



## FOREIGN POLICY OF TURKEY AND SPAIN VERSUS MIDDLE EAST, AFTER 2002. TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY AND NEW INTERNATIONAL AGENTS

**Gozde Demirel**

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EAST, AFTER 2002. TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY AND NEW  
INTERNATIONAL AGENTS**

**Doctoral Thesis**

**Supervised by Professor Enric Olivé Serret**

**Department of History and History of Art**



UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI

**Tarragona**

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Enric Olivé Serret catedrático del Departamento de Historia e Historia del Arte de la Universidad Rovira i Virgili y Director de la Catedra UNESCO para el Diálogo Intercultural Mediterráneo,

HACE CONSTAR que la presente tesis doctoral, titulada “Foreign policy of Turkey and Spain versus Middle East, after 2002. Transition to democracy and new international agents” presentada por Gözde Demirel para la obtención del título de Doctor, ha sido realizada bajo mi dirección en el Departamento de Historia e Historia del Arte de esta Universidad y que cumple con los requisitos para poder optar a la Mención International.

Dr. Enric Olivé Serret

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I dedicated this thesis to my  
parent. Thank you for life long  
support and love.

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# RESUME

Turkey and Spain experienced drastic changes after Second World War. Turkey started the occidentalization process, with the reforms made by Atatürk but today the country still has continued struggle somewhere between full democracy and authoritarianism. On the other hand Spain stands as a solid example of democratic consolidation. The focus of the thesis is to analyze the effects of democratic transition and consolidation to foreign policy decision making process. The idea is to properly examine similar and different cases in both states and see the results in decision making. In particular, the main focus is Middle East policy of Turkish Republic between 2002 and 2013. The perspective of research is mainly based on the relations of Turkey with Middle East countries, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Israel and also Cyprus. Alternately, purpose of the dissertation is to comprehend the fundamental characteristic of Turkey's foreign policy under AKP rule and in what way and wherefore Turkish foreign policy changed. Additionally, the importance of Alliance of Civilizations and Barcelona Process clarified in the framework of democracy and peace promoters in Middle East region.

**Key words:** Turkey, Spain, foreign policy, Middle East, democracy, revolutions, Islamism, Alliance of Civilizations and Barcelona Process.



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TO DEMOCRACY AND NEW INTERNATIONAL AGENTS  
Gozde Demirel  
Dipòsit Legal: T 957-2014

# CONTENTS

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Notes on Spelling	7
Acknowledgements	9
Abbreviations	13

## **CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION**

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1.Evolution of Thesis	19
2.The Research Problem and Hypothesis	21
3.Scope and Objective	24
4.Literature Overview	26
5.Organization of the Dissertation	27
6.Introducción General	28
7.Introduction Générale	32

## **CHAPTER 2. TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY AND FOREIGN POLICY: THE CASE OF TURKEY AND SPAIN**

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1.Introduction	39
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2.Defining Democracy, Explaining the Transition to Democracy and Democratic Consolidation	40
2.1.What is Democracy?	40
2.2.Transition to Democracy	43
2.3.Democratic Consolidation	44
3.Democracy and Foreign Policy	46
4.Overview of Transition: the Case of Spain and Turkey	48
5.Characteristics, Similarities and General Evolution of Decision Making Process and Control of Foreign Policy: the Case of Turkey and Spain.	51
5.1.The Case of Spain: Main Principles of Spain's Foreign Policy	51
5.1.1.The Limits of Foreign Policy in Authoritarian Rule: Franco Dictatorship	52
5.1.1.1.1939-1959 Survival of Franco Regime and Temptations of Fascism	54
5.1.1.2.1959-1975, Years of Consensus	61
5.1.2.Normalization and Universalization of Spain's Foreign Policy	63
5.1.2.1.Transition to Democracy and Spanish Foreign Policy (1975-1986)	64
5.1.2.2.Spain in a Changing World: The Quest for International Influence (1986-2002)	68
5.2.The Case of Turkey: Main Principles of Turkey's Foreign Policy	70
5.2.1.Determinants of Traditional Turkish Foreign Policy	70
5.2.2.Turkey's Foreign Policy under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk Rules	71
5.2.2.1.Independence War	72
5.2.2.2.Lausanne Conference	77

5.2.2.3.Early Republican Years	82
5.3.2.Second World War and Turkey	84
5.3.3.Turkey, the Cold War and Transition to Democracy	87
5.3.4.Post-Cold War Era	90
6.Conclusion	93
<b>CHAPTER 3. AKP and “NEW” CONCEPTS IN TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY</b>	<b>95</b>
<hr/>	
1.Introduction	97
2.Historical Roots of AKP	98
2.1.Politicization of Islam in Modern Turkey	98
2.2.Political Islam and National Outlook Movement	109
3.Muslim Secularists: Ideological Transformation of AKP from Political Islam to Conservative Democracy	118
3.1.The Rise of AKP: A “Moderate Party”	118
3.2.Ideology and Identity of AKP	122
4.The Conceptualization of “New” and Emerging Concepts in Turkish Foreign Policy	128
4.1.The Change in Turkey’s Foreign Policy	128
4.1.1.Davutoğlu Doctrine and Basic Principles of Turkish Foreign Policy After 2002	132
4.1.1.1.Strategic Depth Doctrine	134
5.Principles of Turkey’s New Foreign Policy	136
5.1.Balance Between Security and Democracy	138

5.2. Zero Problems with Neighbors	139
5.3. Proactive and Pre-emptive Peace Diplomacy	140
5.4. Multi-Dimensional Foreign Policy	141
5.5. Rhythmic Diplomacy	142
6. Conclusion	142

## **CHAPTER 4. THE TOUCHSTONES OF MIDDLE EAST POLICY OF AKP ERA: IRAQ-SIRIA-IRAN-ISRAEL- CYPRUS**

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1. Introduction	147
2. The Beginning and the Aftermath of Iraq War and the Implementation of Turkey's foreign policy?	147
2.1. The Unwillingness to Help USA: ¿Is Turkey, USA Trojan Horse, no?	152
2.2. Turkey's Mesopotamian Vision	156
3. Zero Problem Policy to Multi Problem Policy: Syrian Case	157
3.1. The Resolution in PKK Issue and the Development of Mutual Relations	161
3.2. The Syrian Uprising and the Role of Turkey	163
4. Two Effective Powers in Middle East Turkey and Iran?	169
4.1. Is Turkey Mediator or Provocateur Between Iran and the World?	172
5. Israel and Turkey, Enemy or Friend?	178
5.1. The Relationship Between Israel and AKP	182
6. Why Cyprus is So Important for Turkey and for the Middle East	188
6.1. Neither Enosis nor Taksim: Peacemaking in Process	197

6.2.AKP and Cyrus Issue	201
7.Conclusion	206
<b>CHAPTER 5. SPAIN and TURKEY TOWARDS THE PEACE PROCESS in the MIDDLE EAST</b>	209
<hr/>	
1.Introduction	211
2. Barcelona Process: Union for the Mediterranean	211
3. Alliance of Civilizations	217
4. Conclusion	221
<b>Conclusions</b>	223
<b>Bibliography</b>	229
<b>APPENDICES</b>	265
Appendix.1 Basic Statistics: Spain and Turkey	265
Appendix.2 List of Interviews	267
Appendix.3 List of Exportation	268

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TO DEMOCRACY AND NEW INTERNATIONAL AGENTS  
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# Notes on Spelling

In Turkish alphabet, the letters are pronounced as in English, with following exceptions:

a- short 'a' as in English 'u' in 'hut'.

c- 'j', as in English 'jam'.

ç- 'ch', as in English 'church'.

ğ- generally silent.

ı- as in the first 'a' in 'banana'

ö- as in French 'eu'.

ş- 'sh' in 'sheriff'.

ü- as in the French 'u'.



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TO DEMOCRACY AND NEW INTERNATIONAL AGENTS  
Gozde Demirel  
Dipòsit Legal: T 957-2014

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TO DEMOCRACY AND NEW INTERNATIONAL AGENTS  
Gozde Demirel  
Dipòsit Legal: T 957-2014

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TO DEMOCRACY AND NEW INTERNATIONAL AGENTS  
Gozde Demirel  
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# Abbreviations

AKP	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (eng. Justice and Development Party)
AoC	Alliance of Civilizations
ASALA	The Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia
BSEC	Black Sea Economic Cooperation
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CHP	Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi
E.U	European Union
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IMF	International Monetary Fund
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
O.E.C.D	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OIC	Organization of the Islamic Conference
PKK	Partiya Kerkari Kurdistan

U.N

United Nations

U.S

United States of America

**Map 1: Spain and Turkey in the Mediterranean**





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TO DEMOCRACY AND NEW INTERNATIONAL AGENTS  
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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

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TO DEMOCRACY AND NEW INTERNATIONAL AGENTS  
Gozde Demirel  
Dipòsit Legal: T 957-2014

# 1. Evolution of the Thesis

My whole education has been a great journey through many countries and cultures, which allowed me to observe the necessity to build mutual understanding and international cooperation from various angles. I have accomplished Public Administration and Political Sciences in University of Marmara. In order to get familiar with the language and the culture I have been on student exchange at the University of Rennes I in faculty of law and political sciences, as an Erasmus student where I had several EU-related courses like construction of European Union, public international law, business law, and major international problems. The formation which I have received during my studies in Turkey as well as in France, I have got familiar with the processes in the EU, EU institutions, the logic of decision-making system and the enlargement as well. My Erasmus experience has enriched me profoundly and convinced me that I would like to further develop my knowledge by deepening my understanding of the issues that are special interest for me and of great value for the international community. For this reason I made an Official European master on Mediterranean Cultural Studies at UNESCO Chair in Intercultural Dialogue in the Mediterranean which established in 2006 at the University of Rovira I Virgili, Tarragona/ Spain. Due to my advanced skills in 3 European languages I have had the possibility to gain complex knowledge about different countries, cultures and legal systems. This willingness to study diverse cultures to create more sensibility and synergy is something that I directly associate with my dissertation project. After master studies I made a professional internship in the European Institute of the Mediterranean (IEMed, Barcelona/Spain), which is a think tank specialized in Euro-Mediterranean relations. During my internship I worked for Quaderns de la Mediterrània under the supervision of Maria-Àngels

Roque at 2010. As a result of the internship, it was published a paper. Soon after my internship, I participated a summer course in English and diplomatic discourse in the University of Westminster at Diplomatic Academy of London. This summer course developed my skills on foreign policy and reinforces my knowledge on diplomatic discourse.

The dissertation- Foreign Policy of Turkey and Spain versus Middle East, after 2002. Transition to Democracy and New International Agents- is a project developed after years of studies and preparation and covers different levels of relations: political diplomatic, economic, commerce issues to trade, military, culture and religious. During my three years of PhD studies I attended different kinds of seminars, workshops, talks and presentations that helped me ripen my ideas on this specific subject. In June 2011, the Universitat Rovira I Virgili and the Research Group Culture and Identities (of which I am a member), organized the seminar “Identity Conflicts: Middle East and Turkey.” There I presented the paper entitled “The deadlock of Cyprus: ethnic-nationalism and religious-plurality, neither Enosis nor Taksim.” During the second year of my doctorate studies, I have been to University of Paris 8 for deepen my PhD investigation and for to fulfill the requirements of the international doctorate degree. I made an internship at the University of Paris 8 in the *Institute Français de Géopolitique* with the acceptance of Barbara Loyer. During my internship I had access to many bibliographical references in different libraries also I participated special courses on mapping and geopolitics. It was a very useful experience, because while I was deepening my knowledge I had the possibility to discuss my research with other doctoral students, attend workshops on Arab Revolutions.

In 2012, I spent 3 months in Turkey to conduct field work respecting the changes in Turkish foreign policy. I interviewed Turkish people from different

political ideas, academicians, policy makers and deputies. After in 2013, it was necessary to spent four months in order to complete the dissertation. Because of the turbulent times inside the AKP (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AK Parti, AKP, eng. JDP Justice and Development Party, hereinafter: AKP)<sup>1</sup> government some officials preferred not to record the interviews and they only talked about their official ideas. Indeed all the comments enriched my understanding and the research process.

## 2. The Research Problem and Hypothesis

The Middle East basin can be considered as a meeting point of different cultures and religions which also means the source of world conflicts. When Kofi Annan was puzzling, the possibility of a clash of Civilizations in 2005 as Huntington specify<sup>2</sup>, he addressed the leaders of Spain and Turkey to co-chair the Alliance of Civilizations. With their background of having different cultures co-existing peacefully and harmoniously, both in Iberia and Anatolia, no other countries would have better understanding to lead such an initiative.

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<sup>1</sup> **Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi**, AK Parti, AKP, eng. JDP hereinafter AK Party: According to official party records given by the Ministry of Interior, the acronym of the party is —AK Parti. In Turkish the word —Ak means white and clean; or without stain that refers a clear reference to the party image of uncorrupted character. Instead of AK Parti, however, many scholars are using AKP, which is a misnomer.

<sup>2</sup> See, Samuel P. Huntington, *The Class of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (Penguin Group, 1996).

Turkey is a vital country from geo-strategic perspective, it is vital for the interests of Europe and the Western world. Geographic location between the East and West gives Turkey an easy access to strategically important regions and major energy resources. Besides, thanks to its character as a modern country and democratic state, Turkey stands as an example for Muslim majority countries.<sup>3</sup> Due to the geographical position, Spain and Turkey situate in the periphery of Europe also unite East and West like a bridge. They are also two entry points for the E.U: Spain is an entry point of the Atlantic, Turkey for Central Asia, Middle East and Caucasus. Both states can be considered as portals to the North of Africa and the rest of the Mediterranean in general. Spain and Turkey belong to the European area, African area and Asian area. Furthermore they look in the same direction on the regional issues like the peace progress in the Middle East, and the Caucasus. On the other hand, they are members of NATO, ONU, OECD, IMF, Union for the Mediterranean and Turkey is the unique pending candidate of the EU with a predominant Muslim population and Spain supports the full membership of Turkey. It means that multilateralism is the millstone of both countries' foreign and security policies.

Spain and Turkey experienced drastic changes after the Second World War. Even Turkey started the democratization process before Spain, with the reforms made by Atatürk<sup>4</sup>, still today the country has continued to struggle somewhere

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<sup>3</sup> Graham E. Fuller, "Turkey's Strategic Model: Myths and Realities," *The Washington Quarterly* 27, no. 3 (2004):p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> **Mustafa Kemal Atatürk:** ( Turkish: "Kemal, Father of Turks" ), original name Mustafa Kemal, also called Mustafa Kemal Paşa (born 1881, Salonika [now Thessaloniki], Greece—died Nov. 10, 1938, Istanbul, Turkey), soldier, statesman, and reformer who was the founder and first president (1923–38) of the Republic of Turkey. He modernized the country's legal and educational systems and encouraged the adoption of a European way of life, with Turkish written in the Latin alphabet and with citizens adopting

between full democracy and authoritarianism. On the other hand Spain stands as a solid example of democratic consolidation in Southern Europe.<sup>5</sup> When it comes to the history of republic, the transition to democracy in the case of Turkey and Spain have got some similarities and differences. Since the first republic of Spain in 1873 politic life of the country was the subject of several interruption as restoration, civil war, dictatorship, *coup d'état*. The history of Turkey is not so far away from Spain. Turkey is among the democracies established soon after the World War I but the country underwent serious crisis in the consolidation process. After the creation of Modern Turkey in 1923, the political life was interrupted by several *coup d'états* because of segmentation between seculars and Islamist, left and right, nationalist and separatists and the democracy is still not working as it supposed to be.

The focus of following dissertation is to analyze the effects of democratic transition and consolidation to foreign policy decision making process. The idea is the properly examine similar and different cases in both states and see the results in decision making. In particular, the main focus is Middle East policy of Turkey between 2002 and 2013. The perspective of research mainly based on the relations of Turkey with Middle East countries, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Israel and Cyprus. During the research Turkey's norm diffusion policies as a democracy promoter toward the Middle East was analyzed.

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European-style names.( <http://www.britannica.com/>,  
<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/40411/Kemal-Ataturk>)

<sup>5</sup> See, J.Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), p. 25-32.



The following dissertation is situated in the discipline of international relations as well as in area studies. Key concepts such as, democracy, transition to democracy, democratic consolidation, the relation between democracy and foreign policy, Islamism and their link to foreign policy were clarified. Also the effects of domestic affairs to foreign policy within the concept of international relations were analyzed. The importance of Alliance of Civilizations and Barcelona Process was clarified in the framework of democracy and peace promoters in Middle East region.

The dissertation based on specific units of this intertemporal analysis of Turkish and Spanish foreign policy. During the study particular periods were picked; In case of Spain: foreign policy of Franco Dictatorship, the effects of democratic transition to foreign policy decision making and consolidation period; In case of Turkey: foreign policy under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk rules and Turkey's ongoing transition process as well as AKP's 'pro-western'<sup>6</sup> and 'neo-ottoman'<sup>7</sup> foreign policy concepts will be the subjects of the dissertation.

### 3. Scope and Objective

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<sup>6</sup> See, Soner Çagaptay, "Secularism and Foreign Policy in Turkeynew Elections, Troubling Trends," in *Policy Focus* (The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2007), Şaban Kardaş, "Turkey under the Justice and Development Party: Between Transformation of 'Islamism' and Democratic Consolidation?," *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies* 17, no. 2 (2008).

<sup>7</sup> See, Tarik Oğuzlu, "Middle Easternization of Turkey's Foreign Policy: Does Turkey Dissociate from the West?," *Turkish Studies* 9, no. 1 (2008), Hakan Yavuz, "Turkish Identity and Foreign Policy in Flux: The Rise of Neo-Ottomanism," *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies* 7, no. 12 (1998).

The main goal of the dissertation is to contribute to an academic debate with an objective scientific research as regard to Turkey's Middle East policy under AKP rule 2002-2013. Thence, the objective of the dissertation is to analyze new direction of Turkish foreign policy under AKP governance within their "Secular Muslim"<sup>8</sup> character. Within the content of the dissertation political, economic, trade, commerce, military, diplomatic, and security related foreign policy issues between Turkey and its eastern neighbors, as well as international actors is circumstantiated.

Aside from analyzing Turkey's foreign policy practices with a deep focus on internal and external determinants influencing the decision making processes under the AKP rule, the dissertation also examines the democratization process of Turkish Republic. Also, the whole dissertation built upon the questions like; is Turkey a democratic country? Could Spain be an exemplar for Turkey's undone transition to democracy? Could Turkey's interpretation of democracy be an inspiration for Muslim majority countries? Is there any change in Turkey's tradition foreign policy? What drives Turkey's new foreign policy actions, what are the criteria? Can Turkey and Spain really have an international impact by using soft power tools like Alliance of Civilizations or Union for Mediterranean?

Alternately, the dissertation purpose is to comprehend the fundamental characteristic of Turkey's foreign policy under AKP rule. Within this scope, it analyzes three government periods of AKP; the main idea is to conceptualize

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<sup>8</sup> See, Hakan Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2003), Hakan Yavuz, *Secularism and Muslim Democracy in Turkey* (Cambridge University Press, 2009).

new directions of Turkish foreign policy and to analyze eastern direction of Turkish foreign policy.

## 4. Literature Overview

The dissertation- Foreign Policy of Turkey and Spain versus Middle East, after 2002. Transition to Democracy and New International Agents- explains wide range of relation from political diplomatic, economic, commerce issues to trade, military, culture and religious perspective.

Subsequently, in consistency with the primary objectives of the dissertation, essential resources in related fields are properly examined. As an indispensable part of the research and data collection throughout the preparation process of the dissertation, library resources, including first and second literature sources, books, academic journals, periodicals, newspapers releases, articles are utilized to a great extent. Over and above, internet resources, on-line books, periodicals, newspapers, articles are explored along with the official websites of political parties, Foreign Affairs Ministries, embassies; state departments research and think thank centers. Hereafter, the direct sources like party and government programs, election manifestos, and bilateral agreements, memorandum of understandings, press briefs and releases constitute primary source of the dissertation in terms of literature. Also interviews with Turkish people from different political ideas, academicians, policy makers and deputies took part.

## 5. Organization of the Dissertation

The dissertation is organized in 5 chapters. The first chapter is the introduction of the dissertation. In this chapter I explain the reason why I choose this particular subject to study, the objective and the hypotheses, as a well as the methods used during the research.

The second chapter bears an introductory character focusing on theoretical framework of Turkey's and Spain's foreign policy along with its historical background focusing on transition to democracy and its effects to decision making process.

The third chapter provides information with respect to AKP's political identity and its foreign policy concepts. It explores the history of political Islam in Turkey, including critical analysis of National Vision Movement. The chapter also examines the birth and development period of AKP along with the dynamics which determine its foreign policy concept. This chapter focuses on the questions of how Turkey's foreign policy changed with the AKP by taking the Davutoğlu doctrines as the main unit of analysis, "change" in the AKP's foreign policy was investigated at the theoretical and practical level.

The Eastern direction of Turkish foreign policy from 2002 to 2013 examined in the fourth chapter. The chapter is organized under five subtitles; Turkish - Iraqi, Turkish - Syrian, Turkish - Iranian, Turkish - Israeli relations and Cyprus issue. This chapter clarified the reaction of Turkey towards the Arab Revolution in selected countries.

The fifth chapter analyzes foreign policy interactions of AKP rule and Spanish governments from a comparative manner. In the last chapter analyzed

the two international initiatives; Alliance of Civilizations and Barcelona Process that created for to promote peace especially in Middle East basin.

## 6. Introduction Générale

Le bassin du Moyen-Orient est considéré comme un point de rencontre de différentes cultures et religions et peut, en cela, être source de conflits de portée internationale. Lorsque Kofi Annan envisagea la possibilité d'un choc des civilisations en Juin 2005, comme l'explique Huntington, c'est vers l'Espagne et la Turquie qu'il s'est dirigé pour laisser leurs dirigeants co-présider l'Alliance des Civilisations. En effet, les deux pays disposant d'expériences sans pareil de coexistence de différentes cultures en leur sein, ils se sont présentés comme les plus à même pour conduire une telle initiative.

La Turquie a une position géostratégique fondamentale aux intérêts de l'Europe et du monde occidental. D'une part, sa situation géographique entre Est et Ouest offre un accès facile et stratégique aux principales ressources énergétiques, et de l'autre, en tant que pays démocratique et moderne, la Turquie s'est construite comme un modèle pour les pays de majorité musulmane. Elle partage avec l'Espagne, de par leurs positions géographiques respectives, la place de porte d'entrée vers le Nord de l'Afrique et vers le bassin méditerranéen, et s'inscrit ainsi dans les zones européenne, africaine et asiatique. Les deux pays convergent également au sujet de problématiques régionales, notamment concernant le développement de la paix au Moyen-Orient et dans le Caucase. Ils sont aussi membres de l'OTAN, de l'ONU, de l'OCDE, du FMI et de l'Union

pour la Méditerranée. La Turquie, avec une population majoritairement musulmane, est par ailleurs candidate à l'adhésion à l'Union Européenne et compte en cela avec le soutien de l'Espagne. Les différents points signalés ci-dessus montrent que le multilatéralisme est au cœur de la politique étrangère et des politiques de sécurité des deux pays.

Par ailleurs, en ce qui concerne l'histoire politique interne de la Turquie et de l'Espagne, il est possible d'observer des similitudes et des différences. En ce qui concerne la transition démocratique, depuis la première république d'Espagne en 1873, la vie politique du pays a été à plusieurs reprises secouée, par la restauration, la guerre civile, la dictature et le coup d'État. Pour sa part, après la création de la Turquie moderne en 1923, plusieurs coups d'État ont interrompu la vie politique turque, fruits de la segmentation entre les séculiers et les islamistes, la gauche et la droite ou encore les nationalistes et les séparatistes. Turquie a initié son processus d'occidentalisation grâce aux réformes menées par Atatürk, de nos jours, le pays se partage toujours entre autoritarisme et démocratie. L'Espagne s'érige au contraire comme un exemple de la consolidation démocratique au sud de l'Europe.

Cette thèse se propose d'analyser les effets de la transition et de la consolidation de la démocratie sur les prises de décisions au sein de la politique extérieure, et ce, en travaillant sur des cas similaires au sein des deux pays, la Turquie et l'Espagne. Plus particulièrement, l'objectif principal de cette recherche est d'étudier en profondeur la politique extérieure de la Turquie au Moyen-Orient à partir de l'année 2002. Aussi, la perspective développée porte-t-elle principalement sur les relations de la Turquie avec les pays du Moyen-Orient que sont l'Iran, l'Irak, la Syrie, Israël, ainsi qu'avec Chypre.

Cette recherche se situe dans la discipline des relations internationales. Les concepts-clés de démocratie, transition à la démocratie, consolidation démocratique, relation entre démocratie et politique extérieure, islamisme et relation avec la politique extérieure sont travaillées en son sein. L'influence des organisations internationales sur la définition de la politique extérieure est également analysée. Pour chaque pays, des périodes déterminées ont été choisies sur lesquelles porter attention. Dans le cas de l'Espagne, c'est la politique extérieure durant la dictature franquiste, la transition démocratique et la période de consolidation de la démocratie qui a été au cœur des recherches. Concernant la Turquie, l'étude s'est concentrée sur la politique extérieure menée sous le régime de Kemal Atatürk, sur le processus de transition démocratique aujourd'hui en cours, ainsi que sur les nouveaux concepts mobilisés par l'AKP, pro-occidentaux et néo-ottomans. Finalement, les révolutions arabes récentes sont également analysées.

L'objectif principal de cette thèse est de contribuer à un débat académique grâce à une recherche scientifique objective sur la politique du Moyen-Orient menée par l'AKP en Turquie entre 2002-2013. De plus, elle propose une analyse de la nouvelle direction prise par le gouvernement de l'AKP dans sa définition de la politique extérieure et plus particulièrement son caractère « séculier musulman ». Les relations de la Turquie avec ses voisins de l'Est et avec les acteurs internationaux sont étudiées, en termes politique, commercial, militaire, diplomatique et de sécurité.

En plus de cette analyse de la politique extérieure de la Turquie qui se focalise sur les déterminants internes et externes qui influencent les processus de prise de décision du gouvernement de l'AKP, est également examiné le processus de démocratisation de la république Turquie. La thèse se construit en

effet autour de questions telles que : La Turquie est-elle un pays démocratique ? L'interprétation que fait la Turquie de la démocratie peut-elle être source d'inspiration pour d'autres pays musulmans ? Quels facteurs impulsent les nouvelles actions de la politique extérieure turque et quels sont les critères décisifs ? Y a-t-il un changement dans la politique extérieure traditionnelle de la Turquie ? La transition démocratique de l'Espagne peut-elle être un exemple à suivre pour la Turquie ? L'Espagne et la Turquie peuvent-elles réellement avoir un impact à échelle internationale en mobilisant le « pouvoir mou » que représentent par exemple l'Alliance des Civilisations ou l'Union pour la Méditerranée ? De plus, le propos de la thèse est de comprendre les caractéristiques fondamentales de la politique extérieure de la Turquie pendant la période du gouvernement de l'AKP, et d'observer les changements que celle-ci a connus.

La thèse est structurée en cinq chapitres. Le premier se concentre sur la construction et la justification du sujet de recherche et présente objectifs, hypothèses et méthodologie. Le second chapitre se concentre sur le cadre théorique mobilisé dans cette étude, lequel fait une introduction à l'histoire des politiques extérieures espagnoles et turques. La transition démocratique et ses effets sur les processus de prise de décision y sont ainsi examinés. Dans le troisième chapitre, l'identité politique de l'AKP est expliquée en profondeur ainsi que les concepts que ce parti développe pour construire sa politique extérieure. Est alors travaillée l'histoire de l'Islam politique en Turquie, laquelle inclut une analyse critique du Mouvement National de Vision (Milli Görüş), ainsi que de la période de naissance et de développement de l'AKP et des dynamiques qui déterminent sa politique extérieure. Le quatrième chapitre est consacré à la politique extérieure turque vers le Moyen-Orient entre 2002 et 2013, et s'intéresse aux relations avec l'Irak, la Syrie, l'Iran et Israël, ainsi que le



conflit chypriote. Enfin, le dernier chapitre s'arrête sur une analyse de l'Alliance des Civilisations et du Processus de Barcelone en tant que promoteurs de la paix au Moyen-Orient.

## 7. Introducción General

La cuenca del Medio Oriente puede ser considerada como un punto de encuentro de diferentes culturas y religiones, lo que también significa una fuente de conflictos mundiales. Cuando Kofi Annan se desconcertó, por la posibilidad de un choque de civilizaciones, como especifica Huntington, él se dirigió a los líderes de España y Turquía para co-presidir la Alianza de Civilizaciones. Debido a sus antecedentes de tener diferentes culturas que coexisten en paz y armonía, tanto en iberia como en Anatolia, no habrían otros países que tuvieran suficiente conocimiento para conducir tal iniciativa.

