sup> In Turkey, short-termed coalition governments have generally blockaded to build a long-termed strategic planning with consistent and strategic interpretation of power parameters. Tactical steps in the hands of different policy makers could not form strategic unity in the long term. Moreover, quick changes in the political will lead to lack of communication and coordination between the bureaucratic staff and the political authorities. And, difficulties before the strategic human source to access the political will constitute a further question.<sup>126</sup>

Historical background is the second important factor behind Turkey's insufficiency in strategic thinking. Turkey was established on the historical and geo-political ground of the Ottoman state. Just after the establishment, Turkey did also enter into a profound socio-political reform process. Turkey redefined its political principles internally and externally as a newly established nation state. In the sphere of foreign affairs, new vision did negatively impact the strategic continuity of foreign policy formation of Turkey, and strategic consciousness was damaged.<sup>127</sup> As a result,

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<sup>123</sup> Ibid., pp.48-50.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p.51.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., p.44.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., pp.45-46.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., pp.30-31.

coherence between the strategic necessities of foreign policy and domestic political culture could not be founded.<sup>128</sup> Important foreign policy figure Ismail Cem, served as the Foreign Minister for years, has a similar position in this regard. He complains from the lack of principal coherency which did lead practical weaknesses of traditional foreign policy making; throughout a critical lens, he calls traditional foreign policy making as being bereft of a historical dimension, lacking depth with respect to time and breadth with respect to space, and having an inadequate approach to culture.<sup>129</sup> As a result, instead of strategically designed tendencies, Turkey did follow unproductive foreign relations shaped by internal political contentions and external threats. Turkey has lost the assertion of being a great power, and focused only to survive.<sup>130</sup>

Throughout the above mentioned process, Turkey did gradually get alienated to its surrounding regions. Shared history with its region dating back to centuries could not be strategically utilized. Ideologically motivated approaches preclude strategic thinking while dealing with the neighboring regions. Strategic advantages beyond the boundaries has faded within the coming decades, and negatively evoked by the foreign strategies. In this respect, Turkey needs to revise its internal dynamics to generate available conditions for strategic thinking.<sup>131</sup>

Question of identity is the third factor. Turkey's problems with identity might be covered as an extension of the problems with its historical background. Turkey did alienate not only to its surrounding regions but also its own history. Newly established nation state did refuse the historical continuity that it had originated. Historical assets have been perceived as threats against the existence of new Turkey.

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid., p.53.

<sup>129</sup> Cem's following arguments are also significant in understanding Turkish Foreign Policy making of his ages: "For Turkey, the way forward -particularly in foreign policy- requires a new awareness of her own identity and history, of her assets and shortcomings. A nation, whose foreign policy is alienated from its own cultural roots and historical past [as Turkey has long been], cannot be a serious player on the world scene. Furthermore, in such an environment of alienation, it becomes possible for political and intellectual elites to develop 'colonial' mindsets, even in a country that has never at any time in its long history been a colony" in, CEM, Ismail (2001); Turkey in the New Century, 2nd ed., Nicosia, TRNC: Rustem, pp.1-10

<sup>130</sup> DAVUTOĞLU (2001), op.cit. pp.69-70.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., pp.56-58.

Threat perceptions have been located in the center while defining the maneuvers in international politics.<sup>132</sup>

In addition, perceptual challenges stemming from the historical legacy inherited from the Ottoman State has hindered the construction a unified body of consciousness with respect to identity. Detached from the past historically and geographically, Turkey has been exposed to a troublesome of identity. In foreign relations, it has caused initiatives lack in scope and negligent to the historical continuity. Thus, for decades Turkey has followed a mono-dimensional security oriented foreign politics figured under firm threat perceptions.<sup>133</sup> In this context, Turkey could not produce its own strategic thought due to its fixed defensive position, and just tried to eliminate the threats in perception with reactive short-termed counter tactics.

As a result, institutional, historical and identity based questions in assessment and use of Turkey's power parameters lead inabilities in strategic thinking. While transforming these power sources into the efficient instruments of foreign policy formation, questions generate drawbacks before the strategically designed, dynamic and adaptive policy formation. In such an unfavorable background, passive reactions with strategic deflections are determined in international politics, instead of a self-initiated active policy formation within a strategic persistence.

#### **4.1.4. Strategic Depth of Turkey's International Position**

Within those above mentioned conceptual/theoretical context, Davuto lu argues Turkish foreign policy needs a serious revision with reinterpretation of the stable parameters of power. Initially, instead of static assessments, a dynamic interpretation of the stable power parameters is a must. Turkey's real power potentialities could be revealed only in this way. But still, availability of these sources depends upon a

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<sup>132</sup> Ibid., pp.60-62.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., p.63.

determined strategic mindset configured within a consistent theoretical frame.<sup>134</sup> In this regard, second must is the establishment of a multi-dimensional foreign policy perspective through a domestic political peace and stability. Stable and potential power parameters could be turned into kinetic policy basis by this way. In the following lines, Turkey's power parameters are reconsidered.

Turkey's historical asset is one of the basic stable power parameters. Davuto lu defines Turkey's historical asset with the concept "historical depth" "We are a society with historical depth, and everything produced in historical depth, even if it is eclipsed at a certain conjuncture in time, may manifest itself again later"<sup>135</sup> History is unchangeable, but its re-emergence with new extensions and its strategic re-interpretation is highly possible.<sup>136</sup> In this regard, what Turkey's international position historically is and how it could be utilized strategically to solve current international questions Turkey faced are the main questions to be answered.

Historically, Turkey has a unique position. Turkey has not been an active element of the historical process that brought about the current international system. Turkey is not an outcome of the existing system either.<sup>137</sup> Turkey's unique character firstly lies behind its history. Turkey is an outcome of a long-dated Ottoman history, not a newly discovered or a foreign formation with no history. However, after Ottoman disintegration it emerged as a mono-religious country with a high majority, despite its abstraction from whole historical religious symbols and responsibilities.<sup>138</sup> In domestic sphere, religiosity has been replaced by nationality-based citizenship, and in international sphere, multi-ethnic and religious leadership has left its place to Western style establishments, as a result of a comprehensive socio-political, cultural and institutional reformation process.

In the aftermath of the First World War, integration to Western system and emancipation from the Ottoman ties within the near borders have been considered as

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<sup>134</sup> Ibid., p.47.

<sup>135</sup> "The "Strategic Depth" that Turkey Needs" Interview with Ahmet Davutoglu, *The Turkish Daily News*, 15 September 2001.

<sup>136</sup> DAVUTO LU (2001), op.cit., p.65.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., pp.65-66.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., p.70.

reasonable and legitimate necessities, due to a strong consolidation of the three centuries' Western style modernization project.<sup>139</sup> This mindset was strengthened by means of the international instruments, mainly NATO, throughout the Cold War years. Against the immediate Soviet military threat, it was a voluntary geo-strategic preference of a country demanding to be accepted within the modern Western system. However, throughout this process Turkey did ignore his 'natural sphere of influence' as a unifying power of the regional countries for centuries. Turkey did also struggle for no further foreign policy alternatives. Turkey has adopted a static geo-political stance with a mono-dimensional foreign policy perspective. It has approved to be a periphery of the Western center and alienated from the possible strategic advantages of its past ties with his borders. Removal of the Cold War international paradigms left Turkey into search of new strategic alternatives which he previously neglected.<sup>140</sup>

Within the above-mentioned domestic and international position, Turkey could not change the historical reality that Turkey has been right 'at the center of a civilization who did establish an original and long-living political order at the cross-roads of the World mainland.' Turkey's domestic transformation has resulted in a break off in the elements of historical continuity (*tarihi süreklilik unsurlar*,). This break off did constitute the ideological essence of the new socio-political formation. And, elements of historical continuity and the new ideological foundation have contradicted with each other for decades.<sup>141</sup> This situation has been the underlying cause of a lasting tension with socio-political inconsistencies and instabilities. In addition to Turkey's new location in periphery status disregarding its historical centrality in international arena; neither a breakthrough to re-locate Turkey to a central position it deserved could have been achieved<sup>142</sup>, nor has Turkey been admitted by the Western civilization he struggled to integrate. In contrast, it had been

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<sup>139</sup> Ibid., pp.69-70.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., pp.71-73.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., p.81.

<sup>142</sup> Deringil points out the 'secondary power status' new Turkish Republic did fall into after the Ottoman Imperial past. Within a similar point of view, Turkey's new international position far from the center of World politics had been the basic problematic of Turkish foreign policy according to him. For details, DER NG L, Selim; 'Turkish Foreign Policy since Atatürk', in DODD, Clement H. Ed. (1992); *Turkish Foreign Policy; New Prospects*, England, The Eothen Press, p.1.

excluded by this civilizational basin which it had been in conflict with for centuries, paradoxically.<sup>143</sup>

In short, withdrawn into domestic affairs with voluntary alienation from the surrounding region in foreign politics, Turkey has experienced an unnatural reformation process. Ottoman legacy and Turkey's common/shared history<sup>144</sup> with its region remained as the potential assets. Revolutionist political elite did enter into a building process for a new political culture from center through the periphery. It led a cut of Ottoman-Turkish political tradition, and for decades Turkey has faced with an intensive adaption question between the political elite and the society.<sup>145</sup> In this regard, historical continuity reproduced by political fluctuations has reflected Turkey's search for a course. In this search, Turkey has to re-build his own political culture, going beyond the identity questions. Strategic thinking should be dominant factor in defining foreign policy priorities getting rid of the constraining atmosphere of the domestic socio-political conflicts.<sup>146</sup>

Turkey's geo-political position is the second factor making him strategically unique. It always becomes the main theme when Turkey's foreign politics is considered. Geo-politics is the expression of the relation between the political factors and the physical geography. Geography is a stable power parameter. When it is unified with political -which is a potential parameter of the power equation- and conjunctural factors of international politics, geo-politics comes into being. Geo-politics needs

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<sup>143</sup> DAVUTO LU (2001), op.cit., pp.81-83.

<sup>144</sup> Experts on the Middle Eastern issues take attention to Turkey's historical ties with the Middle Eastern countries. For instance, Altun, k emphasizes the common history and religion with the Middle Eastern countries as an identity issue and she argues that -identity issues, especially Islam and a shared history, bring Turkey closer to the region and most of the region's countries closer to Turkey. For details, ALTUNI IK M. Benli; "Worldviews and Turkish Foreign Policy in the Middle East", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, No.40, Spring 2009, p.180.