Turquía es un punto geoestratégico fundamental que es vital para los intereses de Europa y del mundo occidental. Su ubicación geográfica entre el este y el oeste, ofrece un fácil acceso a los principales recursos energéticos de manera estratégica. Gracias a su carácter como un país moderno y democrático, Turquía se erige como un ejemplo para los países de mayoría musulmana. Debido a su posición geográfica, España como Turquía pueden ser considerados como un portal hacia el norte de África y en general al resto del mediterráneo. Así mismo, pertenecen a las zonas europea, africana y asiática. Ambos países se encaminan hacia la misma dirección en temas regionales como el progreso de la paz en el Medio Oriente y el Cáucaso. Por otra parte, son miembros de la

OTAN, la ONU, la OCDE, el FMI y la Unión por el Mediterráneo. Turquía con una población predominantemente musulmana, es el único candidato a la espera de la UE que cuenta con el apoyo de España para su plena adhesión en la UE. Estos puntos comunes significan que el multilateralismo es la piedra angular de la política

Turquía y España experimentaron cambios drásticos después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial. Turquía inició el proceso de occidentalization por las reformas hechas por Atatürk. Hoy en día, el país aun continua su lucha entre la plena democracia y el autoritarismo. Por otro lado, España se erige como un sólido ejemplo de la consolidación democrática en el sur de Europa. Cuando se trata de la historia de la república, la transición a la democracia en el caso de Turquía y España ha tenido algunas similitudes y diferencias. Desde la primera república de España en 1873, la vida política del país fue objeto de varias interrupciones incluyendo la restauración, la guerra civil, la dictadura y el golpe de estado. Por su parte la historia de Turquía no se encuentra tan lejos de la española. Después de la creación de la Turquía moderna en 1923, la vida política se vio interrumpida por varios golpes de estado, debido a la segmentación entre los seculares y los islamistas, la izquierda y la derecha y los nacionalistas y los separatistas. De hecho, la democracia todavía no está funcionando como debería ser.

Esta tesis se enfoca en analizar los efectos de la transición y la consolidación de la democracia en la toma de decisiones en la política exterior. Se pretende investigar casos similares de ambos estados y ver los resultados en la toma de decisiones. En particular, el objetivo principal es estudiar en profundidad la política exterior de Turquía hacía el Medio Oriente después de 2002. Principalmente, la perspectiva de la investigación se basa en las

relaciones de Turquía con los países del Medio Oriente tales como Irán, Irak, Siria, Israel así como Chipre.

La tesis se sitúa en la disciplina de las relaciones internacionales. Se aclaran conceptos claves como la democracia, la transición a la democracia, la consolidación democrática, la relación entre la democracia y la política exterior, el islamismo y su relación con la política exterior. Además se explica la influencia de las organizaciones internacionales en la política exterior. Durante el estudio han sido elegidos determinados períodos de cada país. En el caso de España el estudio se centró en la política exterior de la dictadura franquista y en los efectos de la transición a la democracia en la política exterior y el periodo de consolidación. Por su parte, en Turquía se centró en la política exterior bajo las normas de Kemal Atatürk, el proceso de transición de la democracia en curso, así como los nuevos conceptos de la política exterior del AKP- occidental y neo-otomana. Finalmente las revoluciones árabes también fueron analizadas.

El objetivo principal de la tesis es contribuir a un debate académico con una investigación objetiva científica con respeto a la política de Medio Oriente de Turquía conforme a la regla del AKP entre el 2002 y el 2013. Además se pretende analizar la nueva dirección de la política exterior turca bajo el gobierno del AKP dentro de su carácter "secular musulmán". Dentro del contenido de la tesis se examinan las relaciones entre Turquía y sus vecinos del este, junto con los actores internacionales en términos políticos, comerciales, militares, diplomáticos y de seguridad.

Aparte del análisis de la política exterior de Turquía con un profundo enfoque en los determinantes internos y externos que influyen en los procesos de toma de decisión en el gobierno del AKP, también se examina el proceso de

democratización de la república turca. La tesis se construye sobre preguntas tales como: ¿Es Turquía un país democrático?, ¿Podría ser la interpretación de la democracia de Turquía una fuente de inspiración para los países musulmanes?, ¿Qué impulsa las nuevas acciones de la política exterior de Turquía y cuáles son los criterios?, ¿Hay algún cambio en la política exterior tradicional de Turquía?, ¿Podría la transición a la democracia de España ser un ejemplo para Turquía?, ¿Pueden realmente Turquía y España tener un impacto internacional utilizando el “poder blando” como por ejemplo la Alianza de Civilizaciones o la Unión por el Mediterráneo?. Adicionalmente, el propósito de la tesis es comprender las características fundamentales de la política exterior de Turquía durante el periodo del gobierno del AKP, así como entender de que manera la política exterior turca ha cambiado.

La tesis se estructura en cinco capítulos. En el primero se explica la razón por la cual se eligió el tema en particular de estudio, se describen los objetivos e hipótesis, así como los métodos utilizados durante la investigación. El segundo capítulo se centra en el marco teórico, el cual tiene un carácter introductorio de la política exterior de España y Turquía, junto con sus antecedentes históricos. También, se trata la transición a la democracia y sus efectos en el proceso de toma de decisiones. En el tercer capítulo se explica en profundidad la identidad política del AKP y sus conceptos de la política exterior. En él se explora la historia del islam político en Turquía incluyendo el análisis crítico del Movimiento Nacional de Visión (Milli Görüş). Del mismo modo se examina el período de nacimiento y desarrollo del AKP junto con la dinámica que determina su concepto de la política exterior. En el cuarto capítulo se indaga sobre la política exterior de Turquía hacia el Medio Oriente entre el 2002 y el 2013. A su vez en el capítulo se explora las relaciones turco-iraquíes, turco-sirias, turco-iraníes, turco-israelíes, además del conflicto chipriota.

Finalmente, en el último capítulo se analizan la Alianza de Civilizaciones y el Proceso de Barcelona como promotores de la paz en el Medio Oriente.

## Chapter II

# TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY AND FOREIGN POLICY: THE CASE OF TURKEY AND SPAIN

*The basis of a democratic state is liberty.*

*Aristotle, the Politics*

UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI  
FOREIGN POLICY OF TURKEY AND SPAIN VERSUS MIDDLE EAST, AFTER 2002. TRANSITION  
TO DEMOCRACY AND NEW INTERNATIONAL AGENTS  
Gozde Demirel  
Dipòsit Legal: T 957-2014

## 1. Introduction

The issue of democratic transition and consolidation is trend topic of academic debate among modern-day historians. Especially after the changes in the Arab countries caused by popular uprisings, all types of researchers deepen their studies on the issues related to democracy. The chapter starts with the definitions given on democracy to clarify what is democracy and what are the criteria of consolidation. In the same vein, it clarifies the key concepts like democracy, transition to democracy, consolidation of democracy and the relation between democracy and foreign policy.

The main idea of the chapter is to analyze the general framework of Turkey's and Spain's foreign policy in the period of transition and consolidation of their democracies from historical perspective, along with the main determinants shaping it and the characteristics of both countries external policy concept. It also considers internal dynamics in order to sketch out the basic principles and theoretical framework of Republic of Turkey's and Spain's foreign affairs.

The chapter concentrates on the transition to democracy in the case of Turkey and Spain, the reference period for Spain start with the dictatorship of Franco in 1936 since 2003 the government of Zapatero, for Turkey my start point is the creation of Modern Turkey 1923 since 2002 AKP government. The idea is to find the similarities and the difference between two countries and see the effects of this transition to foreign policy decision making process. The example of Spain and Turkey is a clear case for to understand how a democracy survives and become stable.



## 2. Defining Democracy, Explaining the Transition to Democracy and Democratic Consolidation

### 2.1. What is Democracy?

Democracy literally means “rule of people”. The etymological origins of the term democracy is derived from the Greek *dēmokratiā*, which was coined from *dēmos* “people” and *kratos* “rule” in the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C to denote the political systems then existing in some Greek city-states, notably Athens.<sup>9</sup> Throughout history the content of democracy became more than a simple definition of “rule of people”. Contemporarily definition, determinants, functions and quality of democracy is still an ongoing debate among academicians. To avoid the questions on the concept of democracy, principally I want to explain what I mean by “democracy” and then the necessary conditions that might move the regime from transition to consolidation.

The definition of democracy used in whole dissertation built upon Robert Dahl conceptualization. According to Dahl center of democracy is the nation of political equality. For him political equality requires the same rights and opportunity to everyone who wants to have her preferences take place into

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<sup>9</sup> Dahl R.A., *Democracy* in Encyclopedia Britannica Online (source: [www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/157129/democracy](http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/157129/democracy)), 20.May.2011)

government policy.<sup>10</sup> In his book “On Democracy” Dahl gives five criteria for ideal democracy. These requirements can be summarize as:

1. *Effective participation*: Equal and adequate opportunities of all citizen for questioning and forming public agenda before a policy is adopted by the associations.
2. *Voting equality*: Each citizen must have an equal and effective opportunity and right for voting and all votes must be counted as equal in weights to the judgments of others.
3. *Enlightened understanding*: Each citizen must have equal opportunities for discovering the relevant alternative policies that would best serve their interests.
4. *Control of the agenda*: People must have exclusive opportunity to decide what political matters to be placed on the agenda.
5. *Inclusion of adults*: All permanent residents within the state should have the full rights of citizens that are implies by the first four criteria.<sup>11</sup>

From this point of view democracy can not consist of small group of elites and others must be allowed to insert their desires onto political agenda. At the same time he added other seven criteria that together help meet these requirements of political equality:

1. “Control over governmental decisions about policy is constitutionally vested in elected officials. Elected officials are chosen and peacefully removed in relatively frequent, fair and free elections, in which coercion is quite limited.

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<sup>10</sup> Robert A. Dahl, *On Democracy* (Yale University Press, 2000), p. 36.

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*, p. 38.

2. Practically all adults have the right to vote in these elections.
3. Most adults also have the right to run for the public offices for which candidates run in these elections.
4. Citizen have an effectively enforced right to freedom of expression, particularly political expression, including criticism of the officials, the conduct of the government, the prevailing political, economic, and social system, and the dominant ideology.
5. They also have access to alternative source of information that is not monopolized by the government or any other single group.
6. Finally they have an effectively enforced right to form and join autonomous associations, including political associations, such as political parties and interest groups , that attempt to influence the government by competing in elections and by other peaceful means.”<sup>12</sup>

Furthermore Larry Diamond strengthens the definition of democracy with other determinants that makes a regime move towards consolidation. First, he affirms that elected officials must have the full control of the decision making process without any pressure from the undemocratic actors and foreign powers and at the same time elected government should not have the institutional power to become tyrannical after winning elections. Second, all types of minority groups should have legally and practically equal rights for expressing their interests in political life. Third, freedom of belief, opinion, discussion, speech, publication, assembly, demonstration and petition should be ensured by executive power. Fourth, judicial system must be independent and nondiscriminatory. Finally, citizens in a democratic regime must be equal under the law and the rule of law should protect all citizens from unjustified detention,

<sup>12</sup>

Robert A. Dahl, *Democracy and Its Critics* (Yale University Press, 1989), p. 233.

terror, torture and undue interference in their personal lives.<sup>13</sup> Larry Diamond believes that there is a powerful association between democracy and liberty,<sup>14</sup> and he says that in the absence of any one of these features, the democratic credentials of a regime need to be questioned.

## 2.2. Transition to Democracy

The theme of transition to democracy divided into two approaches: genetic approach and functional approach. Most theoretician those taking 'genetic' approach focuses on the role of economic development and modernization. For example in his famous article Seymour Martin Lipset explains the necessity of an industrial society, stable economy with a large middle class and high educational level for further involvement in political decision-making via democratization.<sup>15</sup> In some extent, this idea makes logical sense because the majority of stable democracies are the countries economically developed. On the other hand according to 'genetic approach' there are other factors that can bring change from authoritarianism to democracy. Some of these factors can be resumed as death or defeat of a dictator, the installation of democratic institutions by foreign powers, restoration of democratic regimes

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<sup>13</sup> Robert Agranoff, "Federal Evolution in Spain," *International Political Science Review* 17, no. 4 (1996): p. 12.

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>15</sup> See, Seymour Martin Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," *The American Political Science Review* 53, no. 1 (1959).

after external conquest.<sup>16</sup> O'Donnell and Schmitter explain the transition like “the interval between one political regime and another...Transitions are delimited, on the one side, by the launching of the process of dissolution of an authoritarian regime and, on the other, by the installation of some form of democracy, the return to some form of authoritarian rule, or the emergence of a revolutionary alternative”.<sup>17</sup> But how is it possible to consolidate or to deepen the democracy?

### 2.3. Democratic Consolidation

Democratic consolidation is the process of maturing democracy. In other words, while undemocratic regimes suffers from formalized but intermittent elections and clientelism, in mature democracies the actors in a system follow the formal rules of democratic institutions.<sup>18</sup> Once transformation from authoritarian rule in a country has reached a point where free, fair and competitive elections held, it does not mean that this country has a full democracy. Moreover it does not exist clear or unique definition of consolidation. As Richard Gunther explains “no clear consensus has emerged is

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<sup>16</sup> M. Lauren McLaren, *Constructing Democracy in Southern Europe: A Comparative Analysis of Italy, Spain and Turkey* (Taylor & Francis, 2008), p. 4.

<sup>17</sup> Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions About Uncertain Democracies* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), p. 6.

<sup>18</sup> See, Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes, "Endogenous Democratization," *World Politics* 55, no. 4 (2003).

that scholars have used different definitions of consolidation”<sup>19</sup>. The definition of democratic consolidation that I will use in my dissertation is the conceptualization of Juan Linz and Stephen Alfred.

According to Linz and Stephan “... a democratic transition is complete when sufficient agreement has been reached about political procedures to produce an elected government, when a government comes to power that is the direct result of a free, fair, and popular vote, when this government *de facto* has the authority to generate new policies and when executive, legislative and judicial power generated by the new democracy does not have to share power with other bodies *de jure*.”<sup>20</sup> It should be noted that consolidation and transition are two different phases of democratization process. Linz and Stephen gives the more common definition of consolidation. They defined that consolidated democracy is a political situation in which democracy has become “the only game in the town”.<sup>21</sup> But what does it mean being only game in the town, and what will determine whenever new democracies became stable?

In a nutshell, according to Linz and Stephen consolidated democracies have some features such as:

- “No significant political groups seriously attempt to overthrow the democratic regime or secede from the state.

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<sup>19</sup> Kenneth A. Bollen, "Political Democracy and the Timing of Development," *American Sociological Review* 44, no. 4 (1979): p. 5.

<sup>20</sup> Linz and Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*, p. 3.

<sup>21</sup> *ibid.*, p. 6.

- Even in the face of sever political and economic crises, the overwhelming majority of the people believe that any further political change must emerge from within the parameters of democratic formulas.
- All actors become habituated to the fact that political conflict will be resolved according to established norm.”<sup>22</sup>

### 3. Democracy and Foreign Policy

According to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that signed at Vienna in 1993 with the presences of 111 countries, “all humans are free and equal in dignity and rights”. Also the freedom of individual to think, believe, worship, freedoms from torture, arbitrary arrest and unlawful detention are recognized as inalienable human rights.<sup>23</sup> Admittedly there is a powerful connection between democracy, liberty and rights. Their protection and promotion is the first responsibility of elected governments.

There is a wide range of theoretic arguments and empiric findings on the attitude of democratic and undemocratic states in the time of internal and international crisis.<sup>24</sup> The most common and debated thesis based on the idea

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<sup>22</sup> *ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>23</sup> See, E. Roosevelt, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (Applewood Books, 2001).

<sup>24</sup> See, Zeev Maoz and Bruce Russett, "Alliance, Contiguity, Wealth, and Political Stability: Is the Lack of Conflict among Democracies a Statistical Artifact? 1," *International Interactions* 17, no. 3 (1992), Bruce M. Russett and John R. Oneal,

that the democracies do not fight each other. And also in general they are more peaceful than the authoritarian states. As Patrick James and Seung-Whan Choi clarify democracies are less likely to go to war against each other because of cultural and structural constraints.<sup>25</sup> The source of the theoretic arguments based generally on Kant's *Perpetual Peace*<sup>26</sup>. According to Kant peace could emerge among the states with:

1. Representative democracy
2. Economic interdependence
3. Joint membership in international organizations and adherence to internal law.

The empirical analysis of Bruce Russett and John Oneal shows that states in highly trade or financial interdependent economic relationship tend to avoid the conflict with their common partner. At the same time, participation in international organizations has got major effect on the attitude of states. The more international organizations state join, its government avoids taking violent action against the member state of the organization. These findings affirm that if the number of democratic states augments in the world, there will be less war.

On the other hand, what is the difference between democratic and undemocratic states in decision making process? According to Maoz and Russett

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*Triangulating Peace: Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations* (Norton, 2001).

<sup>25</sup> Seung-Whan Choi and Patrick James, *Civil-Military Dynamics, Democracy, and International Conflict: A New Quest for International Peace* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 7.

<sup>26</sup> See, Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Essay* (Cosimo Classics, 2010).



undemocratic states can act faster in the time of crisis.<sup>27</sup> In other words the structure of democracies slows down the process of decision-making.<sup>28</sup> But let the citizens be part of the decision making process.

In the post-cold war era concept of threat shifted from communism to terrorism but the methodology to fight against the threat did not change. Great powers of the world politics, especially United States of America built its foreign policy on democracy promotion and encourage the middle size countries to promote democracy. The idea of promoting democracy or exporting democracy accepted as the suitable method to fight against the threat.

## 4. Overview of Transition: the Case of Spain and Turkey

The civil war ended with the Nationalists as victor in 1939 and General Francisco Franco set up a traditional dictatorship that lasted until his dead in 1975.<sup>29</sup> Shortly after his dead, Spain entered the period of transition (1976-81) which has been often taken as a model for other process of political change

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<sup>27</sup> Zeev Maoz and Bruce Russett, "Normative and Structural Causes of Democratic Peace, 1946-1986," *The American Political Science Review* 87, no. 3 (1993): p. 48.

<sup>28</sup> Choi and James, *Civil-Military Dynamics, Democracy, and International Conflict: A New Quest for International Peace*, p. 8.

<sup>29</sup> Laura Desfor Edless, "Rethinking Democratic Transition: A Cultural Critique and the Spanish Case," *Theory and Society* 24, no. 3 (1995): p. 362.

form authoritarian to democracy.<sup>30</sup> Principally death or defeat of a dictator can be considered as one of the most significant reasons of transition but it does not guarantee the reveal of democratic regime. In Spanish case, before his death Franco declared old king's son Juan Carlos as his successor and the process of democratization realized under the guidance of the kingdom. Spain learned well from its previous experiences, especially the trauma of Civil War of the late 1930s helped the political actors to find a common ground during the process.

In Turkey, the transition towards democracy was initiated by Kemal 'Atatürk' who is the founder and the first president of the modern Turkish Republic. Principally Atatürk was aiming to build a new republic that would connect citizens to government. His ideas created an ideology so called Kemalism. Westernization, modernization, secularization of Turkish Republic is the key components of his ideology. Kemalism built upon six 'isms' (which symbolize by six arrows): Republicanism, Populism, Secularism, Revolutionism, Nationalism, and Statism.<sup>31</sup> Kemalist state was trying to create new Turkish citizenship with limited resources. After the war of Independence, Atatürk realized multiple reforms. The idea was to eliminate the legacy of Ottoman Empire over the new Turkish Republic and create western styled modern and secular state. The common point of transition in the case of Turkey and Spain was the process that initiated by the elite, corporatist, and rational actor models. Since the first republic of Spain in 1873 political life of the country was the subject of several interruptions as restoration, civil war, disaster,

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<sup>30</sup> Carles Boix, "Spain: Development, Democracy and Equity," in *World Development Report 2005* (Washington: World Bank, 2004), p. 5.

<sup>31</sup> McLaren, *Constructing Democracy in Southern Europe: A Comparative Analysis of Italy, Spain and Turkey*, p. 22.

dictatorship, *coup d'état*. On the other hand the history of Turkey is not so far away from Spain. After the creation of Modern Turkey, the political life was interrupted by several *coup d'état* and the function of democracy was not working as it supposed to be. Spain achieved to consolidate its democracy in short time period but Turkey today still fighting for its democratic rights and struggle somewhere between full democracy and something told to be that it is a democracy.

By the way today's government achieved to realize some development especially with the democratic openings on the other hand the recent developments showed that the democracy that AKP promised exists only for their supporters. Other important point that should be noted is that AKP slow down the democratization process after they achieved to neutralize the Turkish Armed Forces. To that point it main question is that, AKP only wanted to neutralize army to govern more freely?

Table 1: Chronology of Kemalist Reforms

1922	1 November: Abolition of Sultanate
1923	24 July: Treaty of Lausanne signed.
1924	3 March: Abolition of Caliphate and Millet system Closure of traditional schools; Abolition of Sharia law; Adoption of Constitution.
1925	Abolition of Dervish Groups; Abolition of Fez and veiling of women discouraged; Western attire and for men and for women encouraged; Adoption of Gregorian calendar.
1926	Adoption of new civil, commercial, and penal codes based on European

	legal systems. Ending of Islamic polygamy by new civil code: introduction of civil marriage
1928	Adoption of new Turkish alphabet (modified version of Latin alphabet); Turkish State declared to be secular; Removal of constitutional provision establishing Islam as official religion.
1933	Islamic call of worship and public readings of Kuran (Quran) to be held in Turkish rather than Arabic
1934	Granting of right to vote and right to hold office for women; Law of Surnames adopted; Grand National Assembly gives Mustafa Kemal the name of Kemal Atatürk ( Father of Turks); İsmet Pasha takes the surname of İnönü
1935	Sunday made the legal weekly holiday

Source: Second Grade School text book

## **5. Characteristics, Similarities and General Evolution of Decision Making Process and Control of Foreign Policy: the Case of Turkey and Spain.**

### **5.1. The Case of Spain: Main Principles of Spain's Foreign Policy**

Autarky, fascism, conservatism, transition to democracy, consolidation, universalization and Westernization are some of the terminologies used to

describe this specific period of Spanish foreign policy. In April 1939 Spanish history opened a new page call Franco era, which dured thirty-six years long. The social and economic history of Francoism consists of the transformation of Spain from agrarian country in 1939 to modern and urban in 1975. After the World War II, while Western Europe countries started to established democracy, Spain remained a culturally and diplomatically isolated country, governed by authoritarian institutions.<sup>32</sup> After protracted authoritarian rule, in the last sixty years Spain has undergone successful political and economic transformation from authoritarianism to wealthy democracy.

### 5.1.1.1. The Limits of Foreign Policy in Authoritarian Rule: Franco Dictatorship

On 18 July 1936 General Franco launched a coup and divided Spain in two parts, who had supported Franco—Monarchists, fascist Falangists<sup>33</sup>, conservative Catholics, business owners and military officers and who had

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<sup>32</sup> Boix, "Spain: Development, Democracy and Equity," p. 1.

<sup>33</sup> **The Falange:** José Antonio Primo de Rivera founded the Falange in 1933 and became its main leader. The Falange originally combined traditional patriotism with modern authoritarianism. Its objective was to create a National Socialist state free from class struggle. The Falange was mainly inspired by Italian fascism and defended the ideal of creating a bigger Spain through territorial expansion in the north of Africa and, above all, the recovery of strategic Gibraltar. The Falangists respected the Catholic Church, but demonized Marxism and capitalism. At the same time, they pressed for the introduction of land reform and for the nationalization of the banks and railways. See, Monserrat Guibernau, *Catalan Nationalism: Francoism, Transition and Democracy* (Taylor & Francis, 2004), p. 37.

sided with Republicans— Socialists, Communists, anarchists and liberals. After three years of military conflict the Civil War ended on April 1, 1939 with the defeat of Republican government. The Nationalist won because of they had internal unity, a better-led army and enduring foreign support from Nazi-Germany and Fascist Italy.<sup>34</sup> After his victory General Franco established a traditional authoritarian regime that lasted until his death in 1975. Humanitarian result of the Civil War was shocking: over half a million dead and another half a million in exile. Furthermore many thousands more were to die in the postwar repression.<sup>35</sup>

Civil war and break out of the World War II literally depressed Spanish economy. At the same time autarkic and statist policies of Franco regime was slowed down recovery process of Spanish economy. As Carles Boix explains “Franco’s regime generalized a system of price controls and rationing and regulated foreign trade through quantitative controls.”<sup>36</sup> On the other hand, agricultural production was a third below prewar levels and the number of livestock reduced by 30 to 40 per cent. Transportation had been destroyed: a tenth of shipping and about 40 per cent of railway equipment had been devastated. Industry, which basically established on military needs and was suffering a shortage of raw materials, especially in the Republican zone, was disrupted. Real per capita income would not regain its prewar levels until

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<sup>34</sup> Wayne H. Bowen, *Spain During World War II* (University of Missouri Press, 2006), p. 16-1.

<sup>35</sup> Adrian Shubert, *A Social History of Modern Spain* (Taylor & Francis, 2003), p. 206.

<sup>36</sup> Boix, "Spain: Development, Democracy and Equity," p. 8.

1952.<sup>37</sup> France, Germany, Italy and Great Britain were waiting for repayment of the debts. Franco dictatorship is one of the largest and polemical eras of Spanish history, which had among its goals the creation of unitary Spanish national-state and recovery of the power of Spain before the Civil War. For its duration, it is logical that all facets of Spanish society suffer one gradual transformation.

Turbulent and changing international context between 1939 and 1975, in which we see from the outbreak of a new world war up oil crisis and also the ideological crisis, the Cold War was cruelly affecting all the actors of global society and Franco dictatorship as well.<sup>38</sup> Considering the international environment and the nature of Franco dictatorship, we should examine this period in two phases, first between 1939 and 1959 which characterize by the survival of Franco regime, temptations of fascism and legitimization of Franco in international scene. After between 1959 and 1975 which can be called as years of consensus, the late Franco years and *Apertura*.

#### **5.1.1.1.1. 1939-1959 Survival of Franco Regime and Temptations of Fascism**

Civil War finished just in time. After five months of peace Second World War started. As of the date April 1939 the *Generalísimo* had achieved

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<sup>37</sup> Shubert, *A Social History of Modern Spain*, p. 206.

<sup>38</sup> Juan Carlos Pereira, *La Política Exterior De España (1800-2003): Historia, Condicionantes y Escenarios* (Ariel, 2003), p. 71.

the most important key objective to ensure the continuity of his Regime. The enemy inside the country had been completely removed before to initiation of hostilities in Europe making a belligerent.<sup>39</sup> During the Civil War Franco was very impressed by the strength of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. It was the Italo-German cooperation that rescued the Nationalists. Hitler with his impressing aircrafts demonstrated his power after he said that: ‘Franco ought to erect a monument to the glory of the Junker 52. It is this aircraft that the Spanish revolution has to thank for its victory.’ Hitler was openly helping Franco during the Civil War because from the beginning his aim was to prevent a victory for Communism in Spain.<sup>40</sup> On the other hand Franco did not always accord public prominence to the friendship between Nationalist Spain, Nazi Germany, and Fascist Italy, and the great debt owed by Franco to his two allies.<sup>41</sup> But he did not hesitate to call Germany as a “fraternal nation” and Italy as a “friendly nation”.<sup>42</sup> In real terms, Spain had sympathy towards Italy more than Germany. Catholic heritage, cultural similarities and the pleasant attitude of Mussolini concerning the civil war debt fostered these feelings.<sup>43</sup> At the beginning of Second World War, principally Spain followed the example of Germany in the politics. Franco formed a single totalitarian and fascist party

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<sup>39</sup> Luis Suárez, *España, Franco Y La Segunda Guerra Mundial Desde 1939 Hasta 1945* (Actas Editorial, 1997), p. 69.

<sup>40</sup> Denis Smyth, "Reflex Reaction: Germany and the Onset of the Spanish Civil War," in *Revolution and War in Spain 1931-1939*, ed. Paul Peterson (Taylor & Francis, 2012), p. 259-44.

<sup>41</sup> Bowen, *Spain During World War II*, p. 20.

<sup>42</sup> *ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>43</sup> See, Paul Peterson, "Italy and Spain in Civil War and World War, 1936-1943," in *Spain and the Great Powers in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Sebastian Balfour and Paul Peterson (Routledge, 2002).



promoting antidemocratic and anticapitalist sentiments with strong accent on anticommunism. But at the middle of Second World War, Spain changed its attitude. As Javier Tusell explains:

“In the midst of World War II, the point of comparison for the Franco dictatorship was never Germany; instead, the closest model was Italy and even more so the semi-, pseudo-, or para-fascist regimes that proliferated at the time. Franco’s dictatorship was, without doubt, more like Vichy France or certain Eastern European countries than the Hitler regime. In Spain, for example, there was a struggle for power between the Army and.”<sup>44</sup>

In early 1939 Germany, Italy and Spain was considering themselves as allies. As a result of close relations and anterior aids Hitler and Franco signed a secret treaty of cooperation on 31 March 1939. Spain also joined Anti-Comintern Pact<sup>45</sup> on 6 April. The signature of Anti-Comintern Pact showed clearly ideological path of Franco dictatorship and recognition of its debt to Axis powers.<sup>46</sup> Also on 8 May Franco ended Spain’s membership of the League of Nations. Yet at the same time Franco endured the political and especially the economic overtures of Britain and France.<sup>47</sup> The economic needs of Spain, force the dictatorship to signed important trade agreements with France in January

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<sup>44</sup> Javier Tusell, *Spain: From Dictatorship to Democracy, 1939 to the Present* (Wiley, 2007), p. 12.

<sup>45</sup> **Anti-Comintern Pact:** A nonbinding agreement to fight international communism but by implication, specifically against the Soviet Union. Agreement first signed between German and Japan (Nov.6, 1937) then between Italy, German and Japan (Nov. 25. 1936).

<sup>46</sup> Christian Leitz, "Nazi Germany and Francoist Spain, 1936-1945," in *Spain and the Great Powers in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Sebastian Balfour and Paul Peterson (Routledge, 2002), p. 135.

<sup>47</sup> *ibid.*

and with England in March of 1940.<sup>48</sup> The turning point of relations with Germany was the Nazi invasion of Catholic Poland on September 1, 1939.

During the Second World War, Spain's foreign policy was deeply marked by the immediate impact of recent conflicts. After the Civil War the resources of Spain was in no condition to undertake any other war. For this reason in general Franco was adopted a kind of "wait-and-see policy". In long turn Spain was hoping that German victory might bring the return of Gibraltar to Spanish control. At the beginning of the Second World War Spain declared its neutrality but by January 1939 Hitler had explained to Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels that Spain could do more than remain neutral.<sup>49</sup> In April 1940 Mussolini entered the War. Continuously France had been defeated by Germany. After Germany's victory, Spain's place in Axis power become stronger and immediately Germany started to pressure Spain to join in World War II. According to Javier Tusell's explanations:

"In mid June 1940, the *caudillo* sent General Jorge Vigón to hold talks with Hitler and express Spain's willingness to become a participant in the conflict. On this occasion Spain for the first time made substantial territorial demands. These consisted – and remained so for some months – of the extension of its possessions in the Sahara and Guinea and, above all, of the occupation of the whole of Morocco and the part of Algeria that had been colonized by Spaniards."<sup>50</sup>

Truly Germany very little appreciated Spain and Franco for Hitler was an unsubstantial, catholic and conservative. In June 1941 Germany attacks to

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<sup>48</sup> Gerhard L. Weinberg, *A World at Arms: A Global History of World War II* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 76.

<sup>49</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> Tusell, *Spain: From Dictatorship to Democracy, 1939 to the Present*, p. 40.

Russia united Francoist leadership, for a time, all agreeing that, as Serrano put it, "Russia was guilty" of causing Spain's troubles in the 1930s.<sup>51</sup> Yet Spanish army formed a unit of Spanish volunteers, the Spanish Volunteer Division (*División Española de Voluntarios*) named as Blue Division (*Division Azul*) among the Falangist, which served in the German Army. Approximately eighteen thousand men are selected for the division and left Spain in July 1941.<sup>52</sup> Due to the close relations of Franco with Hitler and Mussolini, Roosevelt and Churchill gave concrete support to exile groups, economic sanctions and other actions against the Franco regime. The results of the economic sanctions towards Franco dictatorship was fruitful, Spanish government move to actual neutrality, in October 1942 Franco withdrew Blue Division and shifted from nonbelligerency to actual neutrality.<sup>53</sup> But the sanctions not only that Allies also excluded Spain from membership in the United Nations in July 1945.

As a result of the position of Spain in Axis powers, between September 1939 and at the end of the 1944, the Allies consider Spain as a potential enemy. During the summer and fall of 1943 the Allies had showed that Axis forces were about to lose the war. For this reason from November 1943 on, Franco noticed the necessity of changing his foreign policy priorities in a manner more favorable to Allies.<sup>54</sup> On the other hand Britain's existing policy was based on

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<sup>51</sup> *ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>52</sup> Gerald R. Kleinfeld and Lewis A. Tambs, *Hitler's Spanish Legion: The Blue Division in Russia* (Southern Ill. University Press, 1979), p. 23.

<sup>53</sup> Bowen, *Spain During World War II*, p. 54.

<sup>54</sup> James W. Cortada, "Spain and the Second World War," *Journal of Contemporary History* 5, no. 4 (1970): p. 75.

the maintenance of Spanish neutrality by economic aid to Franco's regime.<sup>55</sup> Additionally the policy of Roosevelt administration towards Spain was marked by the desire of United States to help Great Britain in its project of keeping Franco from being part of the war alongside the Axis.<sup>56</sup> Finally Franco regime remained neutral during the Second World War, an important point in Spain's non-intervention was the lack of unity among the leaders and the lack of resources.

The first Francismo was fighting for survival of his regime. During Second World War, between 9 August 1939 and 20 July 1945, Franco had four different ministries of foreign affairs: Juan Beigbeder, Serrano Suñer, Gomez-Jordana y Jose Felix de Lequerica. In the Spanish history the difficult years of forties defined by gaps, shortages and autarky.<sup>57</sup> Finally on 20 July 1945, Franco designated a new government that shows the cooperation of the politic Catholicism. That is, in contrast to what one might imagine, its regime was not a dictatorship but “an unprecedented, social, catholic and Spanish solution”.<sup>58</sup> Precisely between 1945 and 1948 Franco was faced with the most difficult years of his governance, he was trying to legitimate his regime to international community.<sup>59</sup> But the outbreak of Cold War in 1947 changed course of the

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<sup>55</sup> Denis Smyth, *Diplomacy and Strategy of Survival: British Policy and Franco's Spain, 1940-41* (Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 38.

<sup>56</sup> Joan Maria Thomàs, *Roosevelt, Franco, and the End of the Second World War* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 201.

<sup>57</sup> Luis Palacios Bañuelos, *España, Del Liberalismo a La Democracia: (1808-2004)* (Editorial Dilex, 2004), p. 376.

<sup>58</sup> *ibid.*, p. 404.

<sup>59</sup> Javier Paredes, *Historia Contemporánea De España (Siglo Xx)* (Ariel, S.A, 1998), p. 682.

events. U.S. forgot the antidemocratic components of Spanish regime and realized that anticommunist Spain might be a good ally. The policy of give-and-take that Franco followed during the war was to continue.<sup>60</sup> At the end of 1947 Spain has got three main objectives in field of diplomatic strategy: to benefit from the Marshall Plan<sup>61</sup> funds; to gain access to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; and to bring the 1946 United Nations resolution to an end.<sup>62</sup> After the war Spain was an isolated country of international community, Franco demand to be a founder member of the United Nations was rejected.<sup>63</sup> Because of the isolation Spanish economy suffered so badly.

By the help of international conjuncture the gradual recognition of Franco dictatorship had started. First in February, 1948 the French government had re-opened the border. In 1950 the North American Congress approved the credit concession of Spain. UN revoked its previous condemnatory resolution

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<sup>60</sup> Benny Pollack and Graham Hunter, *The Paradox of Spanish Foreign Policy: Spain's International Relations from Franco to Democracy* (Pinter Publishers, 1987), p. 14.

<sup>61</sup> **Marshall Plan:** formally European Recovery Program, (April 1948–December 1951), U.S.-sponsored program designed to rehabilitate the economies of seventy western and southern European countries in order to create stable conditions in which democratic institutions could survive. The United States feared that the poverty, unemployment, and dislocation of the post-World War II period were reinforcing the appeal of communist parties to voters in Western Europe. On June 5, 1947, in an address at Harvard University, Secretary of State George C. Marshall advanced the idea of a European self-help program to be financed by the United States. See, Encyclopedia Britannica Online, s.v. "Marshall Plan," accessed October 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/>.

<sup>62</sup> Florentino Portero, "Spain, Britain and the Cold War" in *Spain and Great Powers in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Sebastian Balfour and Paul Peterson (Routledge, 1999), p. 223.

<sup>63</sup> See, Pollack and Hunter, *The Paradox of Spanish Foreign Policy: Spain's International Relations from Franco to Democracy*.

against the participation of Spain in UN. Additionally the agreements that signed on September 26, 1953, with The United States, were not fruitful for Spain. They were neither agreements nor alliance: they were a few agreements (of defense and economic aid) that permit United States to use military bases in Torrejón, Saragossa, Moron and Rattan: in return Spain would receive 226 million dollars (then rose up to 1.183 millions). But the agreement was excellent for Franco. Moreover he created a new model for Spanish foreign policy. He made agreements with Portugal, built special links and security agreements with America, created friendly relation with the Arabic countries.<sup>64</sup> On December 15, 1955 the General Assembly of the UN voted for the revenue of Spain in the organization. In December, 1959 U.S president Eisenhower visited Spain. In 1959 Franco's Spain was already a member of right wing of the international community.

### 5.1.1.2. 1959-1975, Years of Consensus:

The last twenty-five years of regime were the time of the wealthy sustained economic development and general improvement in living standards.<sup>65</sup> Undoubtedly, major changes in Franco regime occurred in this period. This era of Spanish history was marked with the political opening of the regime, the economic transformation of the country and better planification of

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<sup>64</sup> Jose Maria J. Zamora, Guadalupe Gómez-Ferrer, and Jean Paplo Azipura, *España: Sociedad, Política Y Civilización (Siglos XIX y XX)* (Editorial Debate, 2001), p. 738.

<sup>65</sup> Stanley G. Payne, *The Franco Regime, 1936-1975* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2011), p. 463.

foreign policy. As always Franco was the key element of decision making process. He was the person who always controlled, decided and ordered the execution of foreign policy until almost the last days of his life.<sup>66</sup> Until 1969 foreign policy priorities of Spain built on the recognition and legitimization of Franco regime by great powers and participation of international organizations. The reason behind great all those efforts towards the integration were coming from the needs of international politics and economic preoccupations. Between 1957 and 1969 Spain became member of 40 international organizations.<sup>67</sup> Actually momentum of this process started in 1958 when Spain became the member of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and in 1959 in the European organization for Economic Cooperation (OECD).

The question of Gibraltar has always been an important issue in Spanish foreign policy and in 1957 becomes one of the cornerstones of Fernando Castiella's action plan but until 1966 he could not achieve to open to talks with Britain. Sadly the first negotiations with Britain, was a real failure that resulted in the closure of the border with Gibraltar and cutting all kinds of supply and communications.<sup>68</sup> In 1948, Spain did not want to recognize the State of Israel and supported the Arabs in the war against Israel.<sup>69</sup> This attitude helped Spain to shine in Middle East. The first diplomatic tour of the regime to the Arab world realized in 1952, Spain consolidated its friendship with various cultural

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<sup>66</sup> Paredes, *Historia Contemporánea De España (Siglo XX)*, p. 725.

<sup>67</sup> *ibid.*, p. 744.

<sup>68</sup> Juan Carlos Pereira, *Introducción Al Estudio De La Política Exterior De España (Siglos XIX y XX)* (AKAL, 1983), p. 191.

<sup>69</sup> Zamora, Gómez-Ferrer, and Azipura, *España: Sociedad, Política Y Civilización (Siglos XIX y XX)*, p. 738.

cooperation and diplomatic agreements. By 1970 Spain started to sign important economic agreements especially Saudi Arabia, Algeria and Iraq.

In 1973, the regime had lasting economic and cultural ties with Arab world.<sup>70</sup> Other complicated and halting point of Spanish foreign policy was Morocco and the situation de Ifni and Sahara providence. Until 1968 Ifni was a Spanish territory, in 1968 Spanish and Moroccan authorities started a series of conversations after they signed the Treaty of Fez on 4 January 1969 and Spain cedes Ifni to Morocco. The situation of Sahara and Sahara Occidental occupied important place in foreign policy, because this region had a great economic value and it was a center of big interest for Spanish economy. During the Franco regime the first most concrete solution regarding to Sahara situation was the liberation of Guinea on 12 October 1969 and the last treaty was the Declaration of Madrid which signed between Spain and Morocco and Mauritania on 14 November 1975. The treaty spread the Saharawi territory between these three states. The dead of General Franco was the biggest crisis of the Spanish foreign policy because it was the beginning of the huge changes inside the country.

### **5.1.2. Normalization and Universalization of Spain's Foreign Policy**

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<sup>70</sup> Pereira, *Introduccion Al Estudio De La Politica Exterior De España (Siglos XIX y XX)*, p. 191.



The death of General Francisco Franco on 20 November 1975 influenced deeply Spain's internal and external policy. This part of the dissertation attempts to clarify general outlook of Spanish foreign policy after the death of Franco until Zapatero government.

### **5.1.2.1. Transition to democracy and Spanish Foreign Policy (1975-1986)**

Without any doubt *transition to democracy* can be described as the milestone of contemporary Spanish history. In world politics, encounter the peaceful transition from an authoritarian rule to wealthy democracy is a rare situation. Previous experiences like; overcoming a difficult economic crisis in parallel with political changes, overcoming the international isolation, inserting Spain in a complete and even privileged international organizations and also the maturity of Spanish people, the consensus among different political actors and harmony of traditions with values helped Spanish people to find common ground during the transition process. Above all social transformations throughout a rapid process of modernization transformed Spain as one of the advanced countries of the European continent and change the image of the country.

In the first place when we speak about transition in international politics it is equal to the change in every aspect of political life, and it affects the political structure of the state. In other words, when the autarkic structure of the decision making process changes it directly affects action plan of foreign

policy. At the same time actors “internal” experiences are also shaped by the external situation.<sup>71</sup> In this situation it is natural that surges the question of continuity in foreign policy and what will be the limits of change in foreign policy or does it exist democratic foreign policy? Indeed there will be some changes but continuity of foreign policy is also very important. In the case of the Spanish transition, new foreign policy and democratization are two inseparable dynamics, and the democratization is equal to the Europeanization and integration to the rest of the Western world.<sup>72</sup>

As it is known, the priority of Franco dictatorship was to maintain public order (at all costs), domestic tranquility and integrate his regime to international system. Admittedly before the death of Franco, Spain secured its place in international system and he also in his last days rebuilt the monarchy. The transition process started under the guidance of Juan Carlos. As Paul Preston describes very well “Juan Carlos was the prince born to bring Spain back to democracy and a democratic monarchy back to Spain.”<sup>73</sup> His first big decision was to use his power and position to convince Arias Navarro to include the young Adolfo Suárez in his cabinet as Minister-Secretary of the *Movimiento*. During the transition, the king kept a relatively low profile and accepted that if the reforms planned by Torcuato Fernández Miranda and Suárez were to be successful. He made remarkable effort to make contact with members of the

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<sup>71</sup> Edless, "Rethinking Democratic Transition: A Cultural Critique and the Spanish Case," p. 360.

<sup>72</sup> Javier Tusell, *La Transición Española a La Democracia: España, 1975-1982* (Espasa Libros, S.L., 2007), p. 169.

<sup>73</sup> Paul Preston, "The Monarchy of Juan Carlos from Dictator's Dreams to Democratic Realities," in *The Politics of Contemporary Spain*, ed. Sebastian Balfour (Routledge, 2005), p. 27.

opposition. Finally in 1978 the new democratic Constitution was being elaborated.<sup>74</sup>

During the transition process Spain face with several difficulties like military coup and terrorism. Between 1976 and 1980 ETA<sup>75</sup> was the responsible for 70 percent of terrorist acts committed<sup>76</sup>. It was an extremely difficult terrorist situation and military attempted to make a *coup d'état* in 1981. In the same period Portugal and Greece were two other countries which were transforming its political structure. European Community has played a major role in promoting and generalizing this specific pattern of political values in three historically and geographically dissimilar southern European countries. Without doubt, when the transition to democracy happens, the internal politics took priority over foreign affairs. In the case of Spain the situation was quiet the same as in the definition. In this period Spain entered into NATO and started its relations with other states as a democratic state. First Spain and U.S. developed balanced relationship and Spain refuse to store American nuclear weapons and U.S decreased the number of personnel located in Zaragoza. The most important aim of Spanish foreign policy was to enter the Common Market, especially the Spanish public related the modernization as to be part of a European organizations. Initially France was putting obstacles in the way of Spain and it also did nothing to collaborate in the fight against terrorism. The approval of constitution changed the line of Spanish foreign policy and

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<sup>74</sup> See, *ibid.*, p. 37-34.

<sup>75</sup> **ETA:** abbreviation of *Basque Euskadi Ta Askatasuna* (“Basque Homeland and Liberty”), Basque separatist organization in Spain that used terrorism in its campaign for an independent Basque state.

<sup>76</sup> Tusell, *Spain: From Dictatorship to Democracy, 1939 to the Present*, p. 286.

facilitated the entrance to the international organizations. Finally in 1980 British government agreed to hold talks on all questions relating to Gibraltar. Regarding to Sahara question; Spain applied a kind of shuttle diplomacy or foreign policy zigzagged between the different countries of North Africa but at the end of 1977 it broke off relations with Algeria and in 1980 seemed instead to align itself more with Morocco. Also in 1977, Spain and the Soviet Union finally established diplomatic relations.<sup>77</sup>

Spain's first attempt to apply for associate membership in the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1962 was rejected. As it stated in Birkelbach Report "only states that guarantee in their territories truly democratic practices and respect for fundamental rights and freedom" should be eligible for the union. After the report Spanish people noticed that only a fully democratic Spain would be accepted as a full member.<sup>78</sup> As Angel Viñas indicated "The transition aimed at creating a fully-fledged, Western-type pluralistic democratic system."<sup>79</sup> During the transition process, on 26 July 1977 Spanish Government presented the demand for membership of the EEC (now the European Union), eight years later, on June 12, 1985, with the signature of the Accession Treaty in

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<sup>77</sup> See, Paredes, *Historia Contemporánea De España (Siglo XX)*, Pereira, *Introducción Al Estudio De La Política Exterior De España (Siglos XIX y XX)*, Pereira, *La Política Exterior De España (1800-2003): Historia, Condicionantes Y Escenarios*, Pollack and Hunter, *The Paradox of Spanish Foreign Policy: Spain's International Relations from Franco to Democracy*, Tusell, *Spain: From Dictatorship to Democracy, 1939 to the Present*.

<sup>78</sup> Gustavo Suárez Pertierra, "20 Years of Spain in the European Union (1986-2006)," (Elcano Royal Institute, 2006), p. 5.

<sup>79</sup> Angel Viñas, "Breaking the Shackles from the Past: Spanish Foreign Policy from Franco to Felipe González," in *Spain and the Great Powers in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Sebastian Balfour and Paul Preston (Routledge, 1999), p. 247.

Madrid, Spain started the integration process into the Economic Community on 1 January 1986.<sup>80</sup>

### **5.1.2.2. Spain in a Changing World: the Quest for International Influence (1986-2002)**

Due to its geostrategic situation and its history, Spain had good relations with Mediterranean countries. Spain was supporting Palestinian cause and when Iraq invaded Kuwait, Spain participated to the Gulf War with a frigate and two corvettes. This advantage was served for the interests of European Union. As a result in 1991 Madrid was chosen to host Madrid Peace Conference on Near East. It was a grand success of Spanish diplomacy. During the conference main issues were Arab -Israeli negotiations (1991) and participation in Gulf War (February 1991) which was discussed by the participation of various international actors.<sup>81</sup>

In 1992 some prestigious events were held in Spain - Barcelona Olympic Games, V Centenary of the Discovery of America, Seville World Expo- which enhanced the international importance of the country. At the same year Spain was elected as a non-permanent member of the Security Council of the United Nations and become the ninth largest contributor to the UN in economic

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<sup>80</sup> See, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores y de Cooperación, *España y Union Europea*, <http://www.exteriores.gob.es/Portal/es/PoliticaExteriorCooperacion/UnionEuropea/Paginas/EspUE.aspx>, cited 12.September.2012

<sup>81</sup> Bañuelos, *España, Del Liberalismo a La Democracia: (1808-2004)*, p. 573.

terms<sup>82</sup>. Spanish Forces participated UN missions in Namibia, Angola, Haiti, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Somalia, and the former Yugoslavia. In 1993, during the war of Bosnia, Spain sent a contingent of Legionnaires to the former Yugoslavia and played a very important role in the foreign intervention in Yugoslavia.

The other significant achievement of Spanish diplomacy is Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP). Spain helped to commit the European Union to a region-building project with the aim of ensuring the stability and economic prosperity of the Mediterranean. Spanish initiative here continues to be recognized implicitly in the international practice of referring to the EMP alternatively as the 'Barcelona Process' by leading the Mediterranean countries and the European Union partners.<sup>83</sup> Morocco, considered as a privileged partner of Spanish foreign politics and Spain was trying to mediate the problems regarding to Sahara region by supporting the referendum of the Saharan Republic and the problems related to the fishing in Moroccan waters.

Spain entered to the new millennium as a liability democratic and European country, as a member of the European Community (later European Union) since 1986. Spain was part of the hard core of European Union countries that January 1, 1999 joined the *euro*, the European single currency. Main determinants of Spanish foreign policy in this period can be summarized as; participation in humanitarian actions of NATO; finishing the integration process of European Union and elevating its position inside the *Club*; reinforcing the

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<sup>82</sup> Tusell, *Spain: From Dictatorship to Democracy, 1939 to the Present*, p. 358.

<sup>83</sup> Richard Gillespie, "Between Ambition and Insecurity: Spanish Politics and the Mediterranean" in *The Politics of Contemporary Spain*, ed. Sebastian Balfour (Routledge, 2005), p. 199.

relations with Mediterranean countries and being mediator between Nord and South of Mediterranean.

## **5.2. The Case of Turkey: Main Principles of Turkey's Foreign Policy**

Continuity, conservatism, caution, *status-quo* and westernization, protectionism, isolationism, autonomy, balance of power, passive, neutrality, reactive, bilateral... are some of the terminologies used to describe the fundamental principles of traditional<sup>84</sup> Turkish foreign policy but only two principal concepts can explain real dynamic of this policy: *Status Quo and Westernization*. The purpose of this section is to briefly describe main principles of traditional Turkish foreign policy as well as the international environment that shaped the decision making process.

### **5.2.1. Determinants of Traditional Turkish Foreign Policy**

According to Alexander Murison the main origins of the traditional foreign policy of the Turkish Republic are “the historical experience of the Ottoman empire (the tradition of the balance of power); the nationalist Kemalist

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<sup>84</sup> The term “traditional” refers Turkey's foreign policy until the end of the Cold War throughout the whole dissertation.

revolution and creation of the republic itself (hence, isolationism); western orientation expressed in the policy of Europeanization and modernization; the suspicion of foreign powers and interests (the Sévres syndrome).”<sup>85</sup> Along the history all these components of traditional foreign policy were determined under the influence of the actual conjunctural and structural factors.<sup>86</sup> From the establishment of the Turkish until the end of the Cold War continuity was the main determinant of the foreign policy. In the post-Cold War era Turkey adapted its foreign policy to the changing international environment.

### **5.2.2. Turkish Foreign Policy under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’s Rule**

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is the founder of Turkish Republic. With the help of excellent diplomacy that he followed, during the National Independence war, when the battle and international diplomacy were undertaken concurrently; during Lausanne treaty when Turkey gave a diplomatic test for its legitimacy; and from Lausanne till his death which corresponds the biggest changes in Turkish history, Turkey is a democratic and independent state.

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<sup>85</sup> Alexander Murinson, "The Strategic Depth Doctrine of Turkish Foreign Policy," *Middle Eastern Studies* 42, no. 6 (2006): p. 945.

<sup>86</sup> Baskın Oran and Atay Akdevelioğlu, *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar* (İletişim Yayınları, 2004), p. 49.



### 5.2.2.1. Independence War (1919-1922)

At the end of the First World, on 31 October 1918, the armistice of Mudros was concluded between Admiral Calthorpe, commander of the British Black Sea squadron, and an Ottoman delegation under Hüseyin Rauf Bey, the Navy Minister. The armistice marked the end not only for Ottoman participation in the First World War but also the end of one of the long-lasting empires in history.<sup>87</sup> From Ottoman perspective the armistice of Mudros had harsh terms. The Allies demanded that the Ottomans renounce Arab provinces.

Moreover the 25 articles contained provisions such as the military occupation of the Straits, control by the Entente of all railway and telegraph lines, demobilization and disarmament of the Ottoman troops, except for small contingents needed to keep law and order. The most dangerous clause from the Ottoman point of view was article seven, which stipulated that the Allies had the right to occupy any place in the Ottoman Empire itself if it considered its security to be under threat.<sup>88</sup>

Ottoman leaders did not protest against the armistice but the conditions created resistance movement (The National Movement) against the occupation of Anatolia. Atatürk was the leader of the resistance movement. He commenced the Independence War of Turkey against England, Greece, France Italy and Armenia on 19<sup>th</sup> May 1919 when he arrived in Samsun from Istanbul. The

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<sup>87</sup> Şükrü Hanioglu, *Ataturk: An Intellectual Biography* (Princeton University Press, 2011), p. 86.

<sup>88</sup> Eric Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History, Revised Edition* (I. B. Tauris, 2004), p. 123.

principles of The National Movement were embodied in a National Pact<sup>89</sup> (*misak-ı milli*). The text of the pact were prepared and dictated by Atatürk to Anatolian deputies who were elected to the last Ottoman House of Deputies. National Pact can be accepted as the founding document of modern Turkey and Turkey's foreign policy, in other words Atatürk's foreign policy.<sup>90</sup>

The first action of Atatürk and the other leaders of National Movement were organized an irregular army after they established *de facto* government and opened Turkish Grand National Assembly (1923), soon after they started diplomatic relations with other states. The main objective of the National Movement is the recognition of new Turkish Assembly as a legitimate leader of Turkish people.

The collapse of the Ottoman Empire was a direct result of economic and political machinations of the Western powers, and loss of imperial status and world power is still a very painful and frustrating memory for the Turks.<sup>91</sup> And

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<sup>89</sup> **Misak-ı Milli, or "National Pact,"** declared that "the territories inhabited by an Ottoman Muslim majority, united in religion, race and aim, formed an indivisible whole." But it also challenged the Allies by calling for plebiscites in the empire's former Arab provinces, which Britain and France were in the process of annexing as quasi-colonial mandates. On the night of 15–16 March 1920, British soldiers began to occupy Constantinople. On 11 April 1920, under pressure from the Allies, Sultan Mehmet Vahdettin officially dissolved parliament and the sheikhulislam Dürrîzade Abdullah Beyefendi (1867–1923) issued a fatwa declaring that the members of the resistance in Anatolia were infidels and that it was the duty of all true believers to try to kill them. See Gareth Jenkins, *Political Islam in Turkey: Running West, Heading East?* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 85.

<sup>90</sup> Altuğ Yılmaz, "Foreign Policy of Atatürk," *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi* 16 (1989): p. 28.

<sup>91</sup> Michelangelo Guida, "The Sèvres Syndrome and "Komplo" Theories in the Islamist and Secular Press," *Turkish Studies* 9, no. 1 (2008): p. 43.

top of that Atatürk and his friends obliged to fight against the England, Greece, France, Italy and Armenia for integrity of Turkey.

**Figure 1: Mustafa Kemal Atatürk**



Place and Date: Before the Battle of Dumlupınar, Afyon/ Kocatepe, 26/August/1922

Source: [www.milliyet.com.tr](http://www.milliyet.com.tr)

Above all, when Istanbul government signed Treaty of Sévres<sup>92</sup> on 10 August 1920, the fragile relations between Istanbul and Ankara governments

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<sup>92</sup> **Treaty of Sévres:** (Aug. 10, 1920), post-World War I pact between the victorious Allied powers and representatives of the government of Ottoman Turkey. The treaty abolished the Ottoman Empire and obliged Turkey to renounce all rights over Arab Asia

was broken. Under the circumstances, Atatürk was trying to develop relations with United States and Soviet Socialist in order to wider the maneuver capacity of Turkish foreign policy. During the Independence War, Atatürk developed promising relations with Soviet Union which may be recognized as a perfect example of Atatürk's politic intelligence and diplomacy practice. Friendly relations with Russia guaranteed Turkey's continued security on its long eastern border and in the Black Sea. Russia was, moreover, trustable source of much needed manufactured goods and Turkey's default supplier of war material.<sup>93</sup>

Meanwhile the Arab provinces would be formally partitioned between Britain and France at San Remo in Italy in April 1920.<sup>94</sup> Kars and Ardahan, but not Batum, would stay in the Ottoman rump after a military campaign against Armenia the following year and as a result of a diplomatic understanding with Russia.<sup>95</sup> There were three main problems with respect to a settlement in Anatolia: the Armenian question; the conflicting claims of Greece and Italy in the West; and the position of Istanbul and the Straits.<sup>96</sup>

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and North Africa. The pact also provided for an independent Armenia, for an autonomous Kurdistan, and for a Greek presence in eastern Thrace and on the Anatolian west coast, as well as Greek control over the Aegean islands commanding the Dardanelles. Rejected by the new Turkish nationalist regime, the Treaty of Sèvres was replaced by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923.

<sup>93</sup> Brock Millman, "Turkish Foreign and Strategic Policy 1934–42," *Middle Eastern Studies* 31, no. 3 (1995): p. 488.

<sup>94</sup> Hasan Kayalı, "The Struggle for Independence," in *Turkey in the Modern World*, ed. Reşat Kasaba (Cambridge University Press, 2008), p.127.

<sup>95</sup> Turkey and Soviet signed Moscow agreement in 1921. Henceforth, Turkey left Batum to Russia although it was declared as a part of Turkey on the National Patch.

<sup>96</sup> Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History, Revised Edition*, p. 146.