<sup>145</sup> Above mentioned adaption question has been the visible reflection of the elements of the historical continuity. Davuto lu explains the issue with political movements. According to Davuto lu's analysis, Ottoman political movements in the last Ottoman centuries have been reproduced and raised in the post-Cold War era. Turkey's years of 90s is a micro cosmos of the Ottoman transition from 19<sup>th</sup> Century to 20<sup>th</sup> Century. In this regard, Ottomanism has been reproduced with Özal's neo-Ottoman rhetoric. Islamism did find its counterpart with Erbakan's Islamist rhetoric. Westernization reached at the peak through the February 28 process. Ottoman Turkic movements seemed living revival with MHP's rising Turkic claims especially against the rising PKK movements, in DAVUTOPLU (2001), op.cit., p.84.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., pp.91-93.

strategic reassessments in accordance with changing international conditions and it could not tolerate static assessments.<sup>147</sup>

Geographically, Turkey is located at the center of the cross-border spheres of influence. Davuto lu explains this situation by questioning where Turkey belongs and evaluating geography in relation with history:

Geographical depth is a part of historical depth. For instance, Turkey is not just any old Mediterranean country. One important characteristic that distinguishes Turkey from, for instance, Romania or Greece is that Turkey is at the same time a Middle Eastern and a Caucasian country. Unlike Germany, Turkey is as much a European country as it is an Asian country. Indeed, Turkey is as much a Black Sea country as it is a Mediterranean one. This geographical depth places Turkey right at the centre of many geopolitical influences.<sup>148</sup>

A country's geography gains significance depending upon its proximity to socio-politically and economically central land pieces, straits, canals and corridors, potentials of mineral and water resources, land fertility and climatic features having connotations related to economical and cultural capabilities, are all geopolitically strategic possessions of a country. Geo-politically, Turkey controls the transition areas of land and sea power centers, which did witness historical struggles for dominance for centuries. Caucasus, Balkans with Straits of Bosphorus and Dardanelles through which Eurasia land mass is tied with hot waters and Africa intersect on Turkey's geography. Likewise, same land pieces are tied with geo-economical sources of the Middle East and the Caspian basin over Anatolian semi-island.<sup>149</sup> Significance of Turkey's this geo-political position finds its expression in Aydin's words as follows:

Turkey is located on one of the most, if not the most, strategic and traditionally most coveted pieces of territory. It controls the historic

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<sup>147</sup> Ibid., pp.115-116.

<sup>148</sup> "The Strategic Depth that Turkey Needs" Interview with Ahmet Davutoglu, *The Turkish Daily News*, 15 September 2001.

<sup>149</sup> DAVUTO LU (2001), op.cit., p.116.

invasion routes from the Balkans and the Caucasus mountains onto the high Anatolian plateau, which in turn commands the entire Fertile Crescent down to the oil-rich Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. Turkey is also at the crossroads of major air, land, and sea routes of modern times, joining the industrially advanced lands of Europe with the petroleum-rich lands of the Middle East. Furthermore, the country possesses the sources for most of the water irrigating lands as far as the Persian Gulf.<sup>150</sup>

Turkey's geo-politics is an important stable power parameter. Turkey's foreign policy strategy needs to transcend the non-productive approach of instrumentalization of this geopolitics to keep the status quo. Such an approach with a fixed status quo protection curbs and abolishes the potential advantages of the same geo-politics. Furthermore, it may result in its utilization by foreign strategies. Instead, Turkey's geo-politics should be regarded as a means to make new openings.<sup>151</sup>

In this context, Davuto lu defines geographically three regional areas of influence (hinterland) circularly surrounding Turkey's main land; (i) near land basin, the Balkans, the Middle East and the Caucasus; (ii) near maritime basin, the Black Sea, the Eastern Mediterranean Sea, the Gulf and the Caspian; (iii) and near continental basin, Europe, the Northern Africa, the Southern Asia, the Middle and Eastern Asia.<sup>152</sup>

Near land basin constitutes Turkey's natural areas of influence with respect to Turkey's historical assets and geographical position. Turkey has to increase his political, economic and cultural influence, and performance, by means of developing transitivity and interdependency through those regions. Otherwise, it is impossible for Turkey to maintain domestic integrity and external capability of operation.<sup>153</sup> Throughout the Balkan, Anatolia and the Caucasus land belt, Turkey has to establish dominance on its near sea and water basins. It requires the development of a sea

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<sup>150</sup> AYDIN, Mustafa; "Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy: Historical Framework and Traditional Inputs", *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol.35, No.4, 1999, p.165.

<sup>151</sup> DAVUTO LU (2001), op.cit., p.117.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid., p.118.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., pp.118-119.



strategy.<sup>154</sup> Intersecting strategic calculations and attacks (hamle) should be noticed within a pre-emptive perspective. Regional cooperation and integration need a strategic review in this regard. True international politics within the near continental basins would be the guarantee for the maintenance of the other two basin politics. In this circle, Turkey needs to establish a widespread network of interrelations, which include maximum diversity with sufficient co-operational depth and harmony. It requires globally-scaled strategic thinking.<sup>155</sup>

Turkey's unique historic and geographic position requires a comprehensive geopolitical strategy transcending both mental and territorial borders. It tolerates no constrain in strategic thinking. Turkey's foreign policy strategy in the new century has to penetrate adequately the time and place dimensions together. As Davuto lu states, "the analysis of an international relations sphere without penetrating its historical depth is similar to a psychological analysis ignoring the person's memory records"<sup>156</sup> A foreign policy perspective without taking into consideration the historical assets with its geographic depth does not work in Turkey's geography. In this regard Strategic Depth Doctrine offers new conceptual and methodological instruments for depiction, description, comprehension, signification and instruction cycles of strategic thinking. Turkey's dynamic transformation process within its dynamic international environment could only be successfully completed through a multi-dimensional process analysis of Turkey's power parameters in line of a strategic perspective.

## **4.2. New Foreign Policy Concepts**

In the last eight years, Davuto lu's approach has been an important maker of Turkey's foreign policy vision. It has been a further perspective that new foreign policy vision of Turkey is a reflection of his academic perspective.

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<sup>154</sup> Ibid., p.151.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., pp.182-218.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., p.551.

Davuto lu did make a re-interpretation of the stable or structural variables of Turkey's foreign policy formation. According to this perspective, Turkey's value in the World politics is predicated on its geo-strategic location and its historical assets. This is the main thesis of the Strategic Depth doctrine. Turkey's potentialities could be transformed into productive policy instruments as long as they are re-evaluated in harmony with the internal and international changes throughout strategic principles and planning, instead of static perspectives and status quo motives which preclude Turkey's fully employment of its power parameters.

Principles are the framework drawing the borders and guiding the implementations. Davuto lu refers to two extreme cases while defining the principles of foreign policy, in the case of lack of any foreign policy principles, it becomes impossible to have a 'consistent framework' and it leads to different/unstable/changing foreign policy priorities and different policies towards different cases. In the case of static/binding principles, on the other hand, principles constitute an obstacle before the implementation of foreign policy. Thus, principles should possess the characteristics of being re-interpreted and revised, 'so that there will not be a contrast between international context and the principles of foreign policy'.<sup>157</sup> Davuto lu is in claim of avoiding any kind of compulsive principal motives which might endanger the free atmosphere of strategic thinking throughout this explanatory premise. Similarly, he suggests keeping from falling into a sole pragmatist standpoint lack of any principle starting point. Within this frame, Davuto lu introduces a series of foreign policy principles through a new policy orientation. He gives clues of the new foreign policy principles with general titles or specific prescriptions in his official, unofficial public speeches, his writings and interviews. He lists three *methodological foreign policy principles* as explained below.<sup>158</sup>

**1. Vision-based strategy or a visionary approach:** Visionary approach refers to

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<sup>157</sup> 'Principles Of Turkish Foreign Policy', Address by H.E. Foreign Minister of Republic of Turkey Ahmet Davuto lu, *SETA Foundation's Washington D.C. Branch*, 8 Dec. 2009, Grand Ballroom, Mayflower Hotel, Washington D.C. 12.15pm EST.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

detecting the crisis before they emerge and stepping in efficiently. It envisages being a country establishing order around it, rather than being a country giving pure response to the crisis.<sup>159</sup>

According to this premise, international politics is a very dynamic process, thus, it necessitates vision based strategies in foreign policy making, instead of line based or crisis based strategies, which produce only reactive or defensive policies.<sup>160</sup> Likewise, According to Davuto lu, value-oriented visionary perspective emphasizes possessing a strategic vision rather than short-termed interest in foreign policy formulation.<sup>161</sup> Since, visions with strategic targets prevent the probable deflections in strategy and it provides strategic continuity and accession to defined foreign policy goals. Visions do also unify the short-term tactics with long-term strategies. Otherwise, policies remain for the day and could not be carried to the future.

**2. Consistent and systematic framework:** The second principle conceives a coherent framework while dealing with the different actors of the international relations. In order to have a systematic foreign policy framework, a true and consistent unification of strategic mindset, strategic planning and political will is an inevitable necessity. This framework is in claim of ensuring a foreign policy formation that those who are observing will feel that there is one political brain, one approach behind this policy.<sup>162</sup>

**3. Utilization of soft power:** Soft-power<sup>163</sup> means the power which is optional, non-coercive and consent-based, unlike hard power which is coercive and command based. State power gains its legitimacy through soft power which stems from

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<sup>159</sup> Available at, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/devlet-bakani-ve-basabakan-yardimcisi-sayin-ali-babacan-ile-disisleri-bakani-sayin-ahmet-davutoglu-nun-devir-teslim-vesilesiyle.tr.mfa>

<sup>160</sup> See NTV *Kar , Görü* , 21 December 2005.

<sup>161</sup> Available at, [http://www.cfr.org/publication/21916/conversation\\_with\\_ahmet\\_davutoglu.html](http://www.cfr.org/publication/21916/conversation_with_ahmet_davutoglu.html), interview with Ahmet Davuto lu, accessed on 2010-05-21.

<sup>162</sup> Principles Of Turkish Foreign Policy, Address by H.E. Foreign Minister of Republic of Turkey Ahmet Davuto lu, *SETA Foundation's Washington D.C. Branch*, 8 Dec. 2009, Grand Ballroom, Mayflower Hotel, Washington D.C. 12.15pm EST.

<sup>163</sup> The term Soft Power is firstly introduced to the field of International Relations by Joseph Nye in *Bound to Lead* (1990) meaning the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than through coercion

diplomacy, economy, culture and identity in eyes of the others. The states, by means of soft power, provide another state to want ōwhat its own wantsö. Soft-power involves æconsentørather than coercion.<sup>164</sup>

Turkeyø is characterized with ōits diplomacy based on its considerable journey throughout the modernity, its commitment to democracy in terms of politics, its economic dynamism, and problem-solving and dialogue-based neighboring relationsö.<sup>165</sup> When Turkeyø position in the Middle East considered, this region is Turkeyø former geography in which Turkeyø cultural and religious history was shaped. This principle presumes that Turkeyø effective use of soft-power in the Middle East could encourage the democratization efforts in the region and its third party role.<sup>166</sup> As a result, widespread emphasis on soft power in Turkish foreign policy is introduced as an indicator of the new foreign policy trend.