Map 2: The Treaty of Sevres



Source: Encyclopedia Britannica

The battle of *Sakarya* was a turning-point of the Independence War. In August 1922, eleven months later the battle of Sakarya, Mustafa Kemal launched a general offensive against the Greek lines, forcing the Greek army to surrender on 2/3 September.<sup>97</sup> The last British troops left Constantinople on 2 October 1923. Four weeks later, on 29 October 1923, the Turkish Republic was formally established as the successor state to the Ottoman Empire, with İsmet

<sup>97</sup> Feroz Ahmad, *Turkey: The Quest for Identity* (Oneworld Publications, 2003), p. 83.

İnönü<sup>98</sup> as its first prime minister.<sup>99</sup> The war of national liberation had been won; now it is a question of reaching a consensus on the nature of the new state and the society.<sup>100</sup>

### 5.2.2.2. Lausanne Conference

In July 1923 nearly five years after the Armistice of Mudros, the state of war which had existed in the Near East since 1914 was terminated by the signature of Lausanne Treaty<sup>101</sup> between Turkey, on the other hand, British

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<sup>98</sup> İsmet İnönü, (born Sept. 24, 1884, Smyrna, Ottoman Empire—died Dec. 25, 1973, Ankara), Turkish army officer, statesman, and collaborator with and successor to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as president of the Turkish Republic. Appointed foreign minister in the government of the Grand National Assembly in Ankara in 1922, İsmet succeeded, with the support of Mustafa Kemal, in gaining most of the Turkish demands in the Treaty of Lausanne. When the republic was proclaimed on Oct. 29, 1923, İsmet became the prime minister. He remained in power until 1937. On Atatürk's death on Nov. 10, 1938, İnönü was elected president and became the permanent chairman of the Republican People's Party (RPP). During World War II, Turkey, under his adroit leadership, remained neutral. In the postwar period, however, in response to internal strains and to the Western pressures for a democratic regime, he encouraged the formation of the Democrat Party (DP) in 1946, which defeated the RPP in the elections of 1950. Identified with one-party rule between 1939 and 1946, he later emerged as a champion of democracy. Source: "İsmet İnönü" in Encyclopedia Britannica, May 2013, [www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/288786/Ismet-Inonu](http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/288786/Ismet-Inonu).

<sup>99</sup> Jenkins, *Political Islam in Turkey: Running West, Heading East?*, p. 90.

<sup>100</sup> Ahmad, *Turkey: The Quest for Identity*, p. 23.

<sup>101</sup> The full text of the Treaty of Lausanne can be found at [http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Treaty\\_of\\_Lausanne](http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Treaty_of_Lausanne).

Empire, Italy, France, Japan, Greece, Romania, and Yugoslavia.<sup>102</sup> In short the Turkish victory, replaced the Treaty of Sèvres with the Treaty of Lausanne. But the long term effects of Treaty of Sevres, generally known as ‘Sèvres-phobia’ or ‘Sèvres Syndrome’, which can be explain by suspicions about European intentions regarding Turkey’s integrity and sovereignty, continue to be the touchstone of decision making process of Turkish foreign policy.<sup>103</sup> It should be mention that the Treaty of Sevres, together with the arguments and counter-arguments about the killings of Armenians during the First World War by the Ottomans, formed a basis for subsequent Armenian claims on Turkish territory. Furthermore, perhaps the Treaty of Sevres gave inspiration to Kurdish nationalism and today Kurdish nationalists still refer to it as an international recognition of their aspirations for an independent Kurdish homeland.<sup>104</sup>

The Lausanne Peace Conference historically marked the start point of modern Turkey’s future world relations and outlined general characteristics of Turkey’s contemporary foreign policy.<sup>105</sup> During the negotiations the head of

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<sup>102</sup> Meray Seha, *Lozan Barış Konferansı, Tutanaklar - Belgeler* (Ankara Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1969), p. 12.

<sup>103</sup> For more information on the long term effects of Treaty of Sèvres see, Mustafa Aydın, "Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy: Historical Framework and Traditional Inputs," *Middle Eastern Studies* 35, no. 4 (1999), Guida, "The Sèvres Syndrome and ‘Komplo’ Theories in the Islamist and Secular Press.", Dietrich Jung, "Turkey and the Arab World: Historical Narratives and New Political Realities," *Mediterranean Politics* 10, no. 1 (2005).

<sup>104</sup> Aydın, "Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy: Historical Framework and Traditional Inputs," p. 158.

<sup>105</sup> Joseph C. Grew, "The Peace Conference of Lausanne, 1922-1923," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 98, no. 1 (1954): p. 1.

Turkish delegation was İsmet İnönü as a Minister of Foreign Affairs.<sup>106</sup> Although he was an *amateur diplomat*<sup>107</sup> without any previous experience in diplomacy, at the end of the conference Turkey obtained the international recognition of the demands expressed in the Turkish National Pact with few exceptions. Atatürk did not send any former Ottoman diplomats to Lausanne because he did not want that the Ottoman legacy influenced the negotiations. At almost every opportunity, İsmet İnönü, clearly mentioned to the conference that he was not the representative of the defeated Ottoman Empire, but of victorious Turkey, which was determined to negotiate peace on equal terms.<sup>108</sup>

Debates of the Lausanne peace treaty concentrated on: Mosul and Hatay question, the status of Stairs, religious and ethnic minorities, the capitulations and financial matters, immigration issue, exchange of population and border conflicts, and the status Cyrus and twelve Aegean islands.

Particularly Mosul question was one of the crucial points of the debates on the way to peace.<sup>109</sup> One additional point to highlight is the effect of Wilson

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<sup>106</sup> Turkish delegation represented by İsmet Pasha, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Deputy for Adrianople; Dr. Rıza Nour Bey, Minister for Health and for Public Assistance, Deputy for Sinop; Hassan Bey, formerly Minister, Deputy for Trabzon. See, "Treaty with Turkey and Other Instruments Signed at Lausanne July 24, 1923," *The American Journal of International Law* 18, no. 1 (1924): p. 2.

<sup>107</sup> Taha Akyol, *Ama Hangi Atatürk* (Doğan Kitap, 2008), p. 362.

<sup>108</sup> Nevin Coşar and Sevtap Demirci, "The Mosul Question and the Turkish Republic: Before and after the Frontier Treaty, 1926," *Middle Eastern Studies* 42, no. 1 (2006): p. 126.

<sup>109</sup> The Mosul dispute involved the disposition of some 35,000 square miles of territory with a population of about 800,000. Iraq's claim to the territory had been substantially supported by the unratified Treaty of Sèvres, but no agreement being reached at Lausanne in 1923, the treaty there negotiated and later ratified provided for maintenance of the military status quo and submission to the League of Nations Council, if nine months



principles in the awaking of nationalism in Turkey as well as other countries. In other words “right of self-determination” has produced positive results in the creation of National Pact and the idea of “Turkey for Turks”.<sup>110</sup> To this respect Turkey included Mosul in National Pact, and claimed that the ‘Mosul Vilayet’ bounded to Turkey on ethnic, political, economic, historical, and geographic grounds. Also the size of the community of Turkish-speakers known as Turkmen—sometimes referred to as “Turcomans”—was the subject of negotiations. The question of the Mosul did not conclude at Lausanne. On 6 August 1924 Britain approached the League of Nations and asked that the Mosul Question be shelved in its political agenda.<sup>111</sup> The general conclusion reaches by the Commission is that the Mosul region is to be made an integral part of Iraq, there can be no question of putting an end to the mandatory status in four years.<sup>112</sup> As a consequence The Treaty of Lausanne thus resulted in the former Kurdish subjects of the Ottoman Empire becoming minorities in what were to become three nation states: namely Turkey, Syria and Iraq.<sup>113</sup>

Other problematic issue was the capitulations. Capitulations are the juridical and fiscal privileges granted to foreigners, especially to France, by the Ottoman sultans. In its last years, Ottoman Empire had lost its independence, to

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further negotiation proved fruitless. Quincy Wright, "The Mosul Dispute," *The American Journal of International Law* 20, no. 3 (1926): p. 453.

<sup>110</sup> Philip Marshall Brown, "The Lausanne Conference," *The American Journal of International Law* 17, no. 2 (1923): p. 291.

<sup>111</sup> Coşar and Demirci, "The Mosul Question and the Turkish Republic: Before and after the Frontier Treaty, 1926," p. 127.

<sup>112</sup> "The Mosul Question", *Advocate of Peace through Justice* 87, no. 9 (1925): 526.

<sup>113</sup> Gareth Jenkins, "Turkey in Northern Iraq: An Overview," *Occasional Papers* (2008): p. 18.

a large extent because of foreign intervention, and the Capitulations. The main concern of Atatürk's foreign policy was recognition of the Turkish national rights and acquiring complete sovereignty of Turkey.<sup>114</sup> For this reason Ankara government was very sensitive about infringements upon their sovereignty<sup>115</sup> and insisted on "the complete abolition of the capitulation in Turkey from every point of view"<sup>116</sup>. The other important and fervent issue discussed during the negotiations was the immigration or the exchange of population between Greece and Turkey and the border conflicts. The transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic was not an easy process. It should be noted that the changes within the country helped the process of international recognition of modern Turkish Republic. Especially abolition of sultanate, caliphate and *millet* system signalizes modern Turkey's Western inclination. Moreover, civil code regulations, the protection of religious- ethnic minorities by law, women rights and secularization process via law created positive image of Turkey.

At the end of the conference Turkey achieved to abolish all sorts of capitulations. The treaty of Lausanne leaves Turkey in complete control from the Aegean Sea to the Black Sea and the full control of Stairs.<sup>117</sup> And Turkey solved the border conflicts with Greece. But, at the same time Turkey had to leave the Mosul to Britain, Cyprus and twelve Islands to Greece and Italy. When we compare Sévres Treaty with Lausanne Treaty , Lausanne can be

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<sup>114</sup> Erik J. Zürcher, "The Ottoman Legacy of the Turkish Republic: An Attempt at a New Periodization," *Die Welt des Islams* 32, no. 2 (1992): p. 249.

<sup>115</sup> Aydın, "Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy: Historical Framework and Traditional Inputs," p. 163.

<sup>116</sup> Philip Marshall Brown, "From Sevres to Lausanne," *The American Journal of International Law* 18, no. 1 (1924): p. 114.

<sup>117</sup> *ibid.*, p. 113.

accepted as diplomatic victory of Turkey's foreign policy because; Turkey obtained most of its demands defined in the National Pact, reinforced its place in Western world and accepted as a sovereign state not only economically but also politically.

### 5.2.2.3. Early Republican Years

After signature of Lausanne Treaty, Turkey entered the era of Westernization and Secularization. Atatürk principally built the foreign policy of modern Turkey based on western values. Modernization, in other words imitation of Western culture, as in the Turkish interpretation "Westernization", became the main rhetoric of new republic. In this period Turkey was ignoring its eastern neighbors and the main focus was to develop good relations with Western countries. From this point of view the most important event, in the field of foreign policy was Turkey's entrance to League of Nations. As a result of the membership, Turkey shifted to the West, adopted western-oriented policies and introduced liberal and internationalist elements into foreign policy.<sup>118</sup> The main purpose of the decision making process was to follow a peaceful foreign policy principle that based on *status-quo* principle.<sup>119</sup> Turkey pursues a foreign policy guided by the principle of "*Peace at Home, Peace in*

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<sup>118</sup> Ali Karaosmanoglu, "The Evolution of the National Security Culture and the Military in Turkey," *Journal of International Affairs* 54, no. 1 (2000): p. 200.

<sup>119</sup> *Status-quo* principle might be explained as the preservation of present situation

*the World*” as set out by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.<sup>120</sup> If randomly we ask any Turkish citizen, what is the basic principle of Turkish foreign policy: the answer will be “*Peace at Home, Peace in the World*”. The exact translation of this motto into international relations language is status-quo principle and anti-revisionism.<sup>121</sup> It should be noted that before to die Atatürk also secured the eastern borders with Sadabad Pact. Non-aggression treaty called Sadabad Pact signed among newly established states of the region, Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan.<sup>122</sup> Also the remaining problems from Lausanne on Straits solved with Montreux agreement and Turkey gained a more advantageous position.<sup>123</sup>

The Spanish Civil War began virtually at the same time as the signing of the Montreux Convention on July 20, 1936, permitting Turkey to militarize the straits. As the safeguard of the straits, Turkey occupied a vital strategic position on the supply line from the Soviet Union to Spain.<sup>124</sup> During the Spanish Civil war Italy and Germany was supporting Franco but England and France was trying not to intervene in the conflict. Feroz Ahmad explains very well the situation of Turkey:

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<sup>120</sup> Synopsis of the Turkish Foreign Policy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, June 2011, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/synopsis-of-the-turkish-foreign-policy.en.mfa>.

<sup>121</sup> Oran Baskın, "Türk Dış Politikası: Temel İlkeleri Ve Soğuk Savaş Ertesindeki Durumu Üzerine Notlar," *Ankara* 51, no. 1-4 (1996): p. 355.

<sup>122</sup> Mustafa Serdar Palabıyık, "Sadabad Paktı (8 Temmuz 1937): İttifak Kuramları Açısından BiR İnceleme " *Ortadoğu Etütleri* 2, no. 3 (2010): p. 147.

<sup>123</sup> Barry Buzan, "The Status and Future of the Montreux Convention," *Survival* 18, no. 6 (1976): p. 245.

<sup>124</sup> Feroz Ahmad, "The Historical Background of Turkey's Foreign Policy," in *The Future of Turkish Foreign Policy*, ed. Lenore G. Martin and Dimitris Keridis (MIT Press, 2004), p. 20.

“Hitler and Mussolini were doing on Franco’s behalf and Stalin on behalf of the Spanish republic. It continued to support collective security, especially when the Italian threat came closer to home with the sinking of a Spanish ship in Turkish waters in August 1937. The Mediterranean states responded by convening the Nyon conference in September and denouncing “Italian piracy.” The Turkish delegation, acting on Atatürk’s instructions, went so far as to permit British and French ships to use Turkish naval bases to prevent Italian aggression. Prime Minister İnönü opposed this policy on the grounds that Italy would and it provocative”<sup>125</sup>

On the other hand, it should be mention that especially Europe was on the verge of Second World War, and with the Lausanne treaty Turkey became neighbor with France through Syrian mandate; Italy through twelve Islands; Britain through Irakian mandate and Cyprus; and Greece. It was the time to be cautious because Turkey was aware of the fact that the country was no longer the world power which Ottoman Empire had once been.

### **5.3.2. Second World War and Turkey**

Five European states, Sweden, Spain, Switzerland, Republic of Ireland, Portugal and Turkey managed to preserve neutrality and independence during the Second World War. Among them, Turkey might be accepted as an example of how the governments of small and military weak states can resist the strong

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<sup>125</sup>

ibid., p. 21.

pressure of great powers even in the time of crisis.<sup>126</sup> The reason of preserving neutrality can be explain by the natural outcome of Turkey's experience since 1914 and country's relative power and international position.<sup>127</sup> For example, at the beginning of the WWII especially Hitler was supporting the neutrality of Turkey because it was important that Turkey should remain neutral and the Straits closed against the fleets of the Western powers.<sup>128</sup> Turkey's wartime diplomacy was a tightrope act. During the WWII Turkey signed the Treaty of Mutual Assistance with Great Britain and Friendship and Non-Aggression Pact with Germany. In a nutshell Turkey was trying to keep a balance among European states, even when Russia signed a friendship treaty with Germany.<sup>129</sup> This policy of preserving neutrality and territorial integrity consisted of a set of realistically and understood possibilities, limitations, advantages and handicaps which constantly guided the Turkish decision makers.<sup>130</sup>

After Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, second president of the state was İsmet İnönü, among other features he was Ataturk's closest friend and successor of Kemalist doctrines. It should be mentioned that in the years of conflict or in time of peace "Sèvres Syndrome" occupied an important place in the making of Turkey's foreign policy. It means that Turkish foreign policy makers erect the

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<sup>126</sup> Annette Baker Fox, *The Power of Small States: Diplomacy in World War II* (University of Chicago Press, 1959), p. VII.

<sup>127</sup> William Hale, *Turkish Foreign Policy, 1774-2000* (Frank Cass, 2002), p. 79.

<sup>128</sup> A. L. Macfie, "The Turkish Straits in the Second World War, 1939-45," *Middle Eastern Studies* 25, no. 2 (1989): p. 238.

<sup>129</sup> Frank G. Weber, *The Evasive Neutral: Germany, Britain, and the Quest for a Turkish Alliance in the Second World War* (University of Missouri Press, 1979), p. 5-10.

<sup>130</sup> Selim Deringil, *Turkish Foreign Policy During the Second World War: An 'Active' Neutrality* (Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 1.

foreign policy on the idea that Turkey surrounded by enemies. As a natural result of this conception the Turkish Armed Forces had power to directly influence the making of Turkish foreign policy. The influence of Turkish Armed Forces continued until the neutralization of army by the democratization reform made by AKP. That is the reason why Turkish Commander in-Chief, Marshal Çakmak, was nearly equal to İsmet İnönü in the formation of foreign policy and in questions of national defense.<sup>131</sup>

During WWII Turkey was in the process of Westernization that initialized after Lausanne conference. At the same time İsmet İnönü was to arrive at a security pact with the Soviet Union that would not be incompatible with Turkey's engagements toward the West.<sup>132</sup> After Germany declared war against the Soviet Union, Turkey found itself in a complicated situation. Russia and England was repressing Turkey to declare war against the Japan and Germany. But during the final phase of war preoccupations of Turkey was basically concentrated on the post-war political order<sup>133</sup> and froze the diplomatic relations with Berlin and Tokyo in order to guarantee its place in Western block in post-war era.

As William Hale point out "while Turkish diplomacy may have been successful in keeping Turkey out of the war, it can be also argued that it ended with one significant failure, since it left the Soviet Union in a dominant position

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<sup>131</sup> Millman, "Turkish Foreign and Strategic Policy 1934–42," p. 484.

<sup>132</sup> Yücel Güçlü, "The Uneasy Relationship: Turkey's Foreign Policy Vis-a-Vis the Soviet Union at the Outbreak of the Second World War," *Mediterranean Quarterly* 13, no. 3 (2002): p. 81.

<sup>133</sup> Hale, *Turkish Foreign Policy, 1774-2000*, p. 101.

in south Eastern Europe.”<sup>134</sup> On 18 July 1945, just after WWII, the Cold War began.

### 5.3.3. Turkey, the Cold War and Transition to Democracy

After the WWII the concept of threat shifted from Germany to Soviet Union. Same as before, during the Cold War maintaining national security and territorial integrity remained as Turkey’s foremost foreign policy.<sup>135</sup> On the other hand, admittedly, in a bipolar world “balance and neutrality” was difficult policies to follow. Cold War became the scene of East-West strategic competition and Turkey geopolitically situated on the line of conflict between the zones of two military superpowers and their respective alliances.<sup>136</sup> Moreover, Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, theocratic regime in Iran and Iran-Irak War made Turkey to feel threaten. Additionally Turkish-Soviet relations after the WWII showed that Soviet demands and pressure on Turkey was forcing Ankara to seek Western support and to become an active participant in the Cold War along with Western Block.<sup>137</sup> Adnan Menders<sup>138</sup> was aware of the

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<sup>134</sup> *ibid.*, p. 104.

<sup>135</sup> Yasemin Çelik, *Contemporary Turkish Foreign Policy* (Praeger, 1999), p. 47.

<sup>136</sup> Aydın, "Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy: Historical Framework and Traditional Inputs," p. 165.

<sup>137</sup> Ahmad, "The Historical Background of Turkey’s Foreign Policy," p. 24.

<sup>138</sup> **Adnan Menderes** was the first democratically elected Turkish Prime Minister and one of the founders of the fourth legal opposition party of Turkey. Democratic Party is the first long-lived opposition party in the history of Turkey and remains the power between



fact that Turkey urgently needed to develop its economy and modernize the society. As a result of the *realpolitik*, Turkey approached to the U.S.A and developed the relations to the large extent which originally took foreign aid extended under the Truman Doctrine<sup>139</sup> and Marshall Plan, eventually results in Turkey's membership (together with Greece) in NATO in 1952.<sup>140</sup> In this respect, Turkey became the member of IMF and adjusts its system newly evolving order; it means that Turkey had to pay more attention to the instruction of IMF and other institutions<sup>141</sup> in determining economic policy.<sup>141</sup> This situation made Turkey more dependent to its western allies. As Tarık Oğuzlu explains that it was somehow normal to view Turkey as a Western/European country during the Cold War era, when Turkey assisted the West in its efforts to contain and defeat the Soviet threat."<sup>142</sup> During the Cold War, Turkey belonged to the

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1950-1960. DP won %52 of the votes in the first free elections in Turkish history after DP won two more free elections, one in 1954 and the other in 1957. During the 10 years government period Turkey underwent drastic changes

<sup>139</sup> **Truman Doctrine:** pronouncement by U.S. Pres. Harry S. Truman on March 12, 1947, declaring immediate economic and military aid to the governments of Greece, threatened by Communist insurrection, and Turkey, under pressure from Soviet expansion in the Mediterranean area. As the United States and the Soviet Union struggled to reach a balance of power during the Cold War that followed World War II, Great Britain announced that it could no longer afford to aid those Mediterranean countries, which the West feared were in danger of falling under Soviet influence. Source: Truman Doctrine, Britannica Encyclopedia <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/607195/Truman-Doctrine>, October 2012

<sup>140</sup> Mehmet Gönlübol, "Nato, USA and Turkey," in *Turkey's Foreign Policy in Transition :1950-1974*, ed. Kemal Karpat (Brill, 1975), p. 13.

<sup>141</sup> Idris Bal, *Turkish Foreign Policy in Post Cold War Era* (BrownWalker Press, 2004), p. 19.

<sup>142</sup> Oğuzlu, "Middle Easternization of Turkey's Foreign Policy: Does Turkey Dissociate from the West?," p. 6.

'Western security community.' Thus the illusion of seen Turkish identity as part of Europe in that period centered on the issue of security.<sup>143</sup>

Also internal dynamics was affecting the decision making process. As I mentioned earlier Turkish Armed Forces had power to influence the internal and external politics of Turkey. They were and still 'they are' the guardians of Kemalist Regime and Westernization process of Modern Turkey. On 27 May 1960 a group of "young officers" from Turkish Armed Forces who feared that democratically elected government of modern Turkey threatened the principles of the secular progressive Kemalist state, they realized *coup-état*, deposed the government and Adnan Menderes was arrested along with the leading party members. After *coup-état* Adnan Menderes along with Fatin Rüştü Zorlu and Hasan Polatkan was hanged by military junta. Under these circumstances U.S.A preferred to stay quite under the fear that military junta can approach the Soviet Union.

Turkey's alliance with the West was nearly unproblematic until the Cyprus issue.<sup>144</sup> Notably, this conflict caused serious problems between United States and Turkey and obliged Turkey to revise its relations with Western block. Conventionally, Turkey's policy towards the Middle East in the 1950s is described as pro-Western in general and pro-American in particular.<sup>145</sup> The main development in this region was the signature of 'pro-western' Baghdad

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<sup>143</sup> Gülnur Aybet and Meltem Müftüler-Baç, "Transformations in Security and Identity after the Cold War: Turkey's Problematic Relationship with Europe," *International Journal* 55, no. 4 (2000): p. 84.

<sup>144</sup> Bal, *Turkish Foreign Policy in Post Cold War Era*, p.15.

<sup>145</sup> Ayşegül Sever, "The Compliant Ally? Turkey and the West in the Middle East 1954–58," *Middle Eastern Studies* 34, no. 2 (1998): p. 73.

Pact between Turkey, Iraq, Great Britain, Pakistan and Iran. The aim of the pact was to prevent communist incursion in the Middle East.<sup>146</sup> In addition, Turkey lacked a clear new vision and a strategy to cope with the end of the Cold War, which necessitated changes in the traditional foreign policy-making.<sup>147</sup> However, when the Cold War came to an end and Turkey's European partners within NATO adopted a Europe-limited strategic outlook, the credentials of Turkey's Western/European identity became diluted.

### **5.3.4. Post-cold War era**

The post-Cold war period, starts with the collapse of Berlin Wall in 1989 and the process continues until the dissolution of Soviet Union in 1991. Undoubtedly this drastic change affected all the spheres of world politics and caused a structural shift in international system. In this new world order, Soviet Union was not a threat anymore and the bipolar system of Cold War replaced by the hegemony of U.S.A.

Turkey perhaps the country that has witnessed the most drastic transformations around its borders: change of regimes, dissolution of defense alliances and ending of ideological confrontations has affected the whole

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<sup>146</sup> Ara Sanjian, "The Formulation of the Baghdad Pact," *Middle Eastern Studies* 33, no. 2 (1997): p. 233-37.

<sup>147</sup> Ahmet Sözen, "A Paradigm Shift in Turkish Foreign Policy: Transition and Challenges," *Turkish Studies* 11, no. 1 (2010): p. 119.

geopolitical landscape.<sup>148</sup> In addition no other Western state has been as much affected by the parameter changes in the international system as Turkey.<sup>149</sup>

Firstly, it should be mentioned that Turkish democracy again interrupted with the *coup-état* of 12 September 1980. Almost ten years after the *coup-état* “Republic of Turkey had experienced dramatic shifts and transformations in its political structure, economic system, social strata, cultural patterns, religious expressionism, and foreign policy.”<sup>150</sup> Turgut Özal<sup>151</sup> played a crucial role during the transformation period.

Turkish policy makers thought that in the new conjuncture the importance and the role of Turkey might decrease, but outbreak of Gulf War changed the parameters. During the war period the main idea was that Turkey

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<sup>148</sup> See, Mümtaz Soysal, "The Future of Turkish Foreign Policy," in *The Future of Turkish Foreign Policy*, ed. Leonard G. Martin and Dimitris Keridis (MIT Press, 2004).

<sup>149</sup> Philip Robins, *Suits and Uniforms: Turkish Foreign Policy since the Cold War* (Hurst & Company, 2003), p. 11.

<sup>150</sup> Mustafa Aydın, "Turkish Foreign Policy at the End of Cold War: Roots and Dynamics," *The Turkish Yearbook* 35 (2005): p. 1.

<sup>151</sup> **Turgut Özal:**(1927-1993) Özal studied electrical engineering at Istanbul Technical University, where he met the future prime minister Süleyman Demirel. Özal became an under secretary at the Turkish State Planning Organization (1967–71), and during the 1970s he worked as an economist for the World Bank. In 1979 he became an adviser to Demirel’s government. When the military overthrew Demirel in 1980, Özal was asked to stay on as deputy prime minister. He implemented a program of economic reforms including the lifting of exchange controls and extensive liberalization of trade. In 1983 Özal became prime minister after the right-of-centre Motherland Party (ANAP); the party won gain in 1987. As Prime Minister Özal continued his free-market, Western-oriented economic policies. He sponsored Turkey’s unsuccessful bid to join the European Community (EC) in 1987. During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, he led Turkey to join the United Nations coalition against Iraq; he also supported increased rights for Turkey’s Kurds. Turgut Özal in Encyclopedia Britannica Online, (source: [www.britannica.com](http://www.britannica.com), <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/437131/Turgut-Özal>>, May 2010)

return to strategic forefront.<sup>152</sup> The 1990 Gulf crisis was of pivotal importance as far as Turkish foreign relations in the post-Cold war era were concerned. This was for two reasons, first, it marks the end of the conventional wisdom that Turkey need to be an actor in the Middle East subsystem, either as function of the Kemalist disdain for the region or as part of the post-Baghdad Pact Trauma.<sup>153</sup> There has been instability in Turkey's policy towards the Middle East since the establishment of the republic.<sup>154</sup> It should be admitted that in 1990s Turkey went through a process of adaptation to the regional and global changes that had fundamentally affected its international setting.<sup>155</sup> Especially the decisions of President Turgut Özal and the government to allow the United States to use its bases in Turkey provoked domestic criticisms in Turkey. It was argued that president Özal was changing Turkey's traditional policy in the region and pulling Turkey into a dangerous adventure.<sup>156</sup>

On the other hand the dissolution of Soviet Union presented new opportunities in the other sensitive regions namely Central Asia and the

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<sup>152</sup> Nasuh Uslu, *Turkish Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Period* (Nova Science Publishers, 2004), p. 4.

<sup>153</sup> Raymond Hinnebusch and Anoushiravan Ehteshami, *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002), p. 141.

<sup>154</sup> Mesut Özcan, *Harmonizing Foreign Policy: Turkey, the Eu and the Middle East* (Ashgate, 2008), p.107.

<sup>155</sup> Mustafa Aydın, "Between Euphoria and Realpolitik: Turkish Policy toward Central Asia and Caucasus," in *Turkey's Foreign Policy in the 21st Century: A Changing Role in World Politics*, ed. Tareq Ismael and Mustafa Aydın (Ashgate, 2003), p. 140.

<sup>156</sup> Meliha Benli Altunışık, "The Turkish-Israeli Rapprochement in the Post-Cold War Era," *Middle Eastern Studies* 36, no. 2 (2000): p. 173.

Caucasus.<sup>157</sup> Turkey became a role model for newly independent Central Asia and Caucasus states and played a dynamic role in connecting them to the rest of the world and helps them in request for identity.<sup>158</sup> The February and August 1996 military agreements and the February 1997 intelligence cooperation agreements between Turkey and Israel, as well as the August and December trade and customs agreements, cast further doubt on Damascus' willingness to meet some of Ankara's demands with regard to the PKK. Indeed, the tightening of the pincers on Syria by Turkey, Israel and the United States suggests that conflict rather than rapprochement between the two countries may well be in the offing.<sup>159</sup>

## 6. Conclusion

As it was mentioned in the introduction of the chapter, this part of the thesis analyzes the general framework of Turkey's and Spain's foreign policy in the period of transition and consolidation of their democracies from historical perspective. The purpose is to find the similarities and the difference between two countries and observes the effects of this transition to foreign policy decision making process.