Davuto lu enumerates further *conceptual/operative principles* to characterize Turkeyø foreign policy making as; balance between freedom and security, zero-problems with the neighbors, to develop relations with the neighboring regions and beyond, multi-dimensional foreign policy and rhythmic diplomacy.<sup>167</sup> These conceptual tools are analyzed through Turkeyø foreign policy formation in the last eight years, in the following lines.

#### **4.2.1. Balance between Security and Freedom**

One of the basic motives behind the state existence is to provide security for the citizens. States obtain security for the people by means of domestic security cautions inside and eradicating possible external threats outside. In domestic sphere, state

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<sup>164</sup> KEYMAN, E. Fuat; ōTürk D, Politikas,nda Eksen Tart, malar,: Küresel Karga a Ça ,nda Realist Proaktivismö, *Seta Analiz*, Say, 15, Ocak 2010, SETA, p.5.

<sup>165</sup> KEYMAN, op.cit.

<sup>166</sup> ALTUNI IK, Meliha B.; ōThe Possibilities and Limits of Turkeyø Soft Power in the Middle Eastö, *Insight Turkey*, Vol.10, No.2, 2008, p.47.

<sup>167</sup> DAVUTO LU, Ahmet; ōTurkeyø Foreign Policy Vision: An Assessment of 2007 ö, *Insight Turkey*, Vol.10, No.1, 2008.

organism legitimately inclines to limit some basic freedoms of the citizens to some extent, in the name of their security. This limitation requires a careful balance between two extreme cases. Davuto lu emphasis this sensitive issue: 'ıf you ignore security for freedom you will have anger and chaos. If you ignore freedom for security, you will have an authoritarian, autocratic society. We want to ignore neither of these two.'<sup>168</sup> If the states go beyond the legitimate precautions while constraining the freedoms, authoritarian and anti-democratic tendencies with high possibility of misuse emerge. However, if the states fail to take sufficient measures to ensure security for the citizens, anarchy and disorder endanger the capability of living together.

In this context, harmony between freedom and security appears as an indicator of a states' success of democracy and a well-functioning domestic order. As Davuto lu denotes, 'the legitimacy of any political regime comes from its ability to provide security to its citizens and this security should not be at the expense of freedoms and human rights in the country'<sup>169</sup> In this respect, Turkey's democracy is still in a process of establishing the domestic balance between freedom and security.

Moreover, domestic politics and international politics are not completely separated from each other. States affairs constitute a whole which complements and legitimizes the each other reciprocally. In this respect, Foreign Minister's conceptualization of 'balance between security and democracy' underlines the significance of domestic stability for a successful foreign policy and vice versa. States who could not well-organize home affairs could not exhibit a unitary and consistent stance in international affairs. Domestic problems impede to produce strategic foreign policy goals and these types of countries do design foreign policies according to their domestic questions and priorities.

On the other hand, foreign policy instruments could also be benefited to serve the enhancement of freedoms and domestic well-being. According to O uzlu, Turkey's most important foreign policy goal has to be organizing the domestic sphere.

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<sup>168</sup> 'Principles Of Turkish Foreign Policy', *SETA Foundation's Washington D.C.*, op.cit.

<sup>169</sup> DAVUTO LU, *Insight Turkey*, op.cit., p.79.

Elements of foreign policy, like EU process, strategic relations with US and relations with Russia or other neighbors, can-should be addressed as just instruments, not as the ultimate goals. Thus, foreign politics could sterilize of domestic sphere from the possible impacts of the exogenous factors.<sup>170</sup> If articulated within an opposite mindset, questions related to external affairs could trouble the domestic peace and stability, as well. States could also endanger human rights and freedoms in the name external security or state survival (*devletin bekâs,*). Threat perceptions or conjunctural necessities, as in the case of Turkey's isolation from the Eastern neighborhood after the Republican Revolution or skeptical considerations through the EU process, are introduced as legitimate basis of coercive or unnecessary limitations on freedoms. To illustrate, in the wake of the September 11 events, American administration had difficulties to establish above-mentioned balance between security and freedom. In the name of being protected from the possible threats of an indefinable terrorist object, Al-Qaeda, and its extensions, a series of extreme precautions are taken and human rights and freedoms are damaged, in domestic sphere. In international sphere, illegitimate initiatives lack of necessary international agreement did seriously decreased America's international reputation and credibility as well. Related to the September 11 events, Turkey have presented a relative success. According to Aras in this respect, "Turkey has been one of the limited numbers of countries who has approached to resolve the dilemma between democracy and security in favor of democracy achieving more security in the post-September 11 World."<sup>171</sup>

States might become authoritarian inside and offensive outside by means of excessive limitations on human rights and freedoms with the excuse of pseudo security motives. Both cases result in coercion and freedom-destroying acts and applications. By the premise of balance between freedom and security, Davutoğlu's vision connotes not only close relation between domestic and international affairs, but also how to overcome the possible difficult cases. Domestic peace and stability

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<sup>170</sup> O UZLU, op.cit.

<sup>171</sup> ARAS, Bülent; "Türkiye'nin Yeni D, Politika Vizyonu", Commentary in *Zaman*, 17 November 2007.

nourishes the prosperity in foreign policy, one another reciprocally. One could not be bargained for the sake of the other.

But still, Turkey's ability to establish the balance between domestic and international affairs has two problematic dimensions; (i) undemocratic challenges through the domestic political system/culture, (ii) Turkey's path to be a member of the European Union.

Turkey's probable inability to resolve its internal challenges would mainly result in its inability to have an active, constructive and decisive role in international arena is an inevitable fact. So, there is a considerable common view in academia that Turkey's future success on foreign policy is directly related with the domestic peace and stability. In this regard, Keyman emphasizes the importance of modernity and strong democracy for the continuation and efficiency of the current foreign policy vision:

A Turkey with a consolidated democracy and multi-cultural modernity will be able to maintain its status as soft power and pivotal state in the post-September/11 world. On the other hand, a Turkey focusing solely on geopolitics, security and unilateralism in its foreign policy behavior and domestic politics would be a more inward looking and nationalist Turkey. It is for this reason that modernity and democracy will be the key factors for a viable Turkish foreign policy.<sup>172</sup>

Turkey's integration to Europe, in this frame, is still critical for Turkey's democratization, as an anchor providing continuity of the process, and thus for a robust stance in the new Foreign policy vision. Throughout a half century of European vocation, Turkey has encountered different deadlocks, EU's absorption capacity, geographic factors, security dimension, also economical and geopolitical arguments, etc... Still, Turkey has questions on its European travel.

Possible rejection of Turkey's membership on the basis of identity concerns might result in deeper questions between Turkey and the opposition countries of Turkey's

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<sup>172</sup> KEYMAN; "Globalization, Modernity and Democracy: In Search of a Viable Domestic Polity for a Sustainable Turkish Foreign Policy", p.12.

membership. Put aside the identity question, inherent disagreements between the members of EU on Turkey's accession and conflicting issues like Cyprus question still remain in Turkey's European context. Likewise, domestic concerns on Turkey's democratization still reveal. Armed forces through the National Security Council have still considerable impact on civilian decision-making. In addition, government has deadlocks to accommodate the cleavages between modern and conservative, religious, traditional groups. In this regard, the headscarf issue or possible faction between Turkish and Kurdish groups constitutes some sample concerns still waiting for a democratically conceived solution. As a result, connection between sustainability of the new vision and domestic stability still constitutes a weak aspect of Turkey's new foreign policy path.

Besides, Through the AKP government, interaction between domestic and international politics has increased. It constitutes a more complicating factor for the new foreign policy vision. In this respect, it has been a critical perspective that AKP government has utilized the foreign politics as "a transformative instrument" to consolidate its domestic legitimacy and political power.<sup>173</sup> In this regard, after attaining the political power with a high electoral majority, AKP's principle concern has been to establish and maintain his identity and existence. In order to acquire this crucial end, the government has to achieve possible domestic reforms, while not disturbing the good relations with domestic power centers, mainly bureaucracy and military. Reforms through the EU process (and also IMF agreements) has been offered as definite foreign policy goals and used through this end.<sup>174</sup> Prime Minister's emotional position towards the Israel-Palestinian issue has been a further issue debated in this context. It has been evaluated as a reaction to mobilize its electoral ground over this issue, which have deep humane dimensions, and open to exploitation.

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<sup>173</sup> INAT, Kemal; DURAN Burhanettin; "AKP D. Politikası: Teori ve Uygulama", in DAĞI, Zeynep der. (2006); in Doğudan Batıya D. Politika: AK Partili Yıllar, Orion Yayınları, Ankara, p.69.

<sup>174</sup> GÖZEN, Ramazan; "Türk D. Politikasında Vizyon ve Revizyon", in DAĞI, Zeynep der. (2006); in Doğudan Batıya D. Politika: AK Partili Yıllar, Orion Yayınları, Ankara, pp.89-90.



#### 4.2.2. Zero-problems with the Neighbors

Zero-problems policy offers a peaceful territorial security by means of the peaceful settlement of disputes and putting aside the current threat perceptions. It also encompasses eradication of the conflicts in cross-border relations. In the foreign policy-making process, diplomacy, international negotiation, political, economical and socio-political mechanisms to reinforce the mutual interdependence are offered as the mechanisms to cover the conflicted matters and to develop deeper relations. In this respect, Davuto lu explores why and how to have zero-problems policy:

It is impossible for a country experiencing constant crises with neighboring states to produce a regional and global foreign policy [í ] Relations with these countries have to be detached from the long and difficult process involving polities and bureaucrats. A broader basis, focused largely on intra society relations, including economic and cultural elements, must be found. [í ]. A comprehensive peace plan and a package to develop economic and cultural relations have to be put into place simultaneously to overcome security crises with the closest neighbors.<sup>175</sup>

Turkey's foreign policy rhetoric under the banner of zero-problems with the neighbors has further dimensions. It firstly conceives the normalization of foreign relations in the immediate neighborhood; secondly it plans constructive initiatives based upon political, economical and socio cultural relations in the region. In this respect, this policy purposes "maximizing cooperation with its neighbors while minimizing problems in its surrounding regions", as a regional actor which is "a conciliatory partner" and "an agent of mediation"<sup>176</sup>

Zero problems foreign policy objective is also the most debated part of Turkey's new foreign policy vision within the academic society and foreign policy authorities. The zero-problems rhetoric has the risk of being an idealist one far away from the rigid

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<sup>175</sup> Available at, [http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/esi\\_picture\\_story\\_-\\_turkish\\_foreign\\_policy\\_-\\_april\\_2009.pdf#page=5](http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/esi_picture_story_-_turkish_foreign_policy_-_april_2009.pdf#page=5)

<sup>176</sup> ULUTA , Ufuk; "Turkish Foreign Policy in 2009: A Year of Pro-activity", *Insight Turkey-Commentaries*, Vol.12, No 1, 2010, p.1.

necessities of realpolitik. Additionally, rising expectations from the surrounding region, which might tend to consider Turkey free from its own interests, might also endanger Turkey's own strategic calculations, as Evin takes attention:

The major challenge to Turkish foreign policy stems from the fact that Turkey is a player in all three regions surrounding it and that it is viewed by other actors in each region as an integral part of that region. Moreover, because of its sizable economy and considerable military assets, Turkey has been defined as a regional power, which raises expectations in the neighborhood. It is often expected by its neighbors to respond to regional issues as a native actor rather than one that represents alliances and interests external to the region.<sup>177</sup>

Turkey is in contact with diverse international actors. Its relations with international actors with clashing interests seem to be a challenging factor in the path of Turkey's zero-problems vision. Since, it is difficult to conciliate those above-mentioned interests within a peaceful and productive frame.

When Turkey's last decade of foreign politics is observed, various policy initiatives in this regard could be listed. Until the late 1990s, relations with Greece, Iran, Syria and Iraq had been quite problematic. In 2000s, several positive steps are taken with these and more other countries.

Regarding the Cyprus issue for instance, since the beginning Turkey has exhibited a very nationalistic stance on Cyprus issue, that the people in charge of formulating Turkey's foreign policy have been skeptic on European perspective.<sup>178</sup> These people have also generally tended to interpret the involvement of EU in the Cyprus dispute as threatening factor. Because, Turkey's strategic control over the Eastern Mediterranean region in general and in island might be in danger if the island became an EU member before Turkey alongside Greece or a Greek-dominated island

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<sup>177</sup> EV N Ahmet O.; "Turkish Foreign Policy: Limits of Engagement", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, No.40, Spring 2009, p.230.

<sup>178</sup> ONIS, Ziya; "Conservative Globalist versus Defensive Nationalists: Political Parties and Paradoxes of Europeanization in Turkey", *Journal of Southern and the Balkans*, Vol.9, No.3, December 2007, p. 249.

might be united with Greece in the long-term, as Turks suspect.<sup>179</sup> The United Nations General Secretary, Kofi Annan, has proposed a very detailed solution framework that would both accelerate the speed of inter communal talks and prepare the way for the accession of the re-unified island to the EU<sup>180</sup>. Annan Plan was put to referenda in May 2004 in the Greek and Turkish sides of the island. The Turkish side said öyesö while the Greek side said önoö. This situation has strengthened the Turkish hand in terms of the blockade of the peace process by the Greek side, the south Cyprus. Turkey did exhibit a building approach as a responsible member of International Relations community and enhanced its credibility and diplomatic prestige. Likewise, relations with Greece individually have taken significant developments. It is decided to establish High-level Strategic Council meeting between Turkey and Greece, as a joint cabinet meeting.<sup>181</sup>

Normalization of relations with Armenia has also promised future possibilities in wide area issues ranging from economics to political issues. It has had possible contributions to decrease the voices of genocide claims in the US congress and EU membership requirements for friendly relations, as well. In 2003, Turkey did open the airspace for air transport between Yerevan and Istanbul without asking anything from Armenia in return, for instance. In 2005, Prime Minister Erdogan wrote a letter to President Kocharyan, after a parliamentary decision, two nationsø start for a new reconciliation through a new tool, establishing a joint historical commission to discuss everything, through the office of Switzerland process is initiated and the protocols are signed in the end.<sup>182</sup> Implemetation of the Armenian initiative is still uncertain and limited to some extent, due to the problems with Armenian-Azerbaijan relations.

Turkeyø both Cyprus and Armenian initiative have been a gain in presenting Turkeyø solution-seeking and peace-loving position in international arena. But, it could not constitute a comprehensive and ultimate solution for the inherent

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<sup>179</sup> BOLUKBASI, Süha; öThe Johnson Letter Revisitedö, *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol.29, No.3, July 1993, pp. 505-510.

<sup>180</sup> ONIS, op.cit, p. 254.

<sup>181</sup> Available at, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-yunanistan-siyasi-iliskileri.tr.mfa>

<sup>182</sup> Available at, [http://www.cfr.org/publication/21916/conversation\\_with\\_ahmet\\_davutoglu.html](http://www.cfr.org/publication/21916/conversation_with_ahmet_davutoglu.html)

deadlocks. Questions still exist and practical achievements could not be acquired. Inability of Turkey's attempts in these two foreign policy issues indicated some weak aspect of zero-problems perspective. In order to have a whole peace, all players' positive contribution is needed. And, that is not the case all time.

Bilateral relations with Syria entered into a trend of change before the AKP government, especially based on the Adana Agreement and Protocol in October 1998. Through the Protocol, Syrian support to PKK was stopped and training camps were closed. Special representatives were appointed for diplomatic missions and security enhancing measures were taken. Meanwhile, Syrian side declared their willingness to solve the border questions originating from Hatay issue.<sup>183</sup> Syrian President Bashar Assad's visit to Turkey in 6-8 January 2004 was the first visit to Turkey by a Syrian president. In addition to enhanced cooperation through several bilateral agreements on economic and trade relations, military and security issues, energy politics, transportation, culture, tourism and agriculture; Turkish-Syrian Free-trade Agreement in January 2007 has been sample developments in bilateral relations.<sup>184</sup>

As another example of changing priorities in relations in Turkey's borders, Turkish-Iraqi bilateral relations shifted from a pure security-oriented approach to a constructive approach. Turkey initiated a meeting to convene Iraq's neighbors in Istanbul, in the wake of the Second Gulf War on 23 January 2003. The foreign ministers of Saudi Arabia, Iran, Syria, Jordan, Egypt and Turkey were invited to Cirag Palace Hotel to ask over Iraq's former president Saddam Hussein to collaborate with arms inspectors of the UN Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission and the International Atomic Energy Agency. The Muslim neighbors invited Iraq to cooperate with the UN arms inspectors. At the end of the conference Turkish Foreign Minister declared that "We call solemnly on the Iraqi leadership to move irreversibly and sincerely towards assuming its responsibilities in restoring

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<sup>183</sup> ALTUNI IK M. Benli, TUR Özlem;, "From Distant Neighbors to Partners? Changing Syrian-Turkish Relations," *Security Dialogue*, Vol.37, No.2, June 2006, pp.238-239.

<sup>184</sup> Available at, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-suriye-siyasi-iliskileri-.tr.mfa>

peace and stability in the region.<sup>185</sup> Similarly, throughout the re-building efforts of Iraqi state as a democratic one, Turkey played a conciliator role between the Sunni and Shiite groups to encourage their participation to parliamentary elections.<sup>186</sup> Besides, Turkey directly addressed the Kurdistan Regional Government, despite of the contrasting domestic expectations, and Turkey launched an "institutionalized engagement" in order to debate and contribute the re-construction of Iraqi state by means of "the Initiative of Iraq's Neighbors Forum" in the regional level.<sup>187</sup>

Zero-problems principle offers a larger area of strategic influence and international credibility, instead of a lasting enmity and conflict. But still, zero-problems goal is difficult to fully achieve.

Turkey's relations with the United States constitute a complicating factor for fulfillment of the zero-problems policy in Turkey's neighborhood. This foreign policy premise puts forward the economic interdependence, trade and diplomacy for resolution of the disputes. On the other hand, American administration seeks more militarily oriented coercive perspectives, as in the case of second Gulf War. It has been also apparent in American position about the nuclear program of Iran. According to Inat and Duran, Turkey tries to balance this foreign policy dilemma by means of highlighting the democracy and human rights instruments and Turkey's possible contributions in its region. But still, this is a provisional solution for current questions.<sup>188</sup>

In the context of Turkey's new foreign policy vision discussion, it has been another point of view that Turkey tries to be added into the region. Vacuum of leadership and

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<sup>185</sup> MURINSON, Alexander; "The Strategic Depth Doctrine of Turkish Foreign Policy", *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol.42, No.6, November 2006, p.954.

<sup>186</sup> Before the American occupation in 2003, Turkey entered into a series of meaningful diplomatic initiatives. In addition to acceleration of the UN and OIC mechanisms, "Platform for Iraq's Neighbors" has been more significant diplomatic tool. First meeting was held in Istanbul in 23 January 2003. With November 2007, formally and informally, meetings were organized thirteen times. Turkey did also diplomatically channelize the Sunni groups to participate the June 30, 2005 election, which was vital for Iraq's self-determination. Civil initiatives were also active in political training for increasing Iraqi political learning for democratic elections. Further analysis see, ARAS, Bülent; "Iraqi Partition and Turkey's War on Terror: A Wider Perspective", *Insight Turkey*, Vol.9 No.3, 2007, pp.59-66.

<sup>187</sup> ALTUNI IK, *New Perspectives on Turkey*, op.cit. pp.188-189

<sup>188</sup> INAT, DURAN; op.cit., p.70.

authority in the region, especially in the wake of the September 11 event, reinforces Turkey's this position. It requires more pragmatist approaches through constructive initiative. It also needs eradication of structural questions instead of periodical problems.<sup>189</sup> Zero-problems policy could be defined as a mechanism to serve this end, more than being a matter of vision, so it policy firstly plans to remove old thread perceptions and problems inherited from the past foreign policy practices.

Another point of view that changes in Turkish foreign policy making defined under the headline of 'a new vision' is a normalization process of Turkey's foreign politics, constitutes a supporting argument of Turkey's struggles to be integrated its region. According to Ouzlu, increasing weight of cost-benefit analysis in relations with the US and the EU, rather than emotional and identity based motives which were more salient factors shaping the relations in the past, could be considered as reflections of this normalization of Turkey's foreign policy. In this sense, emphasis on a more 'strategic cooperation within a rational context' and prominence of Turkey's Middle Eastern identity with cultural and historical assets could be evaluated as extensions of normalization. Normalization here is Turkey's acceptance of the perspective that Turkey's accession to the West could be realized by means of Turkey's confession and internalization of its Eastern identity, instead of isolating himself from the East and refusing its Eastern identity.<sup>190</sup> From this point of view, Turkey's pro-active constructive engagements in its region could become more understandable as a normal choice.