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<sup>157</sup> Shireen Hunter, "Bridge or Frontier? Turkey's Post-Cold War Geopolitical Posture," *The International Spectator* 34, no. 1 (1999): p. 69.

<sup>158</sup> Aydın, "Between Euphoria and Realpolitik: Turkish Policy toward Central Asia and Caucasus," p. 141.

<sup>159</sup> Robert Olson, "Turkey- Syria Relations since the Gulf War:Kurds and Water," *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, 19, no. 1 (1995): p. 191.

First of all, it should be mentioned that in both cases, the transition to democracy was a movement dominated by soldiers and men in public service; it can be said that it was a movement with official and authoritarian character. The Turkish revolution and as well Spanish transition to democracy was not a grassroots movement, it was an elitist movement imposed from above by official and intellectual cadres. The different point is Spain finished its transition in short period of time but Turkey still is in the midst of its transition.

The other point to mention is the search for the international recognition during the construction of their democracies. The overwhelming majority of Spaniards and Turkish were convinced that the entry into the economic and political structure of Western Europe was essential for the future of their countries. Turkey's ambition to ally with Western world forced the country kept low profile in the Middle East introducing the non-interference to inter-Arab relations.

Until 2002 four foreign policy principles dominated Turkey's agenda. Primarily, external recognition of Turkish Republic, afterwards remain outside of WWII, keep territorial integrity of Turkish Republic particularly along the Cold War and post-cold war era, finally integration to E.U. Today, Turkey is the unique pending candidate of the EU with a predominant Muslim population and Spain supports the full membership of Turkey.

# CHAPTER III



## **A**KP and “New” Concepts in Turkish Foreign Policy



UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI  
FOREIGN POLICY OF TURKEY AND SPAIN VERSUS MIDDLE EAST, AFTER 2002. TRANSITION  
TO DEMOCRACY AND NEW INTERNATIONAL AGENTS  
Gozde Demirel  
Dipòsit Legal: T 957-2014

## 1. Introduction

The principal idea of the chapter is to appropriately explain the general characteristic of current Turkish foreign policy concepts while focusing on the political transformation of AKP from political Islam to conservative democracy. The chapter analyzes the evolution of Islamism in Turkey through a historical perspective, from late Ottoman times to National Vision movement including the birth and development period of AKP. The main purpose of the chapter is to visualize “new” concepts in Turkish foreign policy decision making process during its government periods in 2002-2013.

The first section of the chapter aims to analyze the historical roots of AKP from late Ottoman times to National Outlook Movement including the separation of AKP from National Outlook movement. The second part examines the ideological transformation of AKP from political Islam to conservative democracy. Lastly, third and final section explores the conceptualization of “new” and emerging concepts in Turkish foreign policy with an accent on Davutoğlu effect in Turkish foreign policy. The conceptualization is based on Davutoğlu’s speeches, his famous book “Strategic Depth”, his academic articles and official statements along with election manifestos and party program. I made a custom classification during the study. The “new” concepts are defining independent to their academic uses. They defined as usage of the Turkish foreign policy makers.

## 2. Historical Roots of AKP

As Yalçın Akdoğan<sup>160</sup> argues, in order to understand the AKP, its development and its political identity, concepts such as Islamism and political Islam must be discussed.

### 2.1. Politicization of Islam in Modern Turkey

The nature of relationship between Islam and politics in modern Turkey cannot be understood properly without considering pan-Islamist ideology<sup>161</sup>. In history of Islam, there was a wide range of pan-Islamic ideologies,<sup>162</sup> from the Ottoman official version to the more radical teachings of the redoubtable Jamal al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1839-97)<sup>163</sup>, the apostle of the Islamic reaction against the

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<sup>160</sup> **Yalçın Akdoğan** : is the author of the book named “Muhafazakar Demokrasi” (Conservative Democracy) which is accepted as a legitimization of AKP’s identity. Also he is a political scientist and vice president adviser.

<sup>161</sup> For more information on development of modern Turkey see, Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (Oxford University Press, 2002).

<sup>162</sup> For more information on Pan Islamism see, Valentine Chirol, *Pan-Islamism* (BiblioBazaar, 2009), Dwight E. Lee, "The Origins of Pan-Islamism," *The American Historical Review* 47, no. 2 (1942).

<sup>163</sup> **Jamal al-Dīn al-Afghānī** : in full Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī al-Sayyid Muḥammad ibn Ṣafdar al-Ḥusayn (born 1838, Asadābād, Persia [now Iran]—died March 9, 1897, Istanbul), Muslim politician, political agitator, and journalist whose belief in the potency of a revived Islamic civilization in the face of European domination significantly influenced the development of Muslim thought in the 19th and early 20th centuries. "Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī in Encyclopædia Britannica Online (Source: <http://www.britannica.com>,

West.<sup>164</sup> The focus in here is to explain pan-Islamism of Ottoman Empire which effects today's Turkey. Pan Islamism was ideological tool to be used for the salvation of Ottoman Empire in the wake of Berlin Congress.<sup>165</sup> The word Pan-Islamism in its various forms is apparently of European coinage and was probably adopted in imitation of Pan-Slavism, which had become current in the 1870's.<sup>166</sup> In effect, it was an antidote to European Pan Movements based on ethnic, nationalist or radical consideration. The objective of the Sultan Abdülhamid II (1876–1909)<sup>167</sup> who adopted the ideology of Pan-Islamism after

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<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/299778/Jamal-al-Din-al-Afghani>, accessed 13. April. 2013)

<sup>164</sup> Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, p. 342.

<sup>165</sup> **Congress of Berlin**, (June 13-July 13, 1878), diplomatic meeting of the major European powers at which the Treaty of Berlin replaced the Treaty of San Stefano, which had been signed by Russia and Turkey (March 3, 1878) at the conclusion of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78. Officially convoked by the Austrian foreign minister, Count Gyula Andrassy, the congress met in Berlin on June 13. The congress solved an international crisis caused by the San Stefano treaty by revising the peace settlement to satisfy the interests of Great Britain (by denying Russia the means to extend its naval power and by maintaining the Ottoman Empire as a European power) and to satisfy the interests of Austria-Hungary (by allowing it to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina and thereby increase its influence in the Balkans). In acting so, however, the congress left Russia humiliated by substantially reducing the gains that it had made under the San Stefano treaty. Furthermore, the congress failed to consider adequately the aspirations of the Balkan peoples themselves and, thereby, laid the foundation for future crises in the Balkans "Congress of Berlin," in *Encyclopædia Britannica Online* (source <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/62090/Congress-of-Berlin>, accessed 15. April, 2013).

<sup>166</sup> Lee, "The Origins of Pan-Islamism," p. 280.

<sup>167</sup> **Abdülhamid II** (1876–1909) concentrated government investments and reforms in the predominantly Muslim parts of the empire. He emphasized Islam as a basis of internal social and political stability and solidarity, further stressing his authority not merely as sultan but also as caliph in a bid to simultaneously neutralize opposition from the varied Muslim ethnicities within his dominions and to mobilize support, when needed, among Muslims beyond his borders. Although he affirmed the principle of legal equality for

1878<sup>168</sup> was to achieve unity among Ottoman Muslims, and to repress the liberals, nationalists, reformers, and other opponents of his autocratic power.<sup>169</sup>

Sultan Abdülhamid II seized on the Islamist reaction to Western imperialism in an effort to strengthen the empire by unifying Ottoman Muslims under the umbrella of Islam<sup>170</sup>. Oxford dictionary of Islamic Studies describes Pan-Islamism as follows:

Ideology calling for sociopolitical solidarity among all Muslims. Has existed as a religious concept since the early days of Islam. Emerged as a modern political ideology in the 1860s and 1870s at the height of European colonialism, when Turkish intellectuals began discussing and writing about it as a way to save the Ottoman Empire from fragmentation. Became the favored state policy during the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid II (r. 1876 – 1909 ) and was adopted and promoted by members of the ruling bureaucratic and intellectual elites of the empire. With the rise of colonialism, became a defensive ideology, directed against European political, military, economic, and missionary penetration. Posed the sultan as a universal caliph to whom Muslims everywhere owed allegiance and obedience. Sought to offset military and economic weakness in the Muslim world by favoring central government over the periphery and Muslims over non-Muslims in education, office, and economic opportunities. Ultimately failed and collapsed after the defeat and dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire after World War I. Resurrected during the resurgence of Islam after World War II. Expressed via organizations such as the Muslim World League and the Organization of

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minority religions, he felt that Muslims were the only truly loyal Ottoman subjects. For this reason, pan-Islamists like Afghani regarded Abdulhamid as a symbol of Islamic solidarity and cohesion.(source: Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World: A - L, (Macmillan, 2004), p. 341.)

<sup>168</sup> Kemal Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State* (Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 20.

<sup>169</sup> Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, p. 342.

<sup>170</sup> Banu Eligür, *The Mobilization of Political Islam in Turkey* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 40.

the Islamic Conference, which seek to coordinate Islamic solidarity through political and economic cooperation internationally. Has also served as an important political tool in recruiting all-Muslim support against foreign aggressions<sup>171</sup>.

In large measure, Abdülhamid's so-called Pan Islamism was religio-political ideology, an ideology of self-defense that has left a permanent mark on Turkish society and the Muslim world as a whole. He made it clear that in making such representations he was acting as caliph—that is, as the religious spokesman of the Muslims in the world—but not as their political leader, knowing full well that such representation won him political credit among Muslims.<sup>172</sup> The movement of Abdülhamid II was pan-Islamic, pro-Ottoman and anti-imperialist<sup>173</sup>. At the same time Abdülhamid was the main force behind the Ottoman modernization, also as caliph, its legitimizer and the architect of its Islamization<sup>174</sup>, he prepared ground for the rise of modern Turkey. He began to institute western style education throughout the Empire, and significant inroads were made in educational and bureaucratic modernization<sup>175</sup>. In his rein

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<sup>171</sup> Pan Islamism, Oxford dictionary of Islamic Studies.( Source: <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e1819>, accessed 18.April.2013)

<sup>172</sup> Kemal Karpat, *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History: Selected Articles and Essays* (Brill Academic Pub, 2002), p. 508.

<sup>173</sup> Peter R. Demant, *Islam Vs. Islamism: The Dilemma of the Muslim World* (Prager Fredericka, 2006), p. 49.

<sup>174</sup> The Term Pan-Islam and Islamization used in the same meaning in the K.Karpat's writing, contrary Serif Mardin uses the term of islamization as the union force of Independence War, See Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State.*; Şerif Mardin, "İslamcılık," in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1958), p. 1400.

<sup>175</sup> Şükrü Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (Oxford University Press, USA, 1995), p. 25.

Ottoman Empire underwent continuous, western oriented economic, social, cultural and administrative changes. But Abdülhamid II's objectionable Pan Islamism with his liberal, cultural, and benevolent Pan Islamism bore no fruit<sup>176</sup>.

The theoreticians of the Young Turk<sup>177</sup> period first assigned an important role to Islam, as a factor of national cohesion which might prevent the decomposition of the empire. But having come to the conclusion that the idea of an Islamic community (“*ümme*t” in Turkish, “*ummah*” in Arabic) was in contradiction to that of a nation (“*millet*” in Turkish), they proceeded to criticize Islamism severely and demote religion to the status of a simple cultural factor in the national identity mixture<sup>178</sup>. Paradoxically Abdülhamid never made use of the call to jihad except in the war with Greece in 1897.<sup>179</sup>

Right after disastrous 1912–1913 Balkan War, by 1914 the most dominant ideology in the Empire was Pan Turkism<sup>180</sup>. Yusuf Akçura (1876–

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<sup>176</sup> Şükrü Hanioglu, *Preparation for a Revolution : The Young Turks, 1902-1908* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2001), p. 127.

<sup>177</sup> **Young Turks:** Turkish Jöntürkler, coalition of various reform groups that led a revolutionary movement against the authoritarian regime of Ottoman sultan Abdülhamid II, which culminated in the establishment of a constitutional government. After their rise to power, the Young Turks introduced programs that promoted the modernization of the Ottoman Empire and a new spirit of Turkish nationalism. Their handling of foreign affairs, however, resulted in the dissolution of the Ottoman state. "Young Turks," in Encyclopædia Britannica Online.(source: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/654123/Young-Turks>, accessed August. 14.2013).

<sup>178</sup> Paul Dumont, "The Origins of Kemalist Ideology," in *Atatürk and the Modernization of Turkey*, ed. J.M. Landau (Westview Press, 1984), p. 30.

<sup>179</sup> H. Kemal Karpat, “*The*” *Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State* (Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2001), p. 257.

<sup>180</sup> Yelda Demirağ, "Pan-Ideologies in the Ottoman Empire against the West: From Pan-Ottomanism to Pan-Turkism," *The Turkish Yearbook* 36 (2005 p. 154).

1939)<sup>181</sup>, ideologue of Turkish nationalism explained in his famous book “Three Kinds of Policy” (“*Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset*”) the reason why Pan-Ottomanism, Panislamism did not function and Pan Turkism will be the best choice and salvation of Ottoman empire would be “to pursue a Turkish nationalism based on race.”<sup>182</sup>. By 1900 Abdülhamid's brand of religious Islamism was being overtaken by a new secular Islamic nationalism where religion became just one source of cultural identity, though a major one a militant nationalism aimed at liberating the Muslims from foreign rule. That liberation finally came, beginning with Turkey in 1919-1922<sup>183</sup>. Mustafa Kemal the leader of Turkish War of Independence noted in October 1919 'National Pact' the borders of Anatolia. He said that:

“It is not the line which has been drawn according to military considerations. It is national (*milli*<sup>184</sup>) border. With this border there is only one nation which is representative of Islam. Within this border, there are Turks, Circassians and other Islamic elements. Thus this Border is a national boundary of all those who live together totally blended and are all intents and purpose made up of fraternal communities (*milletler*).”<sup>185</sup>

One of the main strategies of Mustafa Kemal, during Turkish War of Independence was his pro-Islamist rhetoric. For example, the opening of

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<sup>181</sup> For more information on *Yusuf Akçura* see Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, p. 326.

<sup>182</sup> See, *Yusuf Akçura, Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Basım Evi, 1976).

<sup>183</sup> Karpat, *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History: Selected Articles and Essays*, p. 511.

<sup>184</sup> A world ought to be said about the Ottoman-Turkish terms *millet*, *milli* and *milliyetçi*, terms that are rendered into English as 'nation', 'national', 'nationalist'. But during the independence war of liberation and after, the terms were intended to be more patriotic than nationalist, inclusive rather than exclusive. See Feroz Ahmad, *Turkey: The Quest for Identity* (Oneworld Publications, 2003), p. 80.

<sup>185</sup> Ahmad, *Turkey: The Quest for Identity*, p. 80.



National Assembly was a remarkable Islamic demonstration and the main duties of National Assembly marked as the independence of fatherland and salvation of caliph and sultanate agencies<sup>186</sup>.

During the independence war Pan Islamism of Abdulhamid shifted to Islamism or Islam as a common cultural base to mobilize Anatolian people against the occupation and suddenly became part of the Turkish internal politics<sup>187</sup>. During the war Islamists, secularists, and nationalist in sum all Anatolia who believed in Atatürk fought together for the independence of their lands and they achieved. The treaty of Lausanne started on 20 November 1922 and signed on 24 July 1923. The chief significance of Lausanne Treaty for Turkey was the re-establishment of complete and undivided Turkish sovereignty in almost all the territory included in the present-day Turkish Republic<sup>188</sup>. Contiguously the Republic was proclaimed on 29 October 1923, one year after the abolition of the sultanate on 1 November 1922. With this, the earlier subjects of the Ottoman Empire became equal and free citizens of the Turkish Republic, regardless of their religion.<sup>189</sup> Turkish citizenship depended

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<sup>186</sup> Akyol, *Ama Hangi Atatürk*, p. 137-38.

<sup>187</sup> During the War of Independence, men of religion in Anatolia played a role of mediator between the secularists and the religious people of Anatolia. Mufti of Ankara, Börekçizade Mehmed Rifat Efendi, issued fetva (religious opinion), endorsed by 152 other Muftis in Anatolia, declaring that fetva issued under foreign duress was invalid, and calling on the Muslims to 'liberate their Caliph from captivity'. See Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 252.; Ergün Özbudun, "The Nature of the Kemalist Political Regime," in *Atatürk: Founder of a Modern State*, ed. Ergun Özbudun and Ali Kazancıgil (Hamden: Archon Books, 1981), p. 83.

<sup>188</sup> Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, p. 254.

<sup>189</sup> Umut Azak, *Islam and Secularism in Turkey: Kemalism, Religion and the Nation State* (I. B. Tauris, 2010), p. 9.

on residence (not birth) within the borders of emerging state defined by National Pact.<sup>190</sup>

Especially after the proclamation of Republic, Atatürk and his friends started series of reforms to modernize Turkish society. It should be noted that modernization and nation building process of Turkish society based on western values. Because of this, even today Turkish people still thinks that modernization is westernization and to be modern is seen by many Turks as membership in the EU. In short, Atatürk's reforms (1923–38) aimed to bring Western culture to the Islamic society. At first hand Atatürk established People's Party based on populist principles in September 1923. The party has generally been described as having been born out of an alliance between the central, military-bureaucratic-intellectual elite and local notables.<sup>191</sup> Populism republicanism, nationalism, secularism, étatism and reformism declared as main principles of Republican People's Party by the Third Party Congress in 1931, and were symbolized by the six arrows in Party emblem.<sup>192</sup> The main reforms realized by RPP during Kemal revolution of modern Turkey were as follows:

Abolition of sultanate and its agencies and Sharia<sup>193</sup> courts in 1924. Ankara government established Ministry of Religious Affairs (*Diyanet İşleri*

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<sup>190</sup> Ahmad, *Turkey: The Quest for Identity*, p. 81.

<sup>191</sup> Ergün Özbudun, "The Nature of the Kemalist Political Regime," in *Atatürk: Founder of a Modern State*, ed. Ergün Özbudun and Ali Kazancıgil (Hamden: Archon Books, 1981), p. 82.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89.

<sup>193</sup> **Shari'ah**: also spelled **Sharia**, the fundamental religious concept of Islam, namely its law, systematized during the 2nd and 3rd centuries of the Muslim era (8th–9th centuries CE). Total and unqualified submission to the will of Allah (God) is the fundamental tenet of Islam: Islamic law is therefore the expression of Allah's command for Muslim society and, in application, constitutes a system of duties that are incumbent upon

*Başkanlığı*) instead of *Şeyhül-Islam's* department. Duties of Ministry of Religious Affairs were the administration of mosques, convents, &c., the appointment and dismissal of imams, preachers, muezzins, and other mosque functionaries, and the supervision of the muftis generally.<sup>194</sup> Ministry of Religious Affairs worked as the hand of Ankara government in order to augment state control on religious issues. The idea was to internalize and individualize Islam. Law for the Unification of Instruction (*Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu*) in 1924 was the next step of secularization. This law placed all the educational institutions under the control of Ministry of Education. The closing of *medreses*<sup>195</sup> followed soon after. Private and foreign schools were also put under the inspection of the Ministry of Education, and all religious propaganda and displays of religious symbols were prohibited all education was made secular, which eliminated the traditional Islamic educational system in Turkey.<sup>196</sup> This was a crucial point towards secularizing the country. Continuously In 1928, the Arabic script was replaced by the Latin alphabet, and in the 1930 a campaign to turkify the language was launched<sup>197</sup>. This change of

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a Muslim by virtue of his religious belief. Known as the *Sharī'ah* (literally, "the path leading to the watering place"), the law constitutes a divinely ordained path of conduct that guides Muslims toward a practical expression of religious conviction in this world and the goal of divine favour in the world to come. "Shari'ah in Encyclopedia Britannica Online, (source: [www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/538793/Shariah](http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/538793/Shariah), accessed 12.April. 2013)

<sup>194</sup> Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, p. 413.

<sup>195</sup> **Medrese** (madrasa), is any type of religious school or college for the study of the Islamic religion

<sup>196</sup> Micheal Winter, "The Modernization of Education in Kemalist Turkey," in *Atatürk and the Modernization of Turkey*, ed. J.M. Landau (Westview Press: 1984), p. 186.

<sup>197</sup> İltir Turan, "Continuity and Change in Turkish Bureaucracy: The Kemalist Period and After," in *Atatürk and the Modernization of Turkey*, ed. J.M. Landau (Westview Press, 1984), p. 106.

alphabet broke the cultural ties of future generation with their Ottoman Islamic traditions. In the first half of 1926, the European calendar was adopted, as were the Swiss civil code and the penal code from Italy<sup>198</sup>. Islamic laws were abolished and the constitutional article adopting Islam as the state religion was extracted in 1928. Women rights were granted in 1934. Finally, the Turkish state was defined as secular in the constitution in 1937. Thus, the aim was to achieve secularism at all levels of the state.<sup>199</sup>

Turkish Republic is the heir to the multi-ethnic Ottoman Empire that lasted for 600 year with 75 different ethnic groups living within its borders<sup>200</sup>. Turkey is the only country in the Middle East –Perhaps in the whole Muslim world- where the secularism became the official ideology of the state<sup>201</sup>. But the overwhelming majorities of Turks also consider themselves Muslims and abide in various ways and degrees by Islamic customs and values.<sup>202</sup>

Deep-rooted Islamic sentiments together with militant secularism of Ankara government caused two important revolts towards Kemal revolution of modern Turkey. First one was a Kurdish revolt in the eastern provinces led by *Sheik Said*<sup>203</sup> in 1925, second revolt occurred in the town of Menemen near

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<sup>198</sup> Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History, Revised Edition*, p. 173.

<sup>199</sup> Eligür, *The Mobilization of Political Islam in Turkey*, p. 44.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>201</sup> Elisabeth Özdalga, *The Veiling Issue Official Secularism and Popular Islam in Modern Turkey* (Taylor & Francis, 2013), p. 1.

<sup>202</sup> Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State*, p. 422.

<sup>203</sup> **Sheik Said:** the hereditary chief of the powerful Naqshbandi sufi Islamic order. Sheikh Said's rebellion was both nationalistic and religious as it also favored the reinstatement of the Caliphate. After some initial successes, Sheikh Said was crushed and

Izmir in 1930 when young Kemalist officer named Kubilay killed by a local *Nakşibendi*<sup>204</sup> leader and his followers. Apparently all rebellions were a result of *shock therapy* which was applied to Turkish society through newly emerged Kemalist bureaucracy and military elites. As long as the state suppressed the Islamic brotherhoods, due to the enact of Tranquility Statement Laws they were remained underground. Even opposition parties as the Progressive Republican Party in 1924 and the Free Republican in 1930 party are allowed to establish soon after they turned into real opposition forces with strong religious elements and they were closed down within their first year<sup>205</sup>. Republican People's Party was the only ruling party until 1945. Nevertheless, Adnan Menderes along with Celal Bayar, Refik Koraltan and Fuad Koprülü resigned from the RPP and established in 1946 the opposition Democrat Party (DP), which ended 27 years of single-party period of the Republic of Turkey. Respectively, Democrat Party won elections in 1950, in 1954 and 1957. Democrat Party made some changes during its tenure; *Ezan* (the call to prayer) was permitted in its original Arabic version; the tombs of holy saints were reopened for visits; the state radio could now broadcast prayers during religious holidays; the budget of the Presidency of Religious Affairs was increased; and a number of religious schools and one program at the university level were opened to train religious personnel.<sup>206</sup> Soon

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hanged. See, Michael Gunter, *The Kurds Ascending: The Evolving Solution to the Kurdish Problem in Iraq and Turkey* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 4.

<sup>204</sup> **Naqshbandi Sufi Islamic Order:** is an orthodox Sufi order led by Said Nursi (also known as Bediuzzaman, or Light of the Times) who was born in Bitlis in eastern Turkey.

<sup>205</sup> Ronnie Margulies and Ergin Yıldızoğlu, "The Resurgence of Islam and the Welfare Party in Turkey," in *Political Islam: Essays from Middle East Report*, ed. Joel Beinin and Joe Stork (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), p. 152.

<sup>206</sup> Binnaz Toprak, "Secularism and Islam: The Building of Modern Turkey," *Macalester International* 15 (2005): p. 34.

after, the military coup which took place in Turkey on 27 May 1960 ousted the first civilian government ever directly elected by the Turkish people. The justification of *coup d'état* was the necessity to save the reforms of Kemal Atatürk and restore the dignity and prestige of the State.<sup>207</sup>

## 2.2. Political Islam and National Outlook Movement

The 1961 constitution extended civil liberties and nurtured liberal democracy and pluralism. As a result of new constitution, political Islamists were allowed to take part in public discussion. Mehmet Zaid Kotku, Nakşibendi leader of the Iskenderpaşa Cemaati, played fundamental role as the brainchild of the political Islamist movement of Modern Turkey. His idea was to create a party with an Islamic orientation without being used by other center-right parties and where the Muslims could feel at home.<sup>208</sup> Necmettin Erbakan was favored by Kotku as an auspicious and outstanding personality of first Islamist political party in Turkey that aimed the Islamization of cultural and political life in Turkey.

Undoubtedly, in the history of the Republic of Turkey the most important independent Islamic movement is National Outlook (*Milli Görüş*) and

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<sup>207</sup> Kemal Karpat, "Recent Political Developments in Turkey and Their Social Background," *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)* 38, no. 3 (1962): p. 304.

<sup>208</sup> Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, p. 208.

Necmettin Erbakan, deserves to be recognized as the most influential Islamic Turk politician of 20th century.<sup>209</sup>

**Figure 2: Necmettin Erbakan**



Place and Date: Istanbul, during the opening speech of Milli Nizam Partisi (MNP)  
National Order Party, 8/February/1970.

Source: <http://www.sabah.com.tr/>

Necmettin Erbakan actively participated many associations before his political career started; he was a mechanical engineer, university professor, diesel factory founder, and Union of Chambers of Commerce and Industry president. He entered Grand National Assembly from Konya in 1969 from that day on he became the voice of Islamist interests in Parliament. His earlier experiences

<sup>209</sup> Ruşen Çakır, "Milli Görüş Hareketi " in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasî Düşünce: İslamcılık*, ed. Murat Gültekingil Tanıl Bora (Istanbul: İletişim, 2005), p. 544.

helped Erbakan to create 'National Outlook' philosophy with the proposition of Just Economic Order (*Adil Düzen*) to eliminate socioeconomic inequality and corruption. In addition, it should be noted that depending on the intention of its user, the world *milli* (national) can mean both religious and national. Erbakan took the advantage of double connotations of *milli* in Turkish to give an Islamic message within the nationalistic expression. He also published in 1975 as a manifesto aftermath.<sup>210</sup>

First Islamist Party of National Outlook Movement ( Milli Görüş Hareketi) was National Order Party (MNP:Milli Nizam Partisi) which established in 1970. The predecessor of MNP was; the National Salvation Party (MSP: Milli Selamet Partisi, 1972–1980), the Welfare Party (RP: Refah Partisi, 1983–1998), the Virtue Party (FP:Fazilet Partisi, 1997–2001), and the Felicity Party (SP: Saadet Partisi, 2001–present).

Milli Görüş was not an underground revolutionary movement but a legitimate strain thought within a democratic party system.<sup>211</sup> Main characteristics of National Outlook Movement are; its attitude against the monopolistic form of capitalism and the usage of Ottoman-Muslim heritage to construct modern religio-ethnic Turkish National State.<sup>212</sup> *Milli Görüş* crucially rejected Western imitation and dependency but science and technology is readily welcomed through its naturalization by reference to its Islamic roots.<sup>213</sup>

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<sup>210</sup> See, Necmettin Erbakan, *Milli Görüş* (Dergah Yayınları, 1974).

<sup>211</sup> Jenny White, *Muslim Nationalism and the New Turks* (Princeton University Press, 2012), p. 39.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid.

<sup>213</sup> Ahmet Yıldız, "Politico-Religious Discourse of Political Islam in Turkey: The Parties of National Outlook," *The Muslim World* 93, no. 2 (2003): p. 109.



1971 military coup, the Constitutional Court dissolved the MNP on the basis that the party’s program sought to “establish a theocratic state”<sup>214</sup> and Erbakan, had been dissolved by the Constitutional court in 1972 for violating the prohibition against the use of religion for political purpose.<sup>215</sup>

**Table 2: Political Parties of Milli Görüş Hareketi (National Outlook Movement)**

<b>Milli Görüş Hareketi (National Outlook Movement)</b>	<b>Leader</b>	<b>Period</b>	<b>Reason for Closure</b>
<b>Milli Nizam Partisi (MNP) National Order Party</b>	Necmettin Erbakan	1970-71	Constitutional Court
<b>Milli Selamet Partisi (MSP) National Salvation Party</b>	Necmettin Erbakan	1972 – 80	Military coup
<b>Refah Partisi (RP) Welfare Party</b>	Ahmet Tekdal	1983-87	
<b>Refah Partisi (RP) Welfare Party</b>	Necmettin Erbakan	1987-97	Constitutional Court
<b>Fazilet Partisi (FP) Virtue Party</b>	Recai Kutan	1997 – 2001	Constitutional Court

<sup>214</sup> Yavuz, *Secularism and Muslim Democracy in Turkey*, p. 49.