#### **4.2.3. Developing Relations with the Neighboring regions and beyond**

Developing relations with neighbors and beyond offers a global perspective in foreign policy making. This principle, suggests 'no geographical frontier' to limit

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<sup>189</sup> EROL, M. Seyfettin; 01 Eylül: Türk D, Politikasında Mecra Arayışları, ve Orta Asya-Kafkasya Boyutu, *Avrasya Dosyası*, Cilt.10, Sayı.1, İkbahar 2004, pp.55-56.

<sup>190</sup> O UZLU, Türk D, Politikasında Normalleşme: Bölgesel ve Küresel Bir Analiz, in DAĞI, Zeynep der. (2006); in *Doğudan Batıya Türk D, Politika: AK Partili Yıllar*, Orion Yayınevi, Ankara, pp.390-400.

foreign policy activities. From this point of view, Turkey tends to develop intensive relations beyond its neighboring countries. Turkey enters into relation with not only to European Union but also to Russia, Iran and the United States. According to this premise, these relations are based upon rational calculations, not on ideological accounts.<sup>191</sup> This premise could be considered as a globally scaled summary of the zero-problems principle.

Throughout the Cold-War years, Turkey did behave in accordance with the expectation of the Western camp due to divisive power polarization. Disappearance of Cold War international parameters opened new scopes for policy making. Instead of the Cold War perception of alternative relations, "compatible global relations"<sup>192</sup> is suggested. Davuto lu refuses producing alternatives by means of classifying the international actors in foreign policy making; he states that "We are not involved in a bipolar world anymore. It means our good relation with Russia is not an alternative to the EU"<sup>193</sup> That reminds Aras and Fidan's "geographic imagination" conceptualization, again. In this respect, Turkey discovers new areas of influence and notices their "availability" Turkey conceives beyond the boundaries despite the psychological distances.<sup>194</sup>

Alliance of Civilizations Initiative<sup>195</sup> has been addressed as a sample in this context. It is a Spanish proposal which later on became an established UN initiative, supported by not only states but also international organizations, civil society

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<sup>191</sup> DAVUTO LU, *Insight Turkey*, op.cit. p. 92.

<sup>192</sup> "Principles Of Turkish Foreign Policy", *SETA Foundation's Washington D.C. Branch*, op.cit.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid.

<sup>194</sup> ARAS and FIDAN, op.cit., pp.198-199.

<sup>195</sup> As an alternative to inter-civilizational conflict, pronounced by Bernard Lewis, Daniel Pipes and Samuel Huntington in the early 1990s, which assumes future conflict would occur in the fault lines of civilizational differences especially among Islam and the West, dialogue discourse was offered by the mid 1990s. Iranian leader Khatami firstly suggested the year 2001 to be designed as "year of dialogue among civilizations" in 1998 and the UN formulated a resolution compatible with this offer. September 11 attacks accelerated the trend and UN initiatives intensified in this context. Furthermore, EU and OIC joint forum in February 2002 in Istanbul brought Turkey's role as a bridge between different civilizations to agenda. Turkey became one of the countries of co-sponsored UN initiative Alliance of Civilizations. Spanish leader, Zapatero, whose elections campaigns were conducted in reaction to former Spanish Government's support for the US invasion of Iraq, proposed the Alliance to the UN General Assembly as an alternative solution to cope with international terrorism in September 2004. Turkey accepted to be co-sponsor for the project. See further, KILINÇ, Ramazan; "Turkey and the Alliance of Civilizations: Norm Adoption as a Survival Strategy", *Insight Turkey*, Vol.11, No.3, 2009, pp.58-60.

organizations, media and people. The initiative actively functioned along the meetings in Madrid and Istanbul in January 2008 and April 2009 in order for the encouragement of cultural dialogue, mutual respect and tolerance. It introduced the means of disproving Huntington's famous clash of civilizations thesis and became the institutional center for inter-cultural cooperation and dialogue, which Davuto lu argues as the only mechanism for resolution of ethno-religious conflicts. This initiative depicted Turkey's ability and credibility as a peace-builder actor.

Turkey's active contact and inclusion in almost all international organization are pronounced as illustrations of its capability to have global relations. According to Collinsworth, Turkey's ability to enter into relations with different international organizations is an indicator of both its strategic strength and capability in global level. There has a diverse range of membership:

Turkey's broad-reaching involvement in multilateral organizations speaks of its strategic significance in world order. It is party to all major global organizations, including the United Nations and the World Trade Organization. It has security cooperation through its membership of NATO as well as with Asia through CICA-Confidence Building Measures in Asia. Its diplomatic relations reach the West through the Council of Europe and its Associate Membership in the European Union, and the East through the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). Its trade alliances span northwards through the Black Sea Economic Cooperation organization (BSEC) to Central Asia through the Federation of Euro-Asian Stock Exchanges, while remaining a member of the OECD, the European Union Customs Union and the G-20. It has held observer status in the Organization of American States since 1998.<sup>196</sup>

Compatible global relations policy aims at a foreign policy vision perceiving international relations as whole with no borders. "Turkey's engagements from Chile to Indonesia, from Africa to Central Asia, and from EU to OIC will be part of a holistic approach to foreign policy"<sup>197</sup>, Davuto lu claims. This premise conceives foreign relations more than security based border issues. It draws a contextual roadmap to satisfy Turkey's power parameters with a compatible approach instead of

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<sup>196</sup> COLLINSWORTH, Allen; "Turkey: An Emerging Global Actor", *Ins,ght Turkey*, Vol.9, No.3, 2007, p.93.

<sup>197</sup> DAVUTO LU, *Insight Turkey*, op.cit., p.96.



competitive motives towards to international addresses with the same weight in foreign policy making. This premise does also bridge the zero-problem policy with rhythmic diplomacy.

#### **4.2.4. Rhythmic (pro-active) Diplomacy**

The end of the Cold war did constitute the end of the Turkey's buffer state position and the time for search for a new definition for Turkey's international position and Turkey's foreign policy vision. In the party program of the governing party, it is expressed that "the dynamic circumstances brought about by the post Cold-war period have created a convenient environment in order to develop a foreign policy with several alternatives"<sup>198</sup> In this new environment, rearrangement and reformulation of Turkey's relations with the power centers, within a perspective that is alternative producing, flexible and designable with many axes. Pro-active diplomacy is offered as a conceptual reflection of this perspective. Pro-active rhythmic diplomacy refers "a sustained pro-activism in the field of diplomacy, trying to achieve a more active role in international organizations, and opening up to new areas where Turkish contacts have been limited in the past."<sup>199</sup> It does also include pre-emptive intervention to probable crisis with a future-oriented direction. This position was expressed in AKP's party program. Parallel to Davuto lu's vision, party program suggests a "forward-looking, proactive, innovative, and ultimately multi-faceted foreign policy" with the claim of more initiative in the crisis in neighboring regions with more concrete contribution for permanent solutions.<sup>200</sup>

In addition to renewed foreign policy perspective, Turkey's active diplomacy is the position Turkey is supposed to be by its surrounding region. For instance, Balkans has always been an unstable area after the Cold War. Post Cold War balances in Balkans are provided by the interventions of the extra-territorial powers. But,

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<sup>198</sup>The 2001 AKP Party Program, Article VI, "Foreign Policy" available at <http://web.akparti.org.tr/vi-dis-politika-79.html?pID=50>.

<sup>199</sup> DAVUTO LU, op.cit., p.82-83.

<sup>200</sup> The 2001 AKP Party Program, op.cit.

interventions have remained limited with prevention of the conflicts. For a long lasting peace and stability, initiative taken by the regional countries emerged as a must.<sup>201</sup> According to Davuto lu, Turkey forms a traditional imagination in minds of the people of its neighborhood. And, Turkey's neighbors expect Turkey to do something in order to management of the international conflicts in times of crisis.<sup>202</sup> Through a similar perspective, President, Gül outlines Turkey's traditional acquaintance in the region while refusing the foreign intervention to regional issues:

If we don't take the reins and prefer to cover up and ignore them [our problems], then others [the United States] will try to solve them their way and interfere in our affairs. And this interference will take place in the wrong way because they don't understand our sensitivities, our habits, our cultures and our social structure.<sup>203</sup>

Emphasize on the mediator or facilitator role within the context of the conflicts in the Middle East for instance, reflects pre-emptive dimension of Turkey's foreign policy making and expectations of the regional countries.<sup>204</sup> Solana's Larjani meeting to discuss the Iranian nuclear issue, invitation of Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf and Afghan President Hamid Karzai to meet in Turkey to develop dialogue between Pakistan and Afghanistan in May 2007, Israeli and Palestinian presidents, Shimon Peres and Mahmud Abbas's Ankara meeting before the Annapolis Meeting in the United States in 2007, did form the instances for Turkey's mentioned role. Turkey has also provided diplomatic contacts between Pakistan and Israel and between Israel

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<sup>201</sup> Available at, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/sayin-bakanimizin-pobjeda-gazetesinde-karadag-24-07-2009-tarihinde-yayimlanan-makalesi.tr.mfa>

<sup>202</sup> DAVUTO LU, Ahmet; "Turkish Vision of Regional and Global Order: Theoretical Background and Practical Implementation", *Political Reflection*, Vol.1 No.2, June-July-August 2010, Lecture at the Conference Of Turkey's Foreign Policy in a Changing World at the University of Oxford, p.42.

<sup>203</sup> Abdullah Gül, Interview in *Al Hayat*, 18 Feb 2004.

<sup>204</sup> According to TESEV researches in 2009, for instance, the Middle Eastern countries in general believe in Turkey's role in conflict resolution and support a democratic Turkey, member to EU. Investigation conducted by KA Research Companies in seven countries, Palestine, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt and Iraq, in July 24-29 of 2009 indicates that: 79% of respondents demands Turkey's assistance role to the Israel-Palestine problem, the percentage is 89% in Palestine, 86% in Syria, as well. 77% of respondents from the region call for Turkey's greater role in the Arab world. Moreover, in Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and even in Iraq, people believe in Turkish government's friendly relations with their own governments. Again, 61% of respondents conceive Turkey as a model for the Arab world. And, 64% of people from those of seven countries are in favor of Turkey's membership process to EU, confirming it positively affects Turkey's role in the Arab world. For detailed analysis see; AKGÜN, Mensur; PERÇİNÖ LU, Gökçe; GÜNDOĞAR, Sabiha S.; "The Perception of Turkey in the Middle East", *Foreign Policy Analysis Series.10*, TESEV Publications, December 2009.

and Syria.<sup>205</sup> Turkey has mediated the talks on the question between Syria and Israel stemming from the Israeli occupation of the Golan Heights. Syrian President firstly introduced a peace treaty in return to Israel's evacuation the Heights in April 2008. After the suspension of the talks by the Syrian side following the Gaza attacks, new government under Netanyahu refused the continuation of the talks. Prime Minister Netanyahu declared that "Israel would not cede the Golan Heights for the sake of peace with Syria."<sup>206</sup> Despite of the fact that Turkey's efficiency requires both change in the position of Israel and the US, with Syria's perpetual support, Turkey's efforts illustrates Turkey's position in foreign policy making.

In the context of new activism, the changing Turkish policy and attitude toward the Palestinian question is another topic. Davuto lu points out; "It is not a realist approach to cover a country individually separating from the balance of whole region in the Middle East. Events in the region occur in an atmosphere where almost all actors of international relations are included directly or indirectly. [í ]. Every development triggers or strikes the other one in the region."<sup>207</sup> In other words, a tiny issue in the region may have a domino effect and break all the order. The Palestinian question is a significant issue in this context and occupies a central place in Turkish policy toward the Middle East. Turkish policy makers evaluate this issue as an area of responsibility and also an opportunity to claim a constructive role in the Middle East. Turkish administrators seek to deter Israeli aggression against the Palestinians and to remove Palestinian terrorist attacks on innocent Israeli targets.

Moreover, in the wake of the terrorist attack in Green Area/Baghdad in 19 August 2009 with nearly a hundred of civilian death, for which Iraqi administrators blamed Syria, Turkey entered into bilateral diplomatic talking with the partners in order to re-establish the Syrian-Iraqi relations. In this context, Davuto lu visited Baghdad and Damascus for exchange of ideas related to issue, in the following days of the

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<sup>205</sup> ÖN , Ziya; YILMAZ, uhnaz; "Between Europeanization and Euro-Asianism: Foreign Policy Activism in Turkey during the AKP Era", *Turkish Studies*, Vol.10, No.1, March 2009, p.19.

<sup>206</sup> HALE, William; "Turkey and the Middle East in the New Era", *Insight Turkey*, Vol.11, No.3, 2009, p.151.

<sup>207</sup> Available at, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/sayin-bakanimizin-132-arap-ligi-olagan-disisleri-bakanlari-konseyi-toplantisinin-acilis-oturumunda-yaptigi-konusma.tr.mfa>

incident. Throughout the talks, Turkey conveyed the messages including Syrian demands for the evidences proving Syrian support for the attacks, to the Iraqi side. Besides, formation of a triple consultation mechanism is offered.<sup>208</sup>

Another example of Turkey's active foreign policy has been the Caucasus Stability and Cooperation Platform (CSCP) Initiative on August 11, 2008. With an immense diplomatic trafficking between Moscow (August 13th), Tblissi (August 14th) and Baku (August 20th), with non-inclusion of the representatives of South Ossetia, Abkhazia, or Nagorno-Karabakh and extra regional actors EU or USA, Turkey declared its vision in the region as building confidence and creation of an atmosphere of dialogue which may enable the region an energy route; otherwise, the Caucasus would be "a wall instead of a gate"<sup>209</sup>

Rhythmic diplomacy has connotations for search of new areas of influence as defined above as well. Turkey's institutional and strategic cooperation with Arab League and Gulf Cooperation Council, more active position in Islam Conference Organization, observer status in the Organization of African Unity are some examples. In October of 2008, the election of Turkey as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council for the first time since the early 1960s<sup>210</sup> is another important development for Turkish foreign policy, in this respect. Seat in UN Security Council strengthened Turkey's hand for more influential position in major international issues.

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<sup>208</sup> AYHAN, Veysel; "İrak-Suriye Aras, Mekik Diplomasisi: Türkiye'nin Arabuluculuğu", *Ortado u Analiz*, Cilt.1, Say.9, Eylül 2009, pp.11-12.

<sup>209</sup> GÜZELDERE, Ekrem E.; "Turkish Foreign Policy: From "Surrounded by Enemies" to "Zero Problems", *C-A-P Policy Analysis -1*, 2009, The EU Member States and the Eastern Neighborhood, p.18.

<sup>210</sup> Turkey was elected as a non-permanent member for the UN Security Council on 17 Oct. 2008 with the support of 151 states in the total 192 countries. Until obtaining the non-permanent seat in the UN Security Council, AKP government started several initiatives in order to have this end through the different actors of international relations from states to international organizations. Diplomatic campaigns in Foreign Ministry of Abdullah Gül and Ali Babacan had been conducted in the shape of state to state talks and visits, namely including 150 states, diplomatic missions for peaceful settlement of disputes and offering economic assistance as well. Further see, ARAL, Berdal; "Turkey in the UN Security Council: Its Election and Performance", *Insight Turkey*, Vol.11, No.4, 2009, pp.151-153.

Quantitative indicators could also be enumerated in this frame. In 2003, Foreign Minister and other Ministers visited more than 60 countries. 9 Presidents, 14 Prime Ministers and 25 Foreign Ministers came to Turkey for official visits. In 2005, Russia, Israel, Palestine, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania, Serbia, Georgia, Azerbaijan were visited by the Turkish Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. Towards the end of 2005, Prime Minister visited various countries; New Zealand, Australia, Indonesia, Thailand, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Oman, Qatar, Bahrain, Ethiopia, these all were the first high level official visits. In 2006, with a new opening towards Africa and Latin America, especially for the support of Turkey's membership to UN Security Council for 2009, was also launched. Turkish President visited twenty-nine countries, Prime Minister twenty-three, and Babacan and Davuto lu, shared Foreign Ministry office in 2009, made ninety-three official visits only in year 2009, including European, Asian and Middle Eastern countries, and the United States.<sup>211</sup>

On the other hand, Turkey's pro-active rhythmic diplomacy is mainly debated around the question of a shift of the foreign policy axis. Debates on Turkey's possible axis shift to its Middle Eastern partners have been intensified especially in the wake of the harsh criticism towards Israeli politics in the region, and rising questions about the future Turkish-Israeli relation. Relations between two countries entered into a critical process, especially in the wake of the Israeli attacks on Gaza in the early 2009. Attacks start after the Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert's visit of Ankara resulted in Erdoğan's comment as "an act of disrespect towards Turkey", likewise it gave way to wide public protests due to disproportionate use of military power and civilian injuries in military operations. Turkish Prime Minister's left<sup>212</sup> of the World Economic Forum at Davos on 29 January 2009, just after his words being

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<sup>211</sup> ULUTA , op.cit. p.2.

<sup>212</sup> Disregarding the diplomatic meaning ascribed to the style of behavior itself, Turkish Prime Minister's reaction in Davos is debated by international actors connected to the issue within changing frames. Back, takes attention that how Davos event was understood, rather than what it was. Erdoğan's manner in the meeting was evaluated within a moral framework, since the Israeli side commented that Erdoğan's accusations were unacceptable, while the Muslim side admired claiming it was what "Israel deserves". But, at the end, the event made a new opening to re-examine the relations between Israel and Turkey. For detailed analysis, BACIK, Gökhan; "Turkish-Israeli Relations after Davos: A View from Turkey", *Insight Turkey*, Vol.11, No.2, 2009.

cut and rising voices, after the debate of Erdoğan's accusation of Israeli actions in Gaza as "barbarian"<sup>213</sup>

Erdoğan's reactionary stance caused public debate on both the sophistication of Turkish diplomacy and Turkey's facilitator role between Israel and its Arab neighbors, and Turkey's neutrality about the Israel-Palestine question. In the first stage, the rigid expression of the Prime Minister is perceived as a reflection of the public conscience on long-lasting civilian injury caused by Israeli operations. Moreover, identity based explanations due to the fact that Turkish and Palestinian people belongs to the same religion has constituted another dimension of the issue. For instance, Turkey seems having no problem with the extensive killing in Darfur and Sudan President, indictment for war crimes. It remains as a question mark why such a similar critical perspective could not presented as in the case of the Palestinian issue. Turkey seems to favor the Muslim sensibilities on liberal democratic values.

In this regard, Turkey's position might encounter to the question of being far away from the realpolitik of global politics and getting closer to be a Muslim voice in international politics.<sup>214</sup> Thus, Turkey has crucial dilemma of the question which is global strategy versus regional policy, European versus Middle Eastern, the Kemalist establishment versus conservative establishment.<sup>215</sup> Turkey is not belong solely one of those categories alone, Thus Turkey is bound to achieve a peaceful co-existence of these inherent dualities in its nature, for the sake of a promising international stand.

Despite the above mentioned conflicting schema, Turkey's new foreign policy direction has still significant compatible themes and goals with those of its Western allies, the US and the EU. Turkey's regional purposes in its foreign policy agenda are adequately in parallel with those Western interests. According to Ilter Turan:

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<sup>213</sup> HALE, William; "Turkey and the Middle East in the New Era", *Insight Turkey*, Vol.11, No.3, 2009, p.149-50.

<sup>214</sup> ABRAMOWITZ, Morton; BARKEY Henri J.; "Turkey's Transformers: The AKP Sees Big", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.88, No.6, November/December 2009, pp.126-127

<sup>215</sup> ROBINS, Philip; "The 2005 Brismes Lecture: A Double Gravity State: Turkish Foreign Policy Reconsidered", *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol.33, No.2, November 2006, p.204.

The security shield provided by NATO for example, enables Turkey to deal more confidently with Russia as an economic partner. Turkey continues to rely on the United States as a major source of arms procurement. The fact that around half of Turkey's exports go to EU-member countries and that Germany is Turkey's largest trading partner generate significant interest in retaining a good working relationship with the European Union. Turkey's soft power is considerably enhanced in the Middle East, the Caucasus, and Central Asia by the fact that it has a strong Western connection. Turkey's relations with Iran have to be balanced with those with Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States that are allied with the United States. Turkey's strong challenge of Israeli policies in Palestine has reduced the appeal of Iran in the region, while its vastly improved relationship with Syria has reduced Iranian influence there as well and has rendered Turkey more interested in a negotiated solution with Israel. These developments are all in harmony with the American and EU policies in the region. Turkey shares an interest with the United States and the EU in the development and survival of a united, independent, and stable Iraq. Similarly, both Turkey and its Western partners share an interest containing the spread of radical Islamic movements and terror under the guise of religion.<sup>216</sup>

Here, the real question does not seem as a shift in Turkey's foreign policy axis. The question is embedded in the nature of the principle of pro-active rhythmic diplomacy. It is firstly criticized through its lack of "a defined axis" around which foreign policy is constructed. According to Onis, multi-dimensional foreign policy has to rest on certain set of priorities. Otherwise it would be difficult to overcome possible trade-offs associated with the different choices in the long term.<sup>217</sup> In this regard, Turkey might be isolated and left alone in times of crisis. This risk always exists in Turkey's geography, since Turkey is located in the middle of an unstable and troubled international environment.