<sup>215</sup> Binnaz Toprak, "The State, Politics and Religion in Turkey," in *State, Democracy, and the Military: Turkey in the 1980s*, ed. Ahmet Evin Metin Heper (Walter de Gruyter, 1988), p. 123.

<b>Saadet Partisi</b> (SP)Felicity Party	Recai Kutan	1997 – 2001	
<b>Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP)</b>	Recep Tayyip Erdoğan	2001 – present	

The leader of the party, Necmettin Erbakan, escaped to Switzerland and stayed there until 1972.<sup>216</sup> First victory of the Milli Görüş was 1973 election when MSP gained 11.8% of votes and was granted 48 seats in the Turkish Grand Assembly. MSP made its mark on Turkish politics by participating in a number of coalition governments in the highly unstable political environment of the mid and late 1970s.<sup>217</sup> Once again in 1980 democracy joggled by another *coup d'état*. The economic decline in the 1970s which caused the polarization among the society like; Right- left, Islamic vs. secularist, Kurd vs. Turk, and Alevi vs. Sunni featured as the leading reason behind the 1980 *coup d'état*. As a consequence Turkish civic politics *de novo* entered under the influence of military regime and MSP National Salvation Party together with other political parties was banned from political activities.

In 1980, the Turkish military sought to restructure the political landscape by introducing a Turkish–Islamic synthesis as a new national glue to combat or pacify divisive ethnic and religious forces.<sup>218</sup> Anavatan Parti (Motherland Party) of Turgut Özal was incarnated form of Turkish – Islamic synthesis. Turgut Özal as the founder of Anavatan Partisi(Motherland Party) claimed that his party

<sup>216</sup> Hakan Yavuz, "Political Islam and the Welfare (Refah) Party in Turkey," *Comparative Politics* 30, no. 1 (1997): p. 66.

<sup>217</sup> Ziya Öniş, "The Political Economy of Islamic Resurgence in Turkey: The Rise of the Welfare Party in Perspective," *Third World Quarterly* 18, no. 4 (1997): p. 750.

<sup>218</sup> Yavuz, *Secularism and Muslim Democracy in Turkey*, p. 50.

neither Left nor Right, but represented all the political tendencies in existence before 1980 coup.<sup>219</sup>

Third round of multi-party system was started with the rise of new actors in Turkish politics. Özal was the winner of 83 elections and he also received the support of Nurcu<sup>220</sup> movement and Gülen<sup>221</sup> Movement.<sup>222</sup> Together with Turgut Özal Turkey entered a new era with a new concepts and ideologies. According to Ziya Öniş, Turgut Özal was a critical figure in Turkey's transition to a neo-liberal development model in the 1980s.<sup>223</sup> During 80s other political parties left in the shadow of ANAP.

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<sup>219</sup> Ahmad, *Turkey: The Quest for Identity*, p. 153.

<sup>220</sup> **The Nur Movement** (Nurçuluk) is a Turkish Islamic movement inspired by a modern reinterpretation of the Quran in the volumes *Risale-i Nur* (Epistle of light). The risales (epistles) of the leader of the movement, Bediuzzaman Said Nursi (1876–1960), were first published in 1926. The Nur is not a sect but a social movement mainly because it does not have a formal structure and procedures for membership. Like a school, Nur has students. The followers of Nur constitute an Islamic community movement that can be seen as a set of effective personal networks. See, Mohammad Faghfoory, "Nur Movement," in *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World: M-Z*, ed. Martin Richard (Macmillan, 2004), p. 546.

<sup>221</sup> **Fethullah Gülen** is the founder of Gülen movement, the largest and most effective group that emerged out of Nur. Beginning in the early 1990s, it became organized and institutionalized not only in Turkey but also internationally, particularly in the new states of Central Asia. Although the Gülen movement inherited the nationalist and modernist orientation of Nur, it deviated from its forefathers by the engagements with the secular state, and its expansion to the international realm. See, *ibid.*, p. 547.

<sup>222</sup> Elisabeth Özdalga, "Transformation of Sufi-Based Communities in Modern Turkey: The Naksibendis, the Nurcus, and the Gülen Community " in *Turkey's Engagement with Modernity: Conflict and Change in the Twentieth Century*, ed. K. Oktem, C.J. Kerslake, and P. Robins (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 84.

<sup>223</sup> Ziya Öniş, "Political Islam at the Crossroads: From Hegemony to Co-Existence," *Contemporary Politics* 7, no. 4 (2001): p. 285.

Necmettin Erbakan founded the Welfare Party (WP, Refah Partisi)<sup>224</sup> in 1983. During 70s and 80s the voter base of National Outlook Movement represented by small independent businessmen, merchants and craftsmen who felt threatened by industrialization and in general *MGH* received its main support from underdeveloped eastern and central Anatolian provinces and did not do well in the cities. However with the municipal elections in 1994, Refah won 28 municipalities including the mayor's seats in both Istanbul and Ankara by getting more than 25 percent of the vote in Istanbul and more than 21 percent in Ankara. In 90s WP's voter base included the urban poor living at the margins of cities, particularly small shopkeepers and urban migrants, many of whom had previously voted for the center-left social democrats.<sup>225</sup> Refah's success continued in the parliamentary elections of December 1995. The Islamist party of Erbakan polled 17.7 percent in of votes in secular Turkey<sup>226</sup> from which the party emerged with the highest percentage of votes and he became the prime minister<sup>227</sup> for the first two years of the coalition government with True Path Party<sup>228</sup> (Doğru Yol Partisi) in 1996 but coalition government lasted only 11

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<sup>224</sup> For more information on Refah ideologies see: Haldun Gülalp, "Globalization and Political Islam: The Social Bases of Turkey's Welfare Party," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 33, no. 3 (2001), Haldun Gülalp, "Political Islam in Turkey: The Rise and Fall of the Refah Party," *The Muslim World* 89, no. 1 (1999), Öniş, "The Political Economy of Islamic Resurgence in Turkey: The Rise of the Welfare Party in Perspective.", Yavuz, "Political Islam and the Welfare (Refah) Party in Turkey."

<sup>225</sup> Jenny White, *Islam and Politics in Contemporary Turkey*, ed. Reşat Kasaba, 4 vols., vol. 4, *Turkey in the Modern World* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 336.

<sup>226</sup> Yavuz, "Political Islam and the Welfare (Refah) Party in Turkey," p. 30.

<sup>227</sup> Binnaz Toprak, "Islam and Democracy in Turkey," *Turkish Studies* 6, no. 2 (2005): p. 172.

months. Necmettin Erbakan was the Turkey's first Islamist prime minister in 73 years of Republican history.

Erbakan came up with the significant changes both in internal and external politics. During their first six months in power, he and his principal foreign-policy staff have travelled only to Islamic countries.<sup>229</sup> He allowed female bureaucrats to wear headscarves in the office and agreed on adjustment of working-hours during Ramadan, the holy month of fasting<sup>230</sup> the plans to build a mosque right at the city center in Istanbul at Taksim Square.<sup>231</sup> According to Erbakan, modern Turkish history consist “Westernization” of traditional values and lifestyle. To change the secular structure of the state WP offers a new structure that would be based on “different law for different religious communities.” The justification for this was found in an ancient document that Prophet Muhammad had drafted in Medina. The new structure was similar to the millet system of the Ottomans, and it comes to mean ‘autonomy of each religious group to practice its own law’. This, in effect would mean that those who called themselves Muslims would be subject to the shari’a.<sup>232</sup> On the other hand as Sakallioğlu explains, there was no mention of

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<sup>228</sup> The True Path Party (Turkish: Doğru Yol Partisi) abbreviated to DYP is an old center-right political party established by Süleyman Demirel in 1983. The True Path Party was a successor of the Democratic Party of Adnan Menderes which closed by military coup.

<sup>229</sup> Philip Robins, "Turkish Foreign Policy under Erbakan," *Survival* 39, no. 2 (1997): p. 88.

<sup>230</sup> Dietrich Jung and Wolfango Piccoli, *Turkey at the Crossroads: Ottoman Legacies and a Greater Middle East* (Zed Books, 2001), p. 119.

<sup>231</sup> Öniş, "Political Islam at the Crossroads: From Hegemony to Co-Existence," 286.

<sup>232</sup> Toprak, "Islam and Democracy in Turkey," p. 182.

the "just economic order" or of the intention "to blow away the imperialist-Zionist system".<sup>233</sup> This evidence exposed the multifaceted character of Refah.

White claims that as prime minister, Erbakan tried to implement some of his ideas about reorienting Turkey towards the Muslim world.<sup>234</sup> The Refahyol<sup>235</sup> coalition government between pro-Islamist Necmettin Erbakan and Europhile Tansu Çiller was interrupted by the 'soft coup' of Kemalist army on 28 February 1997. By all manners, the government remained the power until Erbakan's resignation in June 1997. This military intervention which titled in different names as; 'soft coup', 'postmodern coup' or 'virtual coup' mostly realized through the media, as befits the postmodern times. Soon after the 28 February coup<sup>236</sup>, in 1998 the Welfare Party was closed for violating the principle of secularism in the constitution<sup>237</sup> and has been replaced by the Virtue (Fazilet) Party. Also senior officials of Refah were banned from politics for five years along with Necmettin Erbakan.

There is a natural tendency to view Fazilet as Refah's successor. Even though the Virtue Party attempted to project a moderate image with its new emphasis on the extension of democratic rights and closer relations with the EU,

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<sup>233</sup> Ümit Cizre Sakallioğlu, "Parameters and Strategies of Islam-State Interaction in Republican Turkey," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 28, no. 2 (1996): p. 237.

<sup>234</sup> White, *Islam and Politics in Contemporary Turkey*, p. 367.

<sup>235</sup> **Refahyol** is the name of the 54<sup>th</sup> government of Turkey from 28 June 1996 to 30 June 1997. It was a coalition government formed by Welfare Party (Refah Party, RP) and True Path Party (Doğru Yol Party, DYP), and was known as Refahyol (aportmanteau of the Turkish names of the two parties in the coalition).

<sup>236</sup> For more information on 28 February see: Fulya Atacan, "28 Şubat 1997: Türk-İslam Sentezi'nin Sonu," in *Mübeccel Kıray İçin Yazılar*, ed. Fulya Atacan, et al. (Bağlam Yayınları, 2000).

<sup>237</sup> Chris Morris, "Despatches", *BBC News*, 16 January 1998.

suspicious concerning the hidden agenda of the FP kept its actuality in the eyes of general public. These skeptic ideas were compounded by the series of events that occurred during the opening ceremonies of the new parliament in the aftermath of the 1999 elections.<sup>238</sup> Merve Kavakçı<sup>239</sup> from the FP insisted on wearing a headscarf in parliament and was enforced to leave the session under the protests of opposition deputies. Kemalist- secular elites and army interpreted the headscarf issue as a usage of religious symbols like a political instrument and an incident against laicism. Therefore The FP was closed down by the Constitutional Court, in June 2001 under the allegation of being the successor of Welfare Party. One again, another political party of National Vision Movement was closed by Turkish Constitutional Court.

### 3. Muslim Secularists: Ideological Transformation of AKP from Political Islam to Conservative Democracy

#### 3.1. The Rise of AKP: A “Moderate Party”

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<sup>238</sup> Öniş, "Political Islam at the Crossroads: From Hegemony to Co-Existence," p. 292.

<sup>239</sup> **Merve Kavakçı** is a Turkish politician who was elected as a Virtue Party deputy for Istanbul in 1999. When the headscarved Merve Kavakçı came to Parliament, she created a huge debate on headscarf issue in Turkey. Merve Kavakçı lost her seat in the Parliament in March 2001.

The “28 February process” was a turning point for both *Milli Görüş* Movement and Turkish politics. It marked the abandonment of the Turkish-Islamic synthesis which was used as the ‘national glue’ after 1980. In addition, *Irtica*<sup>240</sup> together with Kurdish separatism was singled out as one of the main threats to Turkish security.<sup>241</sup> It should be noted that ongoing struggle between secular elites and Islamists is like a vicious circle in Turkish politics. Islamist movements always seem as the real threat to secular Turkey. The new generations of *Milli Görüş* was aware of the fact that only way the Islamists could succeed was by avoiding a direct confrontation with the secularists and deemphasizing the religious agenda.<sup>242</sup> The internal problems and conflicts inside the *Milli Görüş* became apparent especially after the establishment of Virtue Party under Recai Kutan<sup>243</sup> leadership. The dimidiation externalized with foundation of the Innovators Group (*Yenilikçiler*), which defended democracy, respect for human rights, and pluralism versus the Orthodox Group (*Gelenekçiler*). Innovators nominated a candidate, Abdullah Gül<sup>244</sup>, during the

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<sup>240</sup> **Irtica** is a Turkish word to explain “*reactionary*”. In Turkey the word *irtica* can also be adjective describing religious viewpoints that favor a return Turkish Republic to an Islamic state.

<sup>241</sup> Angel Rabasa and Stephen Larrabee, *The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey* (RAND, 2008), p. 44.

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>243</sup> Recai Kutan is a Turkish politician and the former leader of Felicity Party. He was accepted as the Erbakan’s shadow.

<sup>244</sup> **Abdullah Gül** was born in Kayseri on October 29, 1950. He was elected from Kayseri as a Member of the Turkish Grand National Assembly for five consecutive terms from 1991 to 2007. He became Prime Minister and formed the 58th Government on November 18, 2002. He was served as Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister in the 59<sup>th</sup> Government from 2003 to 2007. Abdullah Gül was elected by TBMM as the 11<sup>th</sup> President of the Republic of Turkey on August 28, 2007. For more information on Abdullah Gül see; Biography of Abdullah Gül, <http://www.tccb.gov.tr/pages/president/biography/>



party congress to run against the candidate of the old cadre, Recai Kutan, Erbakan's proxy.<sup>245</sup> Abdullah Gül lost the elections against Recai Kutan but he won half of the delegates' votes. This result encouraged the Innovator Group to form another political party led by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan which became AKP on 14 August 2001. Under the circumstances, it is seen that most of the founders and members of the AKP came from the Milli Görüş tradition which is the source of political Islam in Turkey. On the other hand, it must be noted that even their roots came from the most important Islamism movement of Modern Turkey; AKP always keeps its secular line with a strong stress on conservative way of life.

AKP entered the presidential elections in 2002 as a young political party and received almost 35 percent of votes. But Erdoğan was unable to become prime minister because he was banned from holding political office<sup>246</sup> due to the poem that he read on 6 December 1997 in Siirt. However Erdoğan claimed that the author is Ziya Gökalp<sup>247</sup>, he was sentenced to 10 months in jail<sup>248</sup>, but he was freed after four. The poem was like that:

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<sup>245</sup> Sebnem Gümüşcü and Deniz Sert, "The Power of the Devout Bourgeoisie: The Case of the Justice and Development Party in Turkey," *Middle Eastern Studies* 45, no. 6 (2009): p. 954.

<sup>246</sup> Turkey's Charismatic Pro-Islamic Leader, *BBC News*, 4.November.2002

<sup>247</sup> **Ziya Gökalp** was a Turkish writer, a poet and political activist who advocated the imposition of the Turkish language and culture on Ottoman Empire. He advocated a Turkification of the Ottoman Empire. His ideas resurgent interest in Pan-Turkism and Turanism and his thoughts has been describes as a "cult of nationalism and modernization". See: Edward J. Erickson, *Ordered to Die: A History of the Ottoman Army in the First World War* (Greenwood Press, 2001), p. 97.

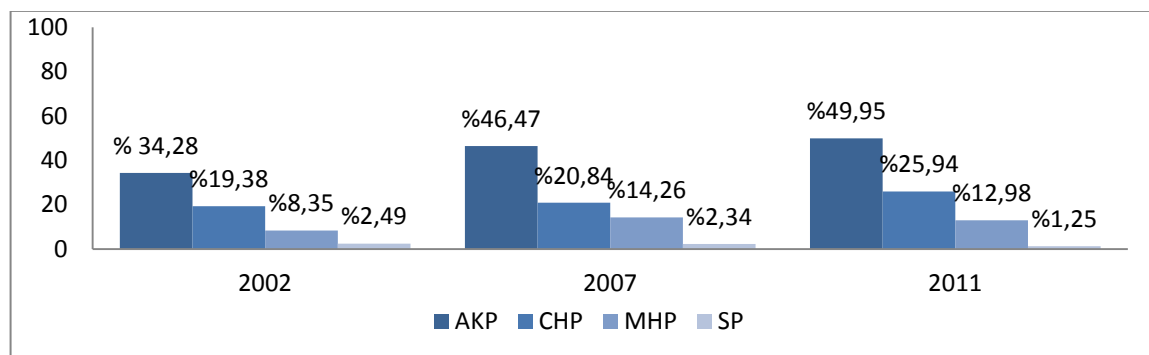
<sup>248</sup> "Erdogan'a 10 Ay Hapis," *Milliyet*, 22. April. 1998.

“The mosques are our barracks, the domes our helmets, the minarets our bayonets and the faithful our soldiers...”

58<sup>th</sup> Government<sup>249</sup> of Republic of Turkey was formed under the leadership of Abdullah Gül and held the power from November 18, 2002 since March 14, 2003. The political ban of Tayyip Erdoğan was removed in 2002, after he was elected as a deputy with an interim elections held in Siirt. Soon After 59<sup>th</sup> Government formed under the leadership of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan on 14 March 2003, thence he became the new Prime Minister of Turkey. From 2002 to 2011 Justice and Development Party constantly increased its vote proportion from 34 % to 50% .

It was a remarkable success history at Turkish political life. Since the general election in 1950 it was the first time that a ruling party increased its vote percentage up to 50 percent of general poll.

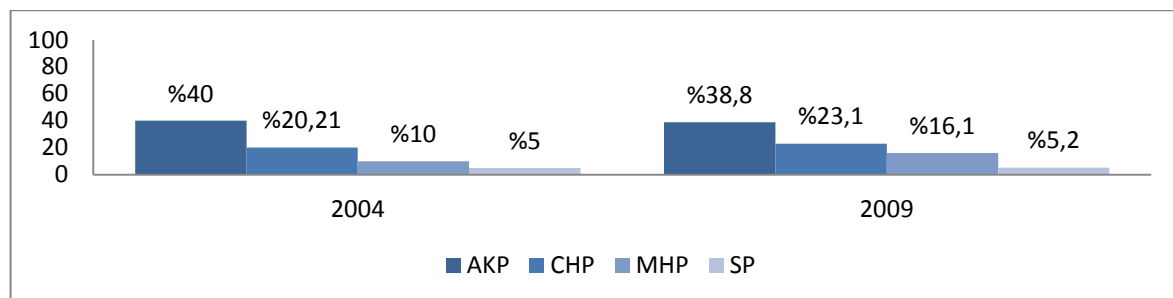
**Graphic 1: Results of General Elections 2002, 2007 and 2009**



Source: [www.akparti.org.tr](http://www.akparti.org.tr)

<sup>249</sup> For more information on 58<sup>th</sup> Government see: “Abdullah Gül government, 58<sup>th</sup> government program,” 2002, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/ambar/HP58.htm>.

**Graphic 2: Results of Local Elections 2004 and 2009**



Source: [www.akparti.org.tr](http://www.akparti.org.tr)

### 3.2. Ideology and Identity of AKP

Between 1991 and 2002 Turkey was ruled by 9 different coalition governments.<sup>250</sup> The absence of strong political authorities, ongoing struggle between secular and Islamists elites<sup>251</sup>, Kurdish separation movements<sup>252</sup>, strong

<sup>250</sup> 20. October.1991/16.May.1993, Doğru Yol Partisi (The True Path Party, DYP) and Demokrat Halkçı Parti (The Social Democratic Populist Party, SHP). 16. May.1993/05.October 1995, DYP and SHP. 05.October.1995/30.October.1995, DYP and Minority Government. 30.October.1995/06.March 1996, DYP and Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (The Republican People's Party, CHP). 6.March.1996/28.June.1996, Anavatan Partisi (The Motherland Party, ANAP) and DYP. 28.June.1996/30.June.1997, Refah Partisi (The Welfare Party, RP) and DYP. 30.June 1997/11.January.1999, ANAP, Demokratik Sol Partisi ( Democratic Left Party, DSP) and Demokrat Türkiye Partisi( Democratic Turkey Party, DTP). 11.January.1999/28.May.1999, DSP and Minority Government. 28.May.1999/18.October.2002, DSP, Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (The Nationalist Action Party, MHP) and ANAP.

<sup>251</sup> During 90s one of the main problems of Turkish internal politics was the ongoing struggle between secularist and islamists. Especially the Turkish Army stands as the guardian of the laic Turkey and had the power to intervene the politics. The 28 February Post-Modern Coup Process is the outcome this power. During Feb.28 process The National Security Council (MGK) reconstructed the internal balance of the country.

economic crisis<sup>253</sup>, corruption<sup>254</sup> and the violation of human right<sup>255</sup> was the headlines of Turkish political life during 90s. AKP government was the first single-party government after those turbulent years. The main reason behind the success of AKP may be resumes as follow: Since the establishment of Republic, Turkey was dominated by the old political cadres. Especially after the death of Turgut Özal, political life was full of deadlocks. At the same time, polls realized that the coalition governments were not good at managing the crisis in every

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<sup>252</sup> From 1991 the existence of co-called safe havens in Iraqi Kurdistan-established following the Persian Gulf-War (1990-91) and protected by U.S and the British forces-provided new bases for PFF operations. By 1993 the total number of security forces involved in the struggle in southeastern Turkey was about 200,000, and the conflict had become the largest civil war in the Middle East. For more information on the PKK in 90s see: Encyclopedia Britanica, Turkey, The Kurdish Conflict, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/609790/Turkey/275734/Political-developments-1970s-to-the-90s>

<sup>253</sup> Between 1994 and 2001 Turkey was shaken by two powerful financial and economic crises. The first one occurred In April 1994.This crisis deteriorated the real sector. After 1994, Turkish Lira was undervalued. On April 5, 1994 the government announced a stabilization program. The second one occurred in 2001 also known as Black Wednesday. See; Murat Özturk and Osman Nuri Aras, "Foreign Capital Investments and Economic Crises in Turkey," *International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanity Studies* 3, no. 1 (2011).

<sup>254</sup> In the late 1990s the Susurluk Scandal that began after a traffic accident, revealed the unveiling relation between; a member of Parliament who held a powerful Kurdish clan, the deputy chief of Istanbul Police Department and a fugitive rightist militant.

<sup>255</sup> On July 2, 1993 o a group of Islamist fundamentalist surrounded The Madımak Hotel in Sivas in which many intellectuals were staying for the Pir Sultan Abdal Festival. The visible reason of the demonstrations was to protest novelist, Aziz Nesin, who translated and published Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses* and who criticized Islam. Soon after the violent and fundamentalist crowd set fire to the Madımak Hotel. Nesin was saved by security forces, but 37 other intellectuals and participants of the festival, who stayed inside the hotel, were killed. Security forces and officials were criticized for not stopping the massacre. And also the other remarkable violations of human rights in 90s were undefined murders of politicians, writers, diplomats and academicians.

aspect of political and economic life. AKP as a new born political party with a new political formation was like a new breath in Turkish political life and they turned out to be hope for Turkish society. According to Özbudun “analyses of the voter base of the AKP demonstrated that the party is not a direct descendant of any of the older parties; nor do the party leaders claim such lineage”.<sup>256</sup>

On every occasion, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan repetitively reject any continuity with the 'national outlook' parties, including both its ethno-nationalist and Islamist views and describes AKP as a 'conservative democratic' party<sup>257</sup> and himself as a “Conservative Democrat”<sup>258</sup>. In his popular discourse he said that “we have took off our Milli Görüş shirt”<sup>259</sup> indicating the new orientation of AKP.

Despite the harsh critics of Erbakan who considered the west as “Christian Club” and in his way of thinking, “the West is a monolithic entity which is anti-Islam, pro-Zionist, and imperialist.”<sup>260</sup> AKPs’ party program<sup>261</sup> supports secularism and western ideas more than any the former Islamist parties

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<sup>256</sup> Ergün Özbudun, "From Political Islam to Conservative Democracy: The Case of the Justice and Development Party in Turkey," *South European Society and Politics* 11, no. 3-4 (2006): p. 546.

<sup>257</sup> William Hale and Ergun Ozbudun, *Islamism, Democracy and Liberalism in Turkey: The Case of the Akp* (Taylor & Francis, 2009), p. 20.

<sup>258</sup> "Muhafazakar Demokratim," *Yeni Şafak*. 01. July. 2001.

<sup>259</sup> Fatma Sibel Yüksek, "Akp'nin Yeni Zarfi," *Radikal* 26.12.2003.

<sup>260</sup> Zeyneb Çağlıyan İçener, "The Justice and Development Party's Conception of “Conservative Democracy”: Invention or Reinterpretation?," *Turkish Studies* 10, no. 4 (2009): p. 601.

<sup>261</sup> For more information on Party Programme of AKP see <http://www.akparti.org.tr/site/akparti/parti-programi>

did.<sup>262</sup> Also In the public discourse, there is a strong stress on democracy, respect for human rights, and the rule of law. At the same time Recep Tayyip Erdogan declared that Islam would not even be a "point of reference" for the new party, and his party supported a "conservative democracy," which incorporated pluralism and tolerance. In his words:

"While attaching importance to religion as a social value, we do not think it right to conduct politics through religion [or] to attempt to transform government ideologically by using religion ... Religion is a sacred and collective value ... It should not be made a subject of political partisanship causing divisiveness."<sup>263</sup>

Yalçın Akdoğan, who is an academician and political adviser of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, wrote a manifesto in order to provide a semi-official definition for AKPs' modern conservative political theory called as Conservative Democracy.<sup>264</sup> Akdoğan says that "AKP is not trying to generate and duplicate problematic past applications of conservatism; rather it seeks to reshape the concept of conservatism within the sociocultural structure of Turkey".<sup>265</sup> In his book he argued that modern conservatism is almost inseparable from liberalism in its opposition to socialism and defense of the free market<sup>266</sup> but also the restoration of authority in the social field.<sup>267</sup> According

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<sup>262</sup> Özbudun, "From Political Islam to Conservative Democracy: The Case of the Justice and Development Party in Turkey," p. 548.

<sup>263</sup> William Hale, "Christian Democracy and the Akp: Parallels and Contrasts," *Turkish Studies* 6, no. 2 (2005): p. 294.

<sup>264</sup> See, Yalçın Akdoğan, *Ak Parti ve Muhafazakâr Demokrasi* (Alfa, 2004).

<sup>265</sup> Yalçın Akdoğan, "The Meaning of Conservative Democratic Political Identity," in *The Emergence of a New Turkey: Democracy and Ak Parti*, ed. M. Hakan Yavuz (University of Utah Press, 2006), p. 55.

<sup>266</sup> Ibid., p. 38.

<sup>267</sup> Ibid., p. 54.

to Bekir Beraat Özipek, the definition of conservatism that AKP uses, based on the values which are important for society like family, traditions, religion and its institutions. Furthermore AKP conservatism generally rejects right or left wing political projects and defends moderate and gradual change in politics.<sup>268</sup>

Many scholars and columnist interpreted AKP's success as a historic victory of "periphery" over "center."<sup>269</sup> In this context, the periphery is the cultural and political territory of the oppressed and marginalized majority, simply the site of (civil) society, while the center is the place of the state, the power of which is at the hand of a secular military-civil bureaucracy (sometimes shared with the state-created bourgeoisie). Akdoğan indicates that "in the AKP's view, it is more important to bring the demands of the periphery to the center than to be considering as "center" party. The electorate includes various ideological tendencies as; the center-right, ultra nationalist and Islamist also some liberals.<sup>270</sup> Ali Yaşar Sarıbey, a Turkish political scientist describes identity of AKP as "Islamic in name, liberal in action, democrat in attitude and western in path".<sup>271</sup> Also other scholars critics or describes AKP in different manners like "Muslim democrat,"<sup>272</sup> "pro-Islamist,"<sup>273</sup> and "neo-Islamist"<sup>274</sup>,

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<sup>268</sup> Bekir Berat Özipek, "Muhafazakarlık Nedir?," *Köprü Dergisi* 97 (2007): p. 200.

<sup>269</sup> For more information on Turkey's periphery and center relations see :Şerif Mardin, "Center-Periphery Relations: A Key to Turkish Politics?," *Post-Traditional Societies* 102, no. 1 (1973).

<sup>270</sup> Ergun Ozbudun, *Türk Siyasal Hayatı* (Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006), p. 16.

<sup>271</sup> Ali Yaşar Sarıbey, "Akp Kimliksizlige Mahkum," *Gazete Vatan* 15.October.2003.

<sup>272</sup> See, Gareth Jenkins, "Muslim Democrats in Turkey?," *Survival* 45, no. 1 (2003), Sultan Tepe, "Turkey's Akp: A Model "Muslim-Democratic" Party?," *Journal of Democracy* 16, no. 3 (2005).