This critique is also supported with the argument of the loss of weight of EU membership in foreign policy direction in the second term of AKP government. When high level contribution of EU process on both Turkey's domestic political and economical enhancement and Turkey's acceptability by its neighborhood as a

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<sup>216</sup> Available at, [http://www.bilgesam.org/en/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=305:turkish-foreign-policy-challenges-to-turkeys-western-calling&catid=70:ab-analizler&Itemid=131](http://www.bilgesam.org/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=305:turkish-foreign-policy-challenges-to-turkeys-western-calling&catid=70:ab-analizler&Itemid=131)

<sup>217</sup> ON , Ziya; "Multiple Faces of the "New" Turkish Foreign Policy: Underlying Dynamics and a Critique", GLODEM Working Paper Series, Nisan 2010, Center for Globalizing and Democratic Governance, Koç University, p.3.

democratic model are taken into consideration, EU path gains special importance.<sup>218</sup> EU process, as factor of stability and continuity in foreign politics, has been one the most important factor encouraging Turkey's credibility in its region. Turkey's possible failure in the EU accession process carries the risk of Turkey's losing his card on multi-dimensional foreign policy based on negotiation and mutual interdependence. However, European Union's perspective on Turkey's integration seems unstable. Additionally, there are clashing positions within the Union itself through Turkey's full membership. Cyprus issue and Turkey's Kurdish problem constitutes the major questions of the negotiation process, which could not be solved yet. Need for more time for an available solution involves the risk of consuming the patience of Turkish society on Turkey's European travel.

Second question related to this foreign policy principle is a matter of making a decision if any serious conflict emerges between Turkey's Western allies and its neighbor countries. The principle of multi-dimensional pro-active foreign policy through zero-problems goal could not excuse Turkey's stand near by one of the possible poles.<sup>219</sup> For instance, Turkey has had a different position with regard to Iran's nuclear program, while it was located within the Western alliance. Turkey exhibited an independent and pro-active stance by signing a trilateral agreement with Brazil and Iran. Besides, Turkey gave a "no" vote against the UN sanctions to Iran in the United Nations Security Council. In the near future, this decision has a potential to isolate Turkey from the Western alliance. Turkey might be left alone with its assertive foreign policy.<sup>220</sup>

Ongoing debates related to Turkey's new axis finds its response in Foreign Minister's explanations. He states that: "Being in the West, the North, East and South, trying to work hard on all of these fronts without creating an issue of axis.

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<sup>218</sup> Ibid., p.15.

<sup>219</sup> O UZLU, H. Tar,k; The Davutoglu Period in Turkish Foreign Policy, *Ortado u Analiz*, Eyltil 2009, Cilt.1, Say,.9, ORSAM, p.49.

<sup>220</sup> ON , Ziya; "Multiple Faces of the "New" Turkish Foreign Policy: Underlying Dynamics and a Critique", p.18.



Where is the axis? The axis is in Ankara<sup>221</sup>. From this point of view, Davuto lu underlines that Turkey's new foreign policy vision is a globally scaled perspective, which requires no axis except Turkey's self-defined strategic stance. Turkey's above-mentioned independent-minded position is emphasized in the academia, as well. For instance, Larrabbe and Lesser elaborates Turkey's position through the American interests in the Middle East through a similar perspective that "Turkey will be neither a bridge nor a barrier in relation to the Middle East but rather an increasingly capable and independent actor, a more significant and possibly more difficult regional ally."<sup>222</sup> Similarly, Robins defines both the Middle East and Europe as the *unsuitable frameworks* in Turkey's new foreign policy vision, and he points out the need for starting with Turkey itself through *a Turkey-centric* starting point while analyzing Turkey's international relations.<sup>223</sup> American President Obama does also attribute Turkey a central position along a similar perception:

I know there are those who like to debate Turkey's future. They see your country at the crossroads of continents, and touched by the currents of history. They know that this has been a place where civilizations meet, and different peoples come together. And they wonder whether you will be pulled in one direction or another. Turkey's greatness lies in your ability to be at the center of things. This is not where East and West divide - this is where they come together.<sup>224</sup>

However, another aspect of Turkey's constructive stance is related with the possible challenges from different interests and insistent emphasis on shared history with the regional countries. Turkey's new foreign policy vision has been discussed with reference to the Neo-Ottomanism debates, in this regard. *Neo-Ottomanism* reflects the perspective that new foreign policy rhetoric with an intensive reference to imperial Ottoman past of Turkish society. Classifying the new Foreign Policy vision driven by Davuto lu in a constructivist analysis again, Altun, *k* elaborates this critical perspective that:

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<sup>221</sup> DAVUTO LU, Ahmet (2009). "Principles of Turkish Foreign Policy", Lecture at the SETA Foundation's Washington DC Branch, 08/12/2009.

<sup>222</sup> LARRABEE, F. Stephen and LESSER Ian O. (2003); *Turkish Foreign Policy in an Age of Uncertainty*, Pittsburgh, RAND, p.157.

<sup>223</sup> ROBINS, Philip; "The 2005 Brismes Lecture: A Double Gravity State: Turkish Foreign Policy Reconsidered", p.203.

<sup>224</sup> US President Barack Obama, Speech to the Turkish Parliament, on April 6, 2009.

[1 ] the constructivist vision of Turkey's focuses on the importance of independent influence of intersubjectively shared value-based behavior. As such, the constructivist perspectives have their weaknesses as well. First, the constructivist perspective has to face the realities of interest-based politics. Some of the opportunities and limitations in the implementation of policies clearly emerged due to the changes in strategic environment as well as the existence of economic interests rather than identity politics. Second, like previous Islamist discourses concerning the region, too much emphasis on history can be seen as neo-Ottomanist and thus hegemonic. Such a perspective is bound to create unease among the countries in the region.<sup>225</sup>

In this regard, foreign policy rhetoric with regional leadership connotations has a possible risk of being unwelcomed by regional countries, when especially relations with Iran and Russia with similar ambitions to have a word in World politics are considered. Foreign Minister approves that Turkey tends and desires for a sustainable peace and order in the region with Turkey's own identity as nation-state, while refusing the attributions of neo-Ottomanism with an imperial connotation for his vision.<sup>226</sup>

#### **4.2.5. Multi-dimensional Foreign Policy**

Multi-dimensional foreign policy refers quitting the security and identity-based, mono-dimensional foreign policy. According this principle, foreign policy dealings should diversify with wide ranges of issues from cultural considerations to economics, diplomacy to politics.

Due to static polarization of the international system in the Cold War period, security issues were the main motives. In post Cold War era, however, international system became more dynamic and paved way for foreign policy alternatives. Davuto lu claims that it is a natural necessity of Turkey's international position. He states that

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<sup>225</sup> ALTUNI IK M. Benli; "Worldviews and Turkish Foreign Policy in the Middle East", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, No.40, Spring 2009, pp.191-192.

<sup>226</sup> Available at, [http://sabah.com.tr/Siyaset/2009/12/04/yeni\\_osmanlilar\\_sozu\\_yiy\\_niyetli\\_degil](http://sabah.com.tr/Siyaset/2009/12/04/yeni_osmanlilar_sozu_yiy_niyetli_degil)

the geo-strategic position of Turkey directly influences the political, economic and social structure, power and possibilities of Turkey, and this geography forces Turkey to follow a multi-dimensional foreign policy.<sup>227</sup>

In Turkey's recent foreign policy applications, economic and cultural issues have gained weight. Turkey's trade volume increased with EU, US and the Middle Eastern countries, while cultural and economical dealings with newly established Balkan, Caucasus and Central Asian countries. For instance, exports with neighboring and Black Sea countries (Bulgaria, Greece, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Russia, Romania and Ukraine) have risen from 11 percent of total exports to 20 percent, between 2002 and 2008. Imports from same countries have increased from 15.5 percent to 27.6 percent through the same period. Turkey has also signed Free Trade Agreements with Morocco, Palestine, Tunisia, Syria, Egypt, Albania and Montenegro.<sup>228</sup> In addition, Share of the neighboring countries in Turkey's foreign trade increased from 8 percent to 32 percent, in the last six year. 48 agreements, 11 of them is related to transportation, were signed with Iraq. Projects for railways, roads and direct flies to Iraqi cities and energy agreements to carry energy from Iraq to Europe over Turkish territories were also put into agenda. Construction projects and revise of health system were taken into agenda with Syria and Libya.<sup>229</sup>

Turkey did also initiate several projects of energy transition as the East-West energy corridor; the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan<sup>230</sup>, traveling firstly to the West and later to the South and connecting Turkey to Central Asia over Caspian by means of providing the linkage Kazakh oil to this route. Secondly, the Denizli a natural gas project

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<sup>227</sup> Available at, [http://www.mfa.gov.tr/sayin-bakanimizin-pobjeda-gazetesinde-karadag-24\\_07\\_2009-tarihinde-yayimlanan-makalesi.tr.mfa](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/sayin-bakanimizin-pobjeda-gazetesinde-karadag-24_07_2009-tarihinde-yayimlanan-makalesi.tr.mfa)

<sup>228</sup> Turkish Foreign Policy: from Status Quo to Soft Power, *European Stability Initiative*, Picture Story, April 2009.

<sup>229</sup> Principles Of Turkish Foreign Policy, *SETA Foundation's Washington D.C. Branch*, op.cit.

<sup>230</sup> Exportation pipeline through Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan is a Turk-Azeri-Georgian initiative firstly introduced by Haydar Aliyev in 5 Sept.1997 with US and Turkish support and formally agreed on OSCE Istanbul Summit in Nov.1999. BTC is given start on 18 Sept.2002, with an official ceremony, and completed in 2006 with 1,767 kilometers in length and cost approximately \$4 billion. 443 Kilometers of the pipeline lies in Azerbaijan, 248 kms in Georgia, and 1,076 kms in Turkey. With the possible Kazakhstan join, the capacity might reach 75 million tons. BTC is an alternative East-west energy corridor to Russia and Iran for crude oil, enhancing the geopolitical significance of Turkey as an energy corridor. For detailed analysis, ÖN, Ziya; YILMAZ, op.cit.

connecting the energy routes of Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey with Greece and the Nabucco<sup>231</sup> gas pipeline Project.