"Moderate Islamic Party"<sup>275</sup>, even some of considers its policies as "Islamofascist."<sup>276</sup>

When we look at the historical process of democratization, in Modern Turkey, two powerful center-right politicians came up Adnan Menderes who marked the beginning of a multi-party system and Turgut Özal, who could barely break the deep-rooted statism policy with January 24, decisions<sup>277 278</sup>. Recep Tayyip Erdogan consider AKP as Turkey's "new center-right party", admittedly after 22 July elections in 2007, AKP was registered as so.<sup>279280</sup>

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<sup>273</sup> See, Meltem Müftüler-Baç, "The New Face of Turkey: The Domestic and Foreign Policy Implications of November 2002 Elections,," *East European Quarterly* 37, no. 4.

<sup>274</sup> See, Soner Çagaptay, "Is Turkey Still a Western Ally?," *Wall Street Journal Europe* 22 January 2009.

<sup>275</sup> See, Murat Somer, "Moderate Islam and Secularist Opposition in Turkey: Implications for the World, Muslims and Secular Democracy," *Third World Quarterly* 28, no. 7 (2007).

<sup>276</sup> See, Frank Gaffney, "No to Islamist Turkey,," *The Washington Times* 27 September 2005.

<sup>277</sup> Decisions made on Jan. 24, 1980 marked Turkey's shift from "mixed capitalism" to "free market economy". Turkey tapped into neo-liberal economic policies. See; Gökhan Kurtaran, "Economists Discuss Milestone of Turkey's Market Economy," *Hurriyet Daily News* 25.January.2011.

<sup>278</sup> Alper Gürkan, "Adalet Ve Kalkınma Partisi'nin Muhafazakâr Demokrat Kimliğinin Oluşumunda Sosyal Politikanın Etkileri," *Opus* 1 (2011): 2.

<sup>279</sup> Mehmet Bekaroğlu, "Merkez sağ tamam, ya sol? ", *Radikal*,05.August.2007.



## 4. The Conceptualization of “New” and Emerging Concepts in Turkish Foreign Policy

The objective of the section is conceptualizing the new rhetoric and practice of Turkish foreign policy. Especially, this section based on the effect of Ahmet Davutoğlu who is the chief advisor of Recep Tayyip Erdogan on foreign policy since 2003 and Turkey’s foreign minister since 1 May 2009.

### 4.1. The Change in Turkey’s Foreign Policy Vision.

In general terms Turkish foreign policy until the end of cold war, based on two main pillars, Kemalism and status quo principles. Especially, by virtue of Kemalism, Turkey neglected Islam world and pursued an exclusively Western path.<sup>281</sup> By the post-cold war era, the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the crisis in the Balkans and Caucasus transformed the neighborhood region even more chaotic and instable but Turkey maintained its stability amid the chaos that affected many of its neighborhoods.<sup>282</sup>

Under Turgut Özal’s guidance, policy of non-interference in inter-Arab relations was replaced with proactive policies. Moreover during and after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, Turkey actively took a side within the US bloc. Sedat

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<sup>281</sup> Ömer Taşpınar, "Turkey’s Middle East Policies between Neo-Ottomanism and Kemalism," *Carnegie Endowment For International Peace* 10 (2008): p. 2.

<sup>282</sup> Ahmet Davutoğlu, "Turkey’s Foreign Policy Vision: An Assessment of 2007," *Insight Turkey* 8, no. 2 (2007): p. 77.

Laçiner, a Middle East specialist said that “the Gulf War showed the clear difference between the Republican-Kemalist foreign policy and Özalist foreign policy.”<sup>283</sup> Özal and his intellectual group known as neo-Ottomanists (Yeni Osmanlılar) advocated that Turkey needs pursue an active and diversified foreign policy in Middle East region because of its historical heritage. According to M. Ataman “Neo-Ottomans argued that Turkey should be a Euro-Asian (Avrasya) power, not a European state isolated from the East”.<sup>284</sup> In sum, Turgut Özal aimed to transform the position of Turkey in Middle East. Özalism as an ideology which based on civic, democrat, and liberal state reconciled with all religious and ethnic minorities of modern Turkey, aimed to create a new understanding of Turkish foreign policy Therefore, we can say that Özalism is the guidebook of AKP foreign policy activism. From this point of view, AKP’s pro-western, neo-ottomanist, multi-dimensional public diplomacy was herit from Özal vision of governing.

On the other hand foreign policy vision of National outlook parties was apparently different from Özal’s and AKP’s foreign policy concepts. Erbakan was an anti-American, anti-European and anti-Zionist political leader of *Milli Görüş Movement*. The foreign policy understanding of Milli Görüş generally based on the relations with Muslim countries. Developing Eight (D-8)<sup>285</sup> trade

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<sup>283</sup> Sedat Laçiner, "Turgut Özal Period in Turkish Foreign Policy: Özalism," *USAK Yearbook of International Politics and Law* 2 (2009): p.153.

<sup>284</sup> Muhittin Ataman, "Leadership Change: Özal Leadership and Restructuring in Turkish Foreign Policy," *Turkish Journal of International Relations* 1, no. 1 (2002): p. 134.

<sup>285</sup> **The Developing 8 (D-8) Group** comprises eight countries; Egypt, Turkey, Iran, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Nigeria .This group was established at the presidential meeting held in Istanbul, Turkey, in 1997 with the aim of fostering cooperation and reinforcing economic relations among the eight developing countries. See, Ministry of Trade Agreements Sector.

agreement which was an economic union project started by Necmettin Erbakan among eight Muslim nations like Turkey, Iran, Indonesia, Malaysia, Egypt, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Nigeria was an active example of his foreign policy itinerary. The other clear example of Erbakan's Muslim-oriented foreign policy came with his visit to the US as the guest of the American Muslim Council in October 1994.<sup>286</sup> During his speech he was talking about creating a 'new Muslim world order' like an Islamic NATO with a common Islamic currency and an Islamic Common Market.<sup>287</sup> On the contrary AKP identifies its political identity as pro-western conservative political party. Although AKP actively participate in decision making process of inter-Arab conflicts, the party pursue a multidimensional foreign policy. In other words, close relations with E.U, cooperation with U.S.A, friendly relationship with Russian federation, Middle Asia, Caucuses and Turkic Republics, efforts towards the achievement of peace in Middle East are the missions of AKP's foreign policy.<sup>288</sup> As it is seems in the party program, election manifestos and government agenda of AKP from 2002 until the last elections in 2011, the main goal is to make Turkey a regional power and global actor in international political economic and security relations.<sup>289</sup>

In almost all the official documents, there is a strong stress on the importance of geopolitical location of Turkey and historical ties that Turkey has

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<sup>286</sup> Robins, "Turkish Foreign Policy under Erbakan," 89. Robins, *Suits and Uniforms: Turkish Foreign Policy since the Cold War*, p. 154.

<sup>287</sup> *Turkish Daily News*, 21.October .1994.

<sup>288</sup> Party Program of Justice and Development Party, (source: [www.akp.org.tr](http://www.akp.org.tr), <<http://eng.akparti.org.tr/english/partyprogramme.html#6>>, 15.April 2012).

<sup>289</sup> 61th gouvernement Programme. See :  
<http://www.basbakanlik.gov.tr/Forms/pgGovProgramme.aspx>

got with her neighborhoods. However, E.U process occupies the uppermost of the list in Turkey’s foreign policy agenda, the process is quietly becoming domestic political affair rather than diplomatic effort. Naturally, Turkey redefined its foreign policy priorities for to fulfill the need of the dynamic environment that surrounded the country. Currently Turkish diplomatic issues are mostly about Middle East, U.S, and Russia.

Therefore AKP government adopted pragmatic foreign policy proper with the history and geographic location of Turkey. The equilibrium between the realities and national interest is at the top of the foreign policy agenda. Under Erdoğan leadership and Ahmet Davutoğlu’s guidance, Turkey liberated from prejudices towards neighborhood region. The “new” orientation of foreign policy based on mutual communication and regional collaboration seems as skeptical, but it provided economic development.

Particularly, for to understand new orientation Turkish foreign policy Ahmet Davultoglu’s effect his Strategic Depth theory needs to be examine profoundly. Because after the first government period, the foreign policy section of party program, election manifestos and government program, generally based on Strategic Depth theory. As Grigoriadis accentuated “Turkey’s foreign policy under the AKP administration has been associated with the name of Davutoğlu”.<sup>290</sup>

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<sup>290</sup> Ioannis Grigoriadis, "The Davutoğlu Doctrine and Turkish Foreign Policy," *Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy* 8 (2010): p. 3.

## 4.1.2. Davutoğlu Doctrine and Basic Principles of Turkish Foreign Policy after 2002

Since 2002, Professor Ahmet Davutoğlu is the backbone of foreign policy activism of AKP governments. He started as the chief of foreign policy advisor to Prime Minister after in 2003 he was granted a title of Ambassador.<sup>291</sup> On 1<sup>st</sup> of May 2009, he was named Minister of Foreign Affairs of 60<sup>th</sup> government of Republic of Turkey.

Ahmet Davutoğlu is a valuable scholar, his academic background<sup>292</sup> provided him deep understanding both in domestic and external relations of Turkey. He is Turkish political scientist, globally recognized diplomat and expert in international relations, history of political thought and political philosophy.<sup>293</sup> His book *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu* (Strategic Depth: Turkey's International Position)<sup>294</sup>, his academic works, The

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<sup>291</sup> See: Resmi Gazete  
<http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2003/01/20030118.htm#13>

<sup>292</sup> **Ahmet Davutloğlu:** He graduated from Boğaziçi University (Turkey) with a double major in Political Science and Economics. He completed his MA (Department of Public Administration) and PhD studies (Department of Political Sciences and International Relations) at the same university. In 1990 he became an Assistant Professor at the International Islamic University of Malaysia. Between 1995 and 1999 he has worked at Marmara University (Turkey) at the Institute for Middle Eastern Studies. He became full professor in 1999. Between 1998 and 2002 he was a visiting lecturer at the Military Academy and the War Academy. He worked at Beykent University in Istanbul as a professor from 1995 to 2004, as Head of the Department of International Relations. Ahmet Davutoğlu, (source: [www.mfa.gov.tr](http://www.mfa.gov.tr), <<http://www.mfa.gov.tr/ahmet-davutoglu.en.mfa>>, January 2011)

<sup>293</sup> Ali Pajaziti, "Davutoğlu: Thinking Depth and Global Political Activism as New Grand Strategy," *Contemporary Issues* 5, no. 1 (2012): p. 45.

<sup>294</sup> See, Ahmet Davutoğlu, *Stratejik Derinlik; Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu* (Istanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2001).

Clash Of Interests: An Explanation Of The World (Dis)Order and Self-perception of Civilizations<sup>295</sup>, The Global Crisis and Civilizational Transformation and the Muslim World<sup>296</sup> can be accepted as the theoretical framework and also a guidebook for the foreign policy understanding of the AKP.

Ahmet Davutoğlu, conceptualized Turkey's foreign policy in creative ways using concepts as , strategic depth, zero problems with neighbors, balance between security and democracy, proactive diplomacy, multi-dimensional foreign policy, rhythmic diplomacy, safety for everyone, liberty security balance .<sup>297</sup> According to Bülent Aras, Davutoğlu largely changed the rhetoric and practice of Turkish foreign policy, bringing to it a dynamic and multi-dimensional orientation".<sup>298</sup> In conclusion, Turkey's foreign policy under the AKP rule, has been oriented by Davutoğlu's vision. To understand foreign policy activism of AKP governments, the new concepts in Turkish foreign policy making needs to be properly examine.

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<sup>295</sup> See, Ahmet Davutoğlu, "The Clash of Interests: An Explanation of the World (Dis)Order and Self-Perception of Civilizations," *Perceptions:Journal Of International Affairs* 2, no. 4 (1997).

<sup>296</sup> See, Ahmet Davutoğlu, *Civilizational Transformation and the Muslim World* (K.L:Quill, 1994).

<sup>297</sup> See, Ahmet Davutoğlu, "Fostering a Culture of Harmony," *Russia in Global Affairs* 8, no. 1 (2010), Ahmet Davutoğlu, *Principles of Turkish Foreign Policy and Regional Political Structuring, Turkey Foreign Policy Breif Series* (TEPAV, 2012), Ahmet Davutoğlu, "Turkey's Zero-Problems Foreign Policy, May 2010," *Foreign Policy Journal* 20.May.2010, Davutoğlu, "Turkey's Foreign Policy Vision: An Assessment of 2007."

<sup>298</sup> Bülent Aras, "Davutoğlu Era in Turkish Foreign Policy," *SETA Policy Brief* (2009): p. 3.

#### 4.1.2.1. Strategic Depth Doctrine

Davutoğlu explains in his seminal book, *Strategic Depth*, the redefinition of Turkey’s role in the neighboring region and in the international politics. “*Strategic depth*” defends the thesis that a nation’s value in world politics is predicated on the geo-strategic location and historical depth. Following the logic of Davutoğlu’s proclaimed theory, Turkey is endowed both because of its unique location at the center of many geopolitical areas of influence like Balkans, Black Sea region and Arab neighbors, moreover its control of the Bosphorus, and its historical legacy of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>299</sup>

In his book, he argues that especially In 1990s, in terms of foreign policy, there was a lack of strategic planning based on a healthy analysis of Turkey’s historical and geographical potential and because of this Turkey experienced various problems in Balkans and the Middle East.<sup>300</sup> Ahmet Davutoğlu criticizes euro-centric vision of foreign policy making. Specially, his critics based on the axiom of “Turkey’s geopolitical significance for the West” for “denying” Turkey its “natural sphere of influence” and its “strategic depth” which he locates in the former Ottoman territories by implicit reference to the state-as-organism metaphor. Davutoğlu also underlined that “a strategic vision is necessary to guarantee Turkey’s future in Europe.”<sup>301</sup> He continues that if Turkey failed to have a powerful stance in Asia, it would have very limited chances with the EU.<sup>302</sup> He promotes the idea that Turkey not only becomes a regional, but also a global power. Davutoğlu has called for a “new

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<sup>299</sup> Davutoğlu, *Stratejik Derinlik; Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu*, p. 53-57.

<sup>300</sup> Ibid.

<sup>301</sup> Ibid., p. 4-93.

<sup>302</sup> Ibid., p. 63-551.

strategic theory” that would help Turkey’s policy-makers to make use of the opportunities created by the post-Cold War “geopolitical and geo-economic vacuum”<sup>303</sup>.

Ahmet Davutoğlu claims that in terms of geography Turkey occupies unique space and he defines Turkey as a central country and he continues :

During the cold war Turkey have been consider a frontier country. After the cold war in the early 1990s, Turkey emerged as a bridge country. Today, in a new era marked by aftermath of September 11<sup>th</sup> it should be seen neither as a bridge country which only connects two points, nor a frontier country , nor indeed as an ordinary country, which sits at the edge of Muslim world and the West. Turkey holds an optimal place in the sense that it is both an Asian and European country and is also close to Africa through the Eastern Mediterranean. Turkey is a central country such an optimal geographic location.<sup>304</sup>

Davutoğlu argues that geographical depth of a country should be seen as a part of its historical depth and describes a country with historical depth as:

A country that is always at the epicenter of events, whatever they may be...Countries like Turkey, China, and Japan have deep historical roots in their regions.... During the transit from the 19<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there were eight multi-national empires across Eurasia: Britain, Russia, Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, China, Japan and Turkey. As these countries possess historical depth they form spheres of influence; if they fail to do this they then experience various problems.<sup>305</sup>

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<sup>303</sup> Pinar Bilgin, ““Only Strong States Can Survive in Turkey's Geography””: The Uses of “Geopolitical Truths” in Turkey,” *Political Geography* 26, no. 7 (2007): p. 748.

<sup>304</sup> Ibid.

<sup>305</sup> Sözen, "A Paradigm Shift in Turkish Foreign Policy: Transition and Challenges," p. 109.



As mentioned above, according to Davutoğlu, because of geography and history, Turkey was poised to play a major role in the world politics and especially in the Middle East. The Ottoman past as well as historical and cultural ties with the Arab/ Islamic world naturally assigned a central position to Turkey there.<sup>306</sup> Before 1990, the center of policy making versus Middle East was constructed by prejudices about the Arab image. Thus, according to this perspective the new policy should get rid of these prejudices and end Turkey's alienation with the region.<sup>307</sup>

## 5. Principles of Turkey's New Foreign Policy

Currently, Turkey's Middle East policy has become subject of debate both in internal and external circle. Turkey's pro-active policies in regional problems, especially intervention to inter-Arab relations accepted as skeptical<sup>308</sup>, are called as "neo-ottomanism"<sup>309</sup>, also named as "Turkish-

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<sup>306</sup> Meliha Benli Altunışık and Lenore G. Martin, "Making Sense of Turkish Foreign Policy in the Middle East under Akp," *Turkish Studies* 12, no. 4 (2011): p. 578.

<sup>307</sup> Ibid., p. 577.

<sup>308</sup> See, Fuat Keyman, "Üç Tarz Şüphecilik," *Radikal* 13.December.2009. Ziya Öniş, "Conservative Globalists Versus Defensive Nationalists: Political Parties and Paradoxes of Europeanization in Turkey," *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans Online* 9, no. 3 (2007).

<sup>309</sup> See, Yavuz, "Turkish Identity and Foreign Policy in Flux: The Rise of Neo-Ottomanism."

Gaullism”<sup>310</sup> and claimed to be a “shift in foreign policy”<sup>311</sup> decision making process. In the same time AKP accused to have a “secret agenda”.

According to Ahmet Davutoglu the objective of Turkey’s “new” foreign policy is to become a “*Wise Country*” in international community. He defines functions of wise country as a conflict prevention, meditation, conflict resolution and promoter of universal values. Davutoğlu presents three methodological and five operational principles to achieve global objectives which guides Turkey’s foreign policy.<sup>312</sup> Methodological principles can be resumed as; “visionary” approach instead of “crisis oriented” attitude. This vision embraces the entire region, as in the example of Middle East. The major aim is having good relationship with all the countries in the Middle East to operate effectively on the ground.<sup>313</sup> Second principle is “consistent and systematic” framework around the world which provides operating across 360 degree horizon.<sup>314</sup> The last principle is the adoption of new discourse and diplomatic style which means the spread of Turkish soft power in the region.<sup>315</sup> From these three methodological approaches, five operational principles construct foreign policy of AKP governments. Five operational principles are “balance between security and democracy”, “zero problems towards

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<sup>310</sup> See, Taşpınar, "Turkey's Middle East Policies between Neo-Ottomanism and Kemalism."

<sup>311</sup> See, Ahmet Sözen, "A Paradigm Shift in Turkish Foreign Policy: Transition and Challenges," *Turkish Studies* 11, no. 1 (2010).

<sup>312</sup> Davutoğlu, "Turkey's Zero-Problems Foreign Policy, May 2010," p. 3.

<sup>313</sup> Ibid.

<sup>314</sup> Davutoğlu, "Fostering a Culture of Harmony," p. 98.

<sup>315</sup> Davutoğlu, "Turkey's Zero-Problems Foreign Policy, May 2010," p. 3.

neighbors", "proactive and preemptive peace diplomacy", "multidimensional foreign policy", "rhythmic diplomacy".<sup>316</sup>

## 5.1. Balance between Security and Democracy

The legitimization of any government comes from stable domestic security within the state. One of the indispensable *raison d'etre* of a state is to provide security for the citizens. But, notably in the post September 11, under the threat of terrorism, general attitude has been to restrict civil liberties for the sake of security.<sup>317</sup> The case of Turkey was different, in order accomplish the Copenhagen political criteria for E.U, Turkey increase the domain of individual freedoms.<sup>318</sup> Davutoğlu explains the *stria* between security and democracy as following:

We don't see that these two principles are contradictory to each other. If you ignore security for freedom you will have anger and chaos. If you

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<sup>316</sup> See, Davutoğlu, "Fostering a Culture of Harmony.", Davutoğlu, *Principles of Turkish Foreign Policy and Regional Political Structuring*, Davutoğlu, "Turkey's Zero-Problems Foreign Policy, May 2010." Aras, "Davutoğlu Era in Turkish Foreign Policy." Tarik Oğuzlu, "The 'Arab Spring' and the Rise of the 2.0 Version of Turkey's 'Zero Problems with Neighbors' Policy," *SAM Papers*, no. 1 (Feb. 2012).

<sup>317</sup> Davutoğlu, "Turkey's Zero-Problems Foreign Policy, May 2010," p. 4.

<sup>318</sup> Ahmet Sözen, "Changing Fundamental Principles in Turkish Foreign Policy Making," in *International Studies Association Annual Convention* ( San Diego: March 22-25, 2006), p. 17.

ignore freedom for security, you will have an authoritarian, autocratic society. We don't want to ignore either of these two.<sup>319</sup>

The perfect balance between security and democracy, results as a mature democracy. As it is understood from Ahmet Davutoğlu's definition of balance between security and democracy; domestic stability is a major element of prosperous foreign policy and *vice versa*. This operational principle of Turkish foreign policy aims to reinforce democracy, promote civil liberties without undermining security. AKP government, in fact believes that this is the only way Turkish soft power can extend to Middle East region.

## 5.2. Zero Problems with Neighbors

Turkey's relationships with many of her neighbors have been turbulent over years. The idea of zero problem policy is to change “Military state” to “trading state” identity by decreasing the muscular role played by the military in shaping Turkish foreign policy since the founding of the Kemalist republic. Davutoğlu believes that the destabilization in the Middle East sufficiently affects internal and external relation of Turkey. Thus, this policy aimed to

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<sup>319</sup> Principles of Turkish Foreign Policy, Address by H.E. Foreign Minister of Republic of Turkey Ahmet Davutoğlu, SETA Foundation's Washington D.C. Branch, 8 Dec. 2009, Grand Ballroom, Mayflower Hotel, Washington D.C. 12.15pm EST. p.8 <http://arsiv.setav.org/ups/dosya/14808.pdf>

create a new psychology at home for a new neighboring policy and minimize spillover effect of regional problems to Turkey in its sense.<sup>320</sup>

“Zero Problem” Principle is the cornerstone of AKP’s foreign policy activism. This principle based on maximizing cooperation and mutual benefits with all the neighborhoods, instead of security-oriented paradigms of the Cold-War area. Thus zero problems with neighbors aims to minimize hostile relations by exerting turkey’s soft power in the region. For Davutoğlu;

In order to achieve this goal the relations needs to be built on several principles like “security for all”, “high level political dialogue,” “economical interdependence” and “cultural harmony and mutual respect”.<sup>321</sup>

### 5.3. Proactive and Pre-emptive Peace Diplomacy

Turkey with multiple identities, cultural and historical depth, as well as assuming key role in the resolution of civilizational and regional disputes<sup>322</sup> may use its unique understanding of Middle East to prevent probable crisis before they escalate to a critical level. Proactive and pre-emptive peace diplomacy provides “Turkey to be on the ground whether it is in the European Union, Middle East or the Caucasus, with a Turkish perspective”.<sup>323</sup>

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<sup>320</sup> Oğuzlu, "The ‘Arab Spring’ and the Rise of the 2.0 Version of Turkey’s ‘Zero Problems with Neighbors’ Policy," p. 4.

<sup>321</sup> Davutoğlu, "Fostering a Culture of Harmony," p. 97.

<sup>322</sup> Davutoğlu, *Stratejik Derinlik; Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu*, p. 541.

<sup>323</sup> Aras, "Davutoğlu Era in Turkish Foreign Policy," p. 9.

Recently Turkey as a promising actor in its land basin<sup>324</sup> developed significant interest in Middle East affairs. Especially, Turkey's meditation between Arab-Israel, Syria and Israel, Iran-West and the Muslim-Serb can be resumed as the practical consequences of the principle.

## 5.4. Multi-dimensional Foreign Policy

During the cold war era, foreign policy understanding of Turkish governments depended on security oriented policies (mono-dimensional). In accordance with dynamic conjuncture of post-Cold war era, Turkey's relations with U.S, E.U and the Middle East have extended beyond security issue.

Multi-dimensional Foreign policy predicate on the engagement in diverse areas ranging with neighboring regions and beyond. Simultaneous and harmonious relations based on friendship, harmony, cooperation between different cultures and faith system construct the heart of this foreign policy outlook. The aim is having complementary relationship in international relations not to be in competition.<sup>325</sup>

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<sup>324</sup> In Strategic Depth Turkey's Land Basin corresponds to : Balkan, Caucasus and the Middle East, maritime basin corresponds to : Black sea, Eastern Mediterranean, Caspian seas Persian Gulf .

<sup>325</sup> Davutoğlu, "Turkey's Foreign Policy Vision: An Assessment of 2007," p. 82.

## 5.5. Rhythmic Diplomacy

Rhythmic diplomacy can be summarized as an effective use of international forums and new initiatives in order to increase global and international importance of a country. Rhythmic diplomacy considered as a new style in foreign policy theory of post-Cold War era.

Ahmet Davutoglu argues that, "If the conditions are dynamic and one stands static, then one can not adapt to the conditions. One needs to have a constantly moving diplomacy. That's why I call it rhythmic. In other words, even if nothing happens, one has to be active when standing"<sup>326</sup> and he continuous, "Turkey's aim is to intervene consistently in the global issues using international platforms, which signifies a transformation for Turkey from a central country to a global power"<sup>327</sup>. In recent years, Turkey hosted several international organizations as NATO Summit, OIC Summit, observer status in the African Union (natural results of Turkey's opening to Africa in 2005) Arab League, special agreements with Arab countries.

## 6. Conclusion

In current Turkish politics the issue of Islam and secularism occupies an important place. All the new perfectives came with the rhetoric of change from

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<sup>326</sup> Ahmet Davutoğlu Special Editorial, *CNN Turk*, 17.February. 2004.

<sup>327</sup> Davutoğlu, "Turkey's Foreign Policy Vision: An Assessment of 2007," p. 83.

Islamic wing founded skeptical by elitist wing and almost always Islamists accused to have a secret agenda. Indeed the history of modern Turkey generally based on the struggle between Kemalist in order words, elitists and Islamists. The question of the changing role of Islam in a world challenged by modernization and secularization had been on the agenda among Islamist intellectuals. Since the time of Özal and also Ismail Cem argues that in a changing environment Turkey need to redefine its foreign policy superiorities and compose equilibrium between realities and her national interest. In other words Turkey needs to change its security base foreign policy.

The significant change on Turkish foreign policy during AKP government is one of the few subjects that reach consensus on academic level. Especially Ahmet Davutoglu considered as the architect of new foreign policy practices. He argues that Turkey need consider her historical and geographical background to move towards to “bridge country” to “central country”. According to him Turkey needs to create multi-dimensional and multidirectional proactive foreign policies in order to strengthen its position so as to be a regional power.



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FOREIGN POLICY OF TURKEY AND SPAIN VERSUS MIDDLE EAST, AFTER 2002. TRANSITION  
TO DEMOCRACY AND NEW INTERNATIONAL AGENTS  
Gozde Demirel  
Dipòsit Legal: T 957-2014

# CHAPTER IV

## THE TOUCHSTONES OF MIDDLE EAST POLICY OF AKP ERA: IRAQ-SIRIA-IRAN- ISRAEL-CYPRUS

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The chapter analyzes Turkey's unstable relations with nearby Middle Eastern countries under AKP governments 2002 to 2013. The focus is to examine political, economic, military and diplomatic relations of Turkey with Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Israel. Also Cyprus conflict was examined. The bilateral relation was analyzed in a chronological order and with a historical perspective.

As a consequence of its geopolitical position and the new path of World politics in Post-September 11, Turkey's foreign policy has undergone significant changes. From this point of view the main purpose is to find an answer to the questions like, "If there is a shift in Western oriented foreign policy of Turkey?" or "Is Turkey taking advantage of good relations with Middle East to become a central country in world politics?"

The chapter divided into five sections. The first section of the chapter examines Turkish-Iraqi relations, the second section focus on Turkish-Syrian relations, the fourth section analyzes Turkish-Iranian and the fifth section focuses on Turkish-Israelian relations with a strong stress on Palestinian issue and finally in the last section Cyprus problem will analyzed.

## 2. The Beginning and the Aftermath of Iraq War and the Implementation of Turkey's Foreign Policy

Iraq has been Turkey's important neighbor not only right along with economic, political and trade relations, but also due to presence of long standing historical ties. Turbulent relation between two country dates back to conquest of Anatolian peninsula by Turks.<sup>328</sup> Before the Ottoman domination, Iraq was conquest by other Turkic Empires like Seljuqs<sup>329</sup> (until Mongol occupation), Ak Koyunlu (Aq Quyunlu, White Sheep Turkmens)<sup>330</sup> and Safavid dynasty<sup>331</sup>. Until the end of First World War most of the territory of present day Iraq was ruled by Ottoman Empire (1533-1918). Ottoman rule over Iraq lasted when British Mandate of Mesopotamia was established by League of Nation Mandate. During the First World War Iraqis was one of the Muslim peoples who fought

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<sup>328</sup> Yılmaz Öztuna, *Başlangıcından Zamanımıza Kadar Türkiye Tarihi* (Hayat Kitapları, 1967), 57.

<sup>329</sup> **Seljuq**: also spelled Seljuk, ruling military family of the Oğuz Turkic tribes that invaded southwestern Asia in the 11th century and eventually founded an empire that included Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, and most of Iran. Their advance marked the beginning of Turkish power in the Middle East. "Seljuq" in Encyclopedia Britannica Online, (source: [www.britannica.com](http://www.britannica.com), <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/533602/Seljuq>>, 20 June 2012).