Turkey has developed bilateral contacts with improved economic and cultural relations with those states, instead of the defensive motives of the past. Strategic cooperation with Iraq and Syria is significant, in this issue. The agreement of High Level Strategic Cooperation Council is signed between Iraq and Turkey, in 10 July 2008.<sup>232</sup> Turkish-Iraqi High Level Strategic Cooperation Council, in ministerial level between Iraq and Turkey, was organized in Istanbul on September 17-18, 2009. First meeting was held in Baghdad on October 15, 2009, in Prime Ministers' level. 48 memoranda of understanding were signed in total, aiming to improving relations in the areas of trade, interior affairs, welfare and housing, health, transport, water sources, energy, and agriculture.<sup>233</sup> In addition, Davutoğlu's Erbil visit on October 30, 2009, with Trade Minister and a delegation composed of nearly 70 officials and businessmen, signified an important turning point in Turkey's relations with Kurdish Regional Government. This visit contributed Turkey's constructivist position in post-Occupation Iraq picture in economical and security issues with mutual reliance.<sup>234</sup>

With respect to changing quality of the relations with Syria, Turkish-Syrian High Level Strategic Cooperation Council did meet in Aleppo, firstly on October 13, 2009 and December 23, 2009 at Ministerial level. According to the protocol signed, visa requirements were reciprocally lifted and it is decided to cooperate in the areas of shipping, aviation, energy, transport, finance, tourism, education, communication, electricity, agriculture, health, industry and other sectors. Furthermore, future expectations to improve relations through a strategic partnership on economic and political levels to ensure security and economic integration in the region are also expressed.<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>231</sup> Nabucco is pipeline project intended to carry natural gas from Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Turkey to Austria and Europe lessening gas dependence on Russia, planned to be completed by 2013, with European partners, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, Germany, and Austria.

<sup>232</sup> Available at, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/data/DISPOLITIKA/Bolgeler/ortadogu/irak/Ortak%20Siyasi%20Bildirge.pdf>

<sup>233</sup> ULUTA, op.cit., p.3.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid, p.4.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid.

Multi-dimensionality envisages increase of influence in all of its neighboring regions and improving its relations with all international actors, rather than just depending on relations with the European Union and the United States. Strategic diversification of the external relations with more emphasis on regional stability and greater economic interaction with the peripheral regions and countries is another part of this principle. Several samples of multi-dimensionality in its foreign politics in the last decade have been observed.

Turkey has deep historical and cultural ties with its surrounding countries, which makes him a geo-politically unique country. Likewise, Turkey has been still defined at the center of the main conflicts of world politics; the occupation of Iraq and the Kurdish question in Northern Iraq, the Iran problem and the future of the Middle East Region, the Russia question and the future of Eurasia, the crisis of multi-culturalism and Islam in Europe. In addition, the clash of civilizations debate in global politics, the question of Europe as a global actor, Mediterranean politics, and also the global political economy and energy politics are listed as the topics directly related with the Turkey's international political stance.<sup>236</sup> In this intricate international relations environment, Turkey's new foreign policy trend has been intensively debated through various critical questions, as summarized above.<sup>237</sup> However, Turkey's geography forces him to establish a web of foreign relations, in which just one link has a potential to break all political order in its region. This situation leaves no chance for Turkey to be immune from the international politics in this region. This also makes him obliged to define a strong foreign policy vision. Turkey's new vision pursues regional peace by means of gaining democratic legitimacy in international relations and stabilizing democracy in domestic politics. Neighborhood policy with

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<sup>236</sup> KEYMAN, E.Fuat; "Globalization, Modernity and Democracy: In Search of a Viable Domestic Polity for a Sustainable Turkish Foreign Policy" *New Perspectives on Turkey*, No.40, Spring 2009, pp.16-17.

<sup>237</sup> Keyman points the suspicions about the intentions and the purposes of Turkey's new foreign policy vision. He classifies these suspicious discussions under three possible grounds: First one is the perception that the new FP vision is an instrument by which AKP government tries to enlarge power and legitimacy of its Islamic-authoritarian government. Second one is a softened question as does Turkey turn its back to the West and orients to the East? And the last one is the question on the reality and sustainability of new foreign policy vision that will Turkey be able to successfully reconcile its interests with the new vision? KEYMAN, E. Fuat; "Türk D, Politikası,nda Eksen Tart, malar,; Küresel Karga a Ça ,nda Realist Pro-aktivizmö, *Seta Analiz*, Ocak 2010, Say.,15, SETA, pp.8-9.

zero-problems is in search of minimal conflicts in Turkey's region. Turkey desires to build its policy on strengthening regional cooperation among countries, highlighting common interests of the parties and fostering political and economic relations.

Turkey's role in the region and in the world in the next years will be a function of the geo-political developments and Turkey's capacity to adapt to them, and also of the policies and choices Turkish governments make at home. In order to formulate a long-lasting strategic perspective, it is needed to take into account "historical depth" which provides a sound assessment of the links between the past, present and the future, and a "geographical depth" penetrating into dynamics of the relations between domestic, regional and global factors.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

From 1990s onwards, Turkish foreign policy has entered into a process of adaption to the changes in internal and international conditions. During the AKP government nearly for a decade, this process of change had appeared with its theoretical and practical reflections. In international context, the post-Cold War international systemic ambiguity has been more deepened with the September 11 events, and forced Turkey to revise foreign policy vision. In domestic sphere, advantages of one-party government through a large public support especially when compared to weak coalition governments of the 1990s, gains attained through the EU integration reform process and lessened influence of military on civil government have all prepared adequate conditions for designing and performing a new foreign policy vision.

New course of Turkish Foreign policy is firstly related with the necessities of post-Cold War international environment of Turkey. Post Cold War system left behind new areas of influence for Turkey with the establishment of new states which were not alien, but un-accessible for active engagement in Cold War years, in Central Asia and in the Middle East. Additional changes brought about by the September 11 events to the international order updated Turkey's position in its region with the main question of how to cope with the question of peaceful co-existence of the different cultures and civilizations. Turkey's endemic characteristic of the closer embrace of Islam in its domestic politics and in its more positive regional diplomacy, has indicated its ability to function as a model for the rest of the region.

Current Foreign Minister Ahmet Davuto lu's perspectives and his *Strategic Depth Doctrine* have been the main elements of the new vision. Turkey's this new foreign policy vision finds its theoretical and analytical response in Strategic Depth Doctrine.

Strategic Depth Doctrine is mainly predicated upon the argument that Turkey's historical assets inherited from the Ottoman State and strategic position with its central geography forces Turkey to have a multi-dimensional pro-active foreign policy. These factors are also defined as the necessary potentialities which could transform Turkey into a regional and a global power. In order to acquire this ultimate end, Turkey's power parameters need dynamic re-interpretation in harmony with the changing international conditions, instead of static evaluations.

In this respect, Strategic Depth Doctrine assumes an alternative foreign policy vision through an active involvement in international politics of Turkey's region by means of diplomacy and any applicable soft-power instruments, in contrast to Turkey's decades of foreign policy principle of *status quo*. It also conceives a vision of Turkey, which makes it a rule-making regional actor, instead of being a passive watcher. Close relations with post-Soviet countries and the Middle Eastern countries within the pursuit of stronger voice in both regional and international questions became the main indicators of the new foreign policy direction. In addition, foreign policy practices have become more-planned, more coherent, long termed and confident.

Throughout the new vision, Turkey firstly aims at eradication of the ambiguities and realization of peace in its region. The first condition to this end, what Turkey's foreign policy is in pursuit of today, is to obtain independence and security for the neighboring countries. Turkey initially struggles to minimize the questions directly related to its own borders, and then makes openings to larger sphere. Besides, Turkey desires to include all actors whether domestic or international, directly or indirectly related. No one is excluded in this process, and the only mechanism is diplomacy in all areas of influence ranging from economics to culture, politics, and societal affairs.

In this context, new foreign policy vision proposes the full embodiment of Turkey's strategic depth towards explicitly defined goals. These goals could be listed under three topics; in cultural perspective, a country through which whole historical-cultural mobility is integrated to today's universal culture; in economic perspective,



sustaining the claim to take place among the world economic powers; in political-strategic perspective, integrating to European values, putting the individual rights and liberties forward, having a strong, democratic, consolidated the political system and establishing an undisputable political stability.<sup>238</sup> Above mentioned purposes are not extraordinary or imaginary to realize, but still requires time to decide. Whether it is possible to successfully perform Turkey's strategy-based assertive foreign policy seems to be tested in the following decades.

Consolidation of Turkey's own political and economic stability, democratic reforms through the EU integration, Kurdish issue and harmonization of secular state with its Muslim identity are all constitutes domestic challenges for a strong and sustainable foreign policy vision. In addition, Turkey's unsettled neighborhood with the questions of the future of the Middle East conflict of Iraq, the conflicts in the Caucasus and the Caspian region as a whole these all are issues related with Turkey's national interests. Israeli-Palestinian peace process for a sustainable order in Turkey's region is also a major question for Turkey's foreign politics.

Policy initiatives which explained through the claim of being reflections of Turkey's new foreign policy vision could not exceeded concrete ones yet. Various bilateral agreements have been still discussed in the Parliament, and more other initiatives have been in the negotiation process. Adaptability, maintenance and sustainability of the above mentioned foreign policy initiatives and ultimate goals still carry questions marks. New foreign policy vision, under the guidance of Ahmet Davuto lu's foreign ministry seems to be prioritizing the vision itself, while undervaluing the short and long-termed interests of the country. In addition, new vision defines certain foreign policy ends and ascribes definite tasks in its region as to establish peace in its geography. Other international actors in the region might not be willing to realization of these ends. Or, solutions of the questions might not be in favor of Turkey's interests. Turkey might encounter the question of making a preference between ends and interests

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<sup>238</sup> Available at, [http://www.mfa.gov.tr/sayin-bakanimizin-9-mayis-avrupa-guvu-vesilesiyle-ab-buyukcilerine-verdigi-yemekte-yaptigi-konusma\\_-8-mayis-2009.tr.mfa](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/sayin-bakanimizin-9-mayis-avrupa-guvu-vesilesiyle-ab-buyukcilerine-verdigi-yemekte-yaptigi-konusma_-8-mayis-2009.tr.mfa)

As a result, this thesis aimed at demonstrating that Turkey has been employing a new foreign policy vision. In this sense, firstly traditional makers of Turkish foreign policy were analyzed. Secondly, the systemic factors necessitating the change in foreign policy vision were covered. And lastly, new theoretical and conceptual basics of Turkey's foreign policy vision are analyzed through a descriptive methodology, under the headline of *Strategic Depth Doctrine*, as a contribution to the Turkish foreign policy literature. And, foreign policy practices of the last decade are evaluated in search of reflections of the new concepts. In this thesis, it is argued that Turkey has been adopting a new foreign policy vision through new approaches in the period of AKP government.

Turkey's new foreign policy vision still reserves a wide area of research topic. Deficiencies in Turkey's current foreign policy path, possible risks and challenges along implementation of such a theoretical and conceptual vision, and future tendencies in foreign policy formation could offer more topics to analysis.

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