<sup>330</sup> **Ak Koyunlu**: also spelled Aq Qoyunlu ("White Sheep"), Turkmen tribal federation that ruled northern Iraq, Azerbaijan, and eastern Anatolia from 1378 to 1508. Ak Koyunlu in Encyclopedia Britannica Online, (source: [www.britannica.com](http://www.britannica.com), <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/11309/Ak-Koyunlu>>, 18.June. 2011).

<sup>331</sup> **Safavid Dynasty**: (1502–1736), Iranian **dynasty** whose establishment of Shī'ite Islām as the state religion of Iran was a major factor in the emergence of a unified national consciousness among the various ethnic and linguistic elements of the country. The Şafavids were descended from Sheykh Safi od-Din (1253–1334) of Ardabīl, head of the Şūfī order of Safaviveh (Safawiyah), but about 1399 exchanged their Sunnite affiliation for Shī'ism. Safavid Dynasty in Encyclopedia Britannica Online, (source: [www.britannica.com](http://www.britannica.com), <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/516019/Safavid-Dynasty/>>, 18.June.2011)

against Turkey under British flag, especially during the war of Dardanelles.<sup>332</sup>  
At the end, on October 3, 1932, Iraq was admitted to the League of Nations as  
an independent state.<sup>333</sup>

**Map 3: Turkey and Its Neighbors**



Unproblematic mutual relations between Turkey and Iraq started with a  
nonaggression pact, called the Sa‘dābād Pact in 1937<sup>334</sup> and continued with

<sup>332</sup> Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 534.

<sup>333</sup> “Iraq” in Encyclopedia Britannica Online, (source: [www.britannica.com](http://www.britannica.com), <  
<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/293631/Iraq/22903/Independence-1932-39?anchor=ref315957>>, 21.June.2011)

<sup>334</sup> Laura Etheredge, *Iraq* (Britannica Educational Pub., 2011), p. 127.

Iraq's participation in the pro-Western Baghdad Pact Organization which had reinforced the mutual relations.<sup>335</sup> Especially during the last half of 1950's both sides was dealing with their domestic problems. Throughout 1960s and more precisely in 1970s Ankara started to keep a worry eye on Iraq's internal Kurdish problem because of Barzani's *peshmerga* (Kurdish guerilla forces) activity.<sup>336</sup> Moreover the GAP Project (South Eastern Project) which based on efficient usage of Euphrates and Tigris rivers, escalated the crisis between two countries. According to Aysegül Kibaroglu and Waltina Scheumann "during the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s a number of crises occurred in the region, following the unilateral development of several water resource projects".<sup>337</sup> After water crisis, following crisis was the petroleum crisis in 1973 that made Turkey search for alternative policies to provide equilibrium between oil supply and demand. Understanding the role of oil in international politics and international political economy Iraq and Turkish governments agreed to build Kirkuk-Ceyhan oil pipeline. During the Iran-Iraq war which depreciated Turkish economy, forced Turkey to play an active role as a peacemaker during the war.

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<sup>335</sup> Henri J. Barkey, "A Transformed Relationship Turkey and Iran " in *Iraq, Its Neighbors, and the United States: Competition, Crisis, and the Reordering of Power*, ed. Henri J. Barkey, Scott Lasensky, and Phebe Marr (United States Institute of Peace, 2011), p. 46.

<sup>336</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>337</sup> Aysegül Kibaroglu and Waltina Scheumann, "Euphrates-Tigris Rivers System: Political Rapprochement and Transboundary Water Cooperation," in *Turkey's Water Policy: National Frameworks and International Cooperation*, ed. Aysegül Kibaroglu, Waltina. Scheumann, and Annika Kramer (Springer, 2011), p. 282.

Soon after, Gulf crisis occurred, this period marked by drastic changes in international relations.<sup>338</sup> The Gulf War in 1991, finally nationalized the Kurdish question<sup>339</sup> and Özal's attention increasingly shifted from economic to key political and foreign policy issues such as the Kurdish question and Turkey's role as an active regional power.<sup>340</sup> The other chief importance of Gulf War was the Özal's alliance with Western bloc towards Saddam Hussein. Ankara opened its air and land bases for the use of American forces against Saddam. Subsequent to Saddam Hussein's defeat, Kurds in north and Shi'ite Arabs in the south rose up against his regime.<sup>341</sup> This revolt ended with the strong suppression by Iraqi National Forces. As a result hundreds of thousands of Iraqi Kurds seeking refuge in Turkey from Saddam Hussein murderous onslaughts.<sup>342</sup> Iraqi occupation of Kuwait can be accepted as the turning point for Middle East region. Inevitably, Turkey and other countries in the region were affected by the adverse events. As a consequence, the war slowly changed the equilibrium of the region and prepared today's situation of Iraq.

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<sup>338</sup> Irina Zviagelskia, "Moscow: The 1991 Gulf Crisis and Its Aftermath," in *Iraq's Aggression against Kuwait: Strategic Lessons and Implications for Europe*, ed. Wolfgang Danspeckgruber and Charles R.H. Tripp (Westview Press, 1996), p. 219.

<sup>339</sup> Muhittin Ataman, "Leadership Change: Özal Leadership and Restructuring in Turkish Foreign Policy," *Turkish Journal of International Relations* 1, no. 1 (2002): p. 129.

<sup>340</sup> Ziya Öniş, "Turgut Özal and His Economic Legacy: Turkish Neo-Liberalism in Critical Perspective," *Middle Eastern Studies* 40, no. 4 (2004): p. 123.

<sup>341</sup> Bruce Pirnie and Edward O'Connell, *Counterinsurgency in Iraq (2003-2006)*, vol. 2, *Rand Counterinsurgency Study* (RAND Corporation, 2008), p. 4.

<sup>342</sup> Henri J. Barkey, *Turkey's Kurdish Question* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000), p. 16.



In the post-Gulf war era, Turkey mainly pursued security-oriented policy towards Iraq. The basic preoccupations were separatist PKK terrorist organization, the status of Kirkuk, relations with Northern Iraq, possibility of establishment of a Kurdish state in that region under leadership of KDP-PUK and the situation of Turkmens. Differently to previous governments AKP manage to separate issues related to terror and Iraq.

## 2.1. The Unwillingness to Help USA: ¿ is Turkey, USA Trojan Horse, no?

Iraq in general, northern Iraq in particular is the top-level problem of Turkish foreign policy at least for 25 years. Turkey has been affected negatively by the problems arising from the wars, embargoes and international crisis in Iraq. Especially after the Gulf War, PKK utilization of Northern Iraq as a “logistic center” and “base” for the attacks towards Turkey can not be prevented by any Turkish coalition governments during 90s. For this reason Turkey was pleased or pretended to be pleased with Baathist regime which was acting as an effective bulwark against Kurdish separatism in Iraq.

In 2002 AKP came to power after the arrest of PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan<sup>343</sup> in 1998. When they came to power priorities of Turkish politics were mostly dominated with E.U accession. On the other hand, after 9/11 attacks, US

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<sup>343</sup> **Abdullah Öcalan**, also known as Apo is one of the founding members of the militant organization the Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK) in 1978 in Turkey, which is internationally listed as a terrorist organization.

stared to prepare for Iraqi invasion.<sup>344</sup> According to Meliha Altunışık “three years after defeating its own separatist Kurdish insurgency Ankara worried about the prospect of a new wave of violence on its soil.”<sup>345</sup> In conclusion AKP government was against the war but at the same time Erdogan wanted to maintain good relations with Washington.<sup>346</sup> And for this reason, Turkey’s domestic and foreign policy orientation also gained importance for the United States.<sup>347</sup> Eventually Bush administration asked for Turkey’s “full and complete cooperation” in a possible war against Iraq.<sup>348</sup> January 2003, United States extend demands included; six airbases and airports and 3 Mediterranean ports (both military and civilian) for U.S transport without any notification requirement, open Turkish territory for passage some 80.000 U.S troops in Iraq, the hosting of U.S forces in Turkish base for landing and the deployment of 12.000 U.S and British combat troops in south-eastern Turkey and also deployment of 60.000 U.S special forces in Turkey for five years.<sup>349</sup> Especially the idea of British military presence on Turkish territory created social unrest and the famous Turkish preoccupation so called Sévres-Syndrome rise from its

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<sup>344</sup> Gürkan Zengin, *Hoca: Türk Dış Politikası'nda "Davutoğlu Etkisi"* (İnkılâp, 2010), p. 155.

<sup>345</sup> Meliha Benli Altunışık, "Turkey's Iraq Policy: The War and Beyond," *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 14, no. 2 (2006): p. 185.

<sup>346</sup> Ömer Taşpınar, "Turkey's Middle East Policies between Neo-Ottomanism and Kemalism," *Carnegie Endowment For International Peace* 10 (2008): p. 18.

<sup>347</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>348</sup> "Nereden Nereye... Gül Yurtdışına Askere Karşı Çıkmış...", *Milliyet* 24 December 2002.

<sup>349</sup> See, Altunışık, "Turkey's Iraq Policy: The War and Beyond," 187, Ramazan Gozen, "Causes and Consequences of Turkey's out-of-War Position in the Iraq War of 2003," *Turkish Yearbook* 36: p. 76, Nicole Pope, "Turkey Is Playing Hard to Get," *Middle East International* 10 January 2003, p. 14-15.

grave. Also there was a serious lack of public support. 90 per cent of general public was against the Turkey's participation to possible war against Iraq.<sup>350</sup> On the other hand Erdogan's U.S visit just before Copenhagen<sup>351</sup> made a clear impression that he would give full support to U.S.<sup>352</sup> It was difficult to ignore people's will, at the same time AKP did not want to "stay out of the game". Even though Erdoğan made it clear that he wants to give full support to U.S, it was also difficult to participate a war without France and Germany approval on the eve of E.U accession negotiations. In the meantime on 23 January 2003 first Istanbul summit on foreign ministers level organized involving Egypt, Iran, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Syria as a result of Abdullah Gul efforts to avert a war in Iraq. After all regional diplomacy labor of AKP government shifted back as observer status in Arab League.<sup>353</sup>

One day before the vote Turkey's President Ahmet Necdet Sezer called for a UN resolution (for which read a second Security Council resolution) to legalize the war of Iraq for to prevent adversary effects on its relations with both the EU and Middle Eastern countries. Grand Turkish Assembly refused the American 4th Infantry Division to traverse Turkey on route to northern Iraq on March 1, 2003. A day later war in Iraq had begun. And this situation made Iraqi

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<sup>350</sup> Şenol Karakaş, *Biz Bu Savaşı Durdurabiliriz: Türk Savaş Karşiti Hareketin Bir Yili* (Metis, 2005), p. 19.

<sup>351</sup> During his visit, Erdogan thanked in advance for U.S lobbying effort of E.U summit and on Cyprus issue.

<sup>352</sup> Philip Robins, "Confusion at Home, Confusion Abroad: Turkey between Copenhagen and Iraq," *International Affairs* 79, no. 3 (2003): p. 561.

<sup>353</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 563.

Kurds a more pivotal actor in the post-war developments.<sup>354</sup> The new Iraq emerged, much to the consternation of Ankara, as a federal state composed of two entities; Arab and Kurdish. It should be noted that U.S.A entered the Iraq guaranteeing the support of Iraqi Kurds. Also, Iraqi Kurds had succeeded in obtaining de jure recognition of their status in Iraq.

Along the history one of the major fears of Turkey is being neighbor of an independent Kurdish state. Under the protection of United States, Barzani and Kurdish federation had the power to rule in their territory. This history of power and politics caused the first tension between Turkey and United States. The Hood event (Turkish: Çuval Olayı), occurred on 4 July 2003 in Süleymaniye. A group of Turkish Special Forces personnel operating in Northern Iraq were caught by the Americans, led away with hoods over their heads, and interrogated by the United States military. Erdoğan called the event “a totally ugly incident” and ordered the closure on Harbur gate. The Turkish commandos were released 60-hours afterwards and returned to north Iraq by helicopter.<sup>355</sup>

It was clear fact that after March 1 bill, Kurds became the most important component of U.S.A’s Iraq policy and AKP government wanted to neutralize the power of Kurdish forces in Iraq. For this reason Turkey had brokered a meeting between Iraqi Sunni groups and the US ambassador in Iraq and thus made it possible for them to participate in the 2005 elections, a

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<sup>354</sup> Henri J. Barkey, "Turkey and Iraq: The Making of a Partnership," *Turkish Studies* 12, no. 4 (2011): p. 666.

<sup>355</sup> "Regret over Turkish Troops' Arrest," *BBC News* 15 July 2003.

significant step for the effectiveness of the political process in Iraq.<sup>356</sup> Since 2007 there has been an improvement in Turkish-Iraqi relations. Turkey enhanced more cooperative relationship with all the communities in Iraq, including the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG).<sup>357</sup>

## 2.2. Turkey's Mesopotamian Vision

When Davutoglu drew the main lines of Iraq policy, one of his ideas was “re-fertilize Mesopotamia basin”. Beyond all question, this vision directly related to PKK and all sort of terrorist activities which takes part in the basin. In such a way that terrorist activities considered to be the major obstacle against the permanent peace of the region and anyone who wants to be a part to such a vision will need to fight against all sort of terrorism. As of today, the realization of this vision does not look like that it would be easier, at least the essential steps were been taken. Since 2008 Turkey has accepted Iraqi Kurdish autonomy, opening official ties with the KRG, including a Turkish consulate in Erbil, and the KRG has cooperated in Turkey's fight against the PKK.<sup>358</sup> In addition Ankara agreed to direct and official dialogue with President Massoud Barzani. Erdoğan makes his first official visit to Baghdad and the first such visit

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<sup>356</sup> Meliha Benli Altunışık, "Turkey's Changing Middle East Policy," *UNISCI Discussion Papers*, 23 (2010): 154.

<sup>357</sup> Ibid.

<sup>358</sup> Nathalie Tocci, "Turkey's Kurdish Gamble," *The International Spectator* 48, no. 3 (2013): p. 70.

by a Turkish prime minister in eighteen years.<sup>359</sup> According to Jean Marco 'this move also had an impact on Turkey's relationship with the Arab world.'<sup>360</sup>

A good relation with Iraq in general and KRG in particular is very essential for Turkish interest in Middle East. Especially on the eve of permanent peace with PKK, Turkey needs the support KRG more than ever. Also it should be noted that two major the regional dynamics has driven this shift; for balancing Iranian influence in Iraq and the second and more recent factor is regional instability unleashed by the Arab Spring.<sup>361</sup> Maybe it is the first time in Turkish history that Turkey is using-positively- Kurdish card to balance the power games among Iran, Turkey and Syria.

### **3. Zero Problem Policy to Multi Problem Policy: The Syrian Case**

Syria and Turkey has got a long history dates back to 8<sup>th</sup> century. But the real contact between two countries started during Seljuk Dynasty when Turks

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<sup>359</sup> Soner Çagaptay and Tyler Evans, *Turkey's Changing Relations with Iraq Kurdistan up, Baghdad Down* vol. 122, *Policy Focus* (The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, October 2012), p. 15.

<sup>360</sup> See, Jean Marcou, *Turkey's Foreign Policy: Shifting Back to the West after a Drift to the East?*, ed. Şaban Kandaş, vol. 8, *Turkey Policy Brief Series* (Tepav, 2013).

<sup>361</sup> Çagaptay and Evans, *Turkey's Changing Relations with Iraq Kurdistan up, Baghdad Down*, p. 9.

settled into actual Syrian territory. Soon after another Turkic state Mamluks replaced the authority gap of the region after the destructive Mongolian occupations.<sup>362</sup> The Ottomans occupied Syrian territories at 16<sup>th</sup> century and the sovereignty continued until the end of the First World War.

By the end of the First World War, French mandate was established by League of Nation Mandate. According to Philip K. Hitti "...to Syrians French control was more direct and more hateful than that exercised by the Turks".<sup>363</sup> Syria had several grudges against Turkey because of the Ottoman *millet* system, but after the painfully loss of Alexandretta (Hatay) in 1939, Syria claimed France who ruled Syria in a border rectification agreement, about ceded Alexandretta to Turkey. Syria wanted it back<sup>364</sup> and but Hatay became the 63rd province of Turkey. The current Turkish- Syrian border has 820 kilometers in length. Because of the history of sharing the same land for centuries, the solid line indicating where the Republic of Turkey ends and the Syrian Arab Republic begin is a complicated history.<sup>365</sup> Hatay issue stayed as an obstacle to improve good relations with Syria.

The other significant conflict between Turkey and Syria is water issue. During the 1960s, distribution of the downflow of the Euphrates and the Tigris from Turkey to Syria emerged as an issue in relations between the two

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<sup>362</sup> For further information on Syrian History see Philip Hitti, *Syria, a Short History: Being a Condensation of the Author's "History of Syria, Including Lebanon and Palestine."* (Collier Books, 1999).

<sup>363</sup> Ibid., p. 243.

<sup>364</sup> Barry Rubin, *The Truth About Syria* (Palgrave Mcmillan, 2007), p.119.

<sup>365</sup> Roberta Micallef, "Hatay Joins to the Motherland," in *State Frontiers: Borders and Boundaries in the Middle East*, ed. Inga Brandell (I. B. Tauris, 2006), p. 141.

countries.<sup>366</sup> Particularly during 1970s and 1980s Syria and Turkey initialized to build water dams on Orontes, Tigris and Euphrates rivers. The turning point of the problem started when Turkish authorities began building Ataturk Dam, on the Euphrates River in 1983. Syria blamed Turkey to abuse its “water card” against Syria, Syrian government struck back with “terror card”<sup>367</sup> backing the Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK/ Partiya Kerkaran Kurdistan), granting asylum Armenian guerilla groups ASALA (Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia), both of which the Turks considered to be terrorists<sup>368</sup> and supporting the Turkish radical left (Dev-Sol).<sup>369</sup> Indeed, in 1983, Turkey publicly announced its aversion with Syria’s support of anti-Turkish elements.<sup>370</sup> In July 1987 under the presidency of Turgut Özal, Turkey realized first official meetings with Syria to regulate water share between two countries and to solve the security problems. Water became the key element in the

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<sup>366</sup> Meliha Benli Altunışık and Özlem Tür, "From Distant Neighbors to Partners? Changing Syrian-Turkish Relations," *Security Dialogue* 37, no. 2 (2006): p. 220.

<sup>367</sup> Ziya Öniş and Şuhnaz Yılmaz, "Between Europeanization and Euro-Asianism: Foreign Policy Activism in Turkey During the Akp Era," *Turkish Studies* 10, no. 1 (2009): p. 17.

<sup>368</sup> Robert Olson, "Turkey-Syria Relations since the Gulf War: Kurds and Water," *Middle East Policy* 5, no. 2 (1997): p. 169.

<sup>369</sup> Muhammad Muslih, "Syria and Turkey: Uneasy Relations," in *Reluctant Neighbor: Turkey's Role in the Middle East* ed. Henri J. Barkey (United States Institute of Peace Press, 1996), p. 122.

<sup>370</sup> See, Ali Çarkoglu and Mine Eder, "Domestic Concerns and the Water Conflict over the Euphrates-Tigris River Basin," *Middle Eastern Studies* 37, no. 1 (2001): p. 60.



balance of power. Syrian prime minister told that 'they would sign the security protocol only if Turkey entered into formal water agreement.'<sup>371</sup>

Particularly during the 1990s, Turkey's two major problems with Syria centered on water and the activities of the PKK.<sup>372</sup> By 1995, Ankara was spending as much as \$11 billion a year to fight against the PKK, a part of which went to building new military outposts and paying premiums to state workers in the region. In addition to Special Forces, police and village guards was the part of this bloody conflict. Turkey also deployed some 220,00 troops in the region—trying to put a quarter of NATO's second largest army in a domestic battle.<sup>373</sup> But despite all the effort that has been made, terrorist attacks of PKK did not decelerate. By 1996 Turkish authorities asked Syrian government to annihilate the PKK headquarters in Damascus and expel the group's leader, Abdullah Öcalan, after Syria refusal Turkey suspended all governmental contacts with Damascus.<sup>374</sup>

In 1998 Turkey entered in a painful period, increasing terrorism was affecting all sorts of political and social life. Especially Syrian attitude of backing PKK bring both states to a war level. It was the boiling point of mutual relations. Ankara asked Damascus to extradite Abdullah Öcalan. Thanks to diplomatic attempts of Iran and Egypt, the 1998 crisis was prevented. As Sami

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<sup>371</sup> Özden Zeynep Okytav, "Water Dispute and Kurdish Separatism in Turkish-Syrian Relations," *The Turkish Yearbook* 34 (2003): p. 103.

<sup>372</sup> See, Çarkoglu and Eder, "Domestic Concerns and the Water Conflict over the Euphrates-Tigris River Basin," p. 71.

<sup>373</sup> Aliza Marcus, *Blood and Belief: The Pkk and the Kurdish Fight for Independence* (NYU Press, 2007), p. 248-49.

<sup>374</sup> Rubin, *The Truth About Syria*, p. 121.

Moubayed explains “Syria’s late president Hafez Al-Assad complied and Öcalan fled Syria; he was captured in Kenya in November 1998 and deported to Turkey where he currently languishes in a Turkish jail.”<sup>375</sup>

According to Carolyn C. James and Özgür Özdamar “Turkish-Syrian relations, especially during the 1987–1998 periods, are an ideal example of how domestic ethnic conflicts are internationalized.”<sup>376</sup>

### **3.1. The resolution in PKK issue and the development of mutual relations**

AKP government is realizing drastic changes in traditional security-oriented foreign policy concept of Turkey. The development in mutual relations with Syria is one of the evident examples of this change. Particularly after the resolution of PKK issue, Turkey established closer ties with Syria under the frame of zero problem principle with Turkish periphery. Following Adana protocol which was signed after the expel of Abdullah Öcalan improved the mutual relations. In 2000 Ahmet Necdet Sezer’s participation of the funeral of Hafez al-Assad regenerated damaged relationship between two countries and marked the initialization of constructive relations. United States of America highly criticized this historic visit. On the other hand Ahmet Necdet Sezer's visit

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<sup>375</sup> Sami Moubayed, "Turkish-Syrian Relations: The Erdoğan Legacy," *Today's Zaman* 31.October.2008.

<sup>376</sup> Carolyn C. James and Özgür Özdamar, "Modeling Foreign Policy and Ethnic Conflict: Turkey’s Policies Towards Syria," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 5, no. 1 (2009): p. 26.

was vital for Syria which was growingly being dominated over the occurrences in Lebanon. Notably after the support of Turkey to Syria, under the threat of international isolation because of Syrian culpability in assassination of former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri, the obstacles in front of the mutual relations like Hatay conflict and water issue gradually erased from political agenda

The conjuncture of world politics after 9/11 was beyond the two countries policymaking capabilities. As a result of regional and international developments, two countries came closer within the context of realist understanding. According to Özlem Tür “For Syria, feeling cornered by increasing US – and, to some extent, European –pressure and threatened by developments in Iraq, Turkey became a logical partner.”<sup>377</sup>

Relations began to normalize since 1998, reinforced by the Turkish Prime Minister’s visit to Syria in December 2004 and Syrian President Bashar al-Assad’s visit to Ankara in January 2005 to sign a trade cooperation agreement. In 2004, al-Assad's official visit to Turkey is one of the most important indicators of Syrian positive tendency towards Turkey Another point that makes this visit so important is that Al-Assad is the first Syrian president to visit Turkey. Therefore, Syria was considering Turkey as an important ally in the region and as a gateway to the E.U on the other hand Turkey was counting Syria as a gateway for Turkish goods to the Gulf. In September 2009, Turkey and Syria ended visa requirements between the two states. This, along with a free trade agreement, ensured that people and goods

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<sup>377</sup> Altunışık and Tür, "From Distant Neighbors to Partners? Changing Syrian-Turkish Relations," p. 231.

could pass freely over the same borders that had been sealed for almost eleven years earlier. In what marks a significant turnaround in relations Damascus and Ankara have found themselves increasingly closely integrated over the past decade.<sup>378</sup> As Davutoğlu emphasized "... the economic interdependence and diplomatic relations between Syria and Turkey stand as a model of progress for the rest of the region."<sup>379</sup>

### 3.2. The Syrian uprising and the role of Turkey

The evolution in Turkish-Syrian relations in the past decades, from enmity to close friendship, changed its facet again from close friendship to enmity. Syrian border is the longest land border of Turkey. This reality has directly been affected transport and trade potential of two countries.<sup>380</sup> Because of this reality before the Syrian uprising, relations between Syria and Turkey have essentially been driven by pragmatism on both sides. When the first Syrian refugees crossed the border into Turkey On April 29, 2011, Turkish government did not estimate that two years later, the country hosts some 600,000 Syrian

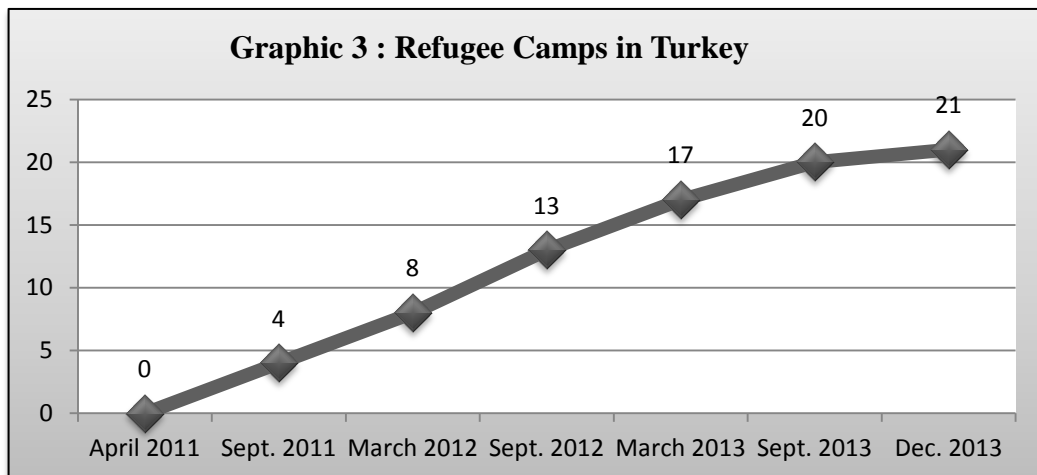
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<sup>378</sup> Christopher Phillips, "Syria and Turkey," in *IDEAS*, ed. Nicholas Kitchen (LSE, 2011), p. 39.

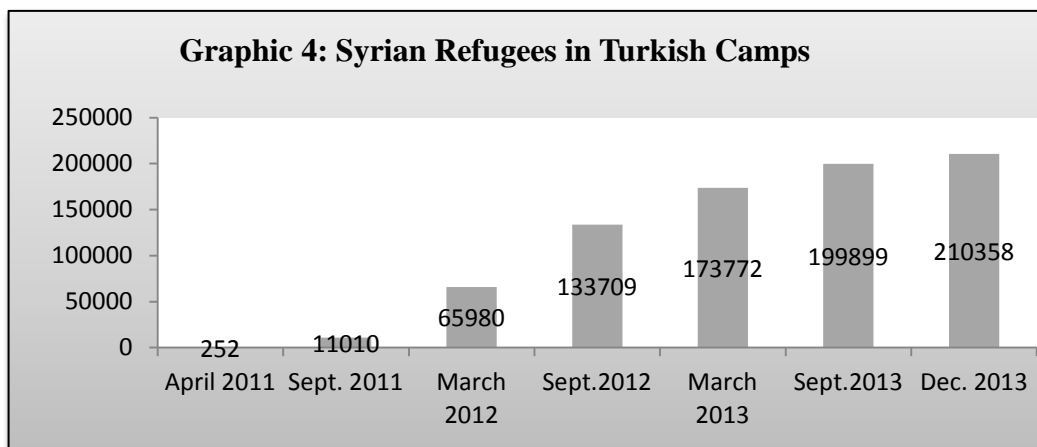
<sup>379</sup> Özlem Tür, "Economic Relations with the Middle East under the Akp—Trade, Business Community and Reintegration with Neighboring Zones," *Turkish Studies* 12, no. 4 (2011): p. 595.

Ahmet Davutoğlu, *Stratejik Derinlik; Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu* (Istanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2001), p. 402.

refugees-200,000 of them living in 21 refugee camps with an additional 400,000 living outside of the camps.<sup>381</sup>



Source: AFAD<sup>382</sup>



Source: AFAD

<sup>381</sup> Osman Bahadır Dinçer et al., *Turkey and Syrian Refugees: The Limits of Hospitality* (Brookings 2013), p. 2.

<sup>382</sup> These numbers are updated daily and are available on the AFAD website, see: [www.afad.gov.tr/TR/IcerikDetay1.aspx?IcerikID=848&ID=16](http://www.afad.gov.tr/TR/IcerikDetay1.aspx?IcerikID=848&ID=16)

According to Bülent Aras "...the Arab Spring is the part of a larger transformation, which is not likely to end without a re-orientation of the political landscape of the countries in Middle East."<sup>383</sup> From this point of view, the changes in Arab Middle East are the result this bloody re-orientation where the civilians dies for democracy and equal rights. Especially the Syrian uprising became the most complicated and bloody transformation since the winds of the Arab Revolution started to blow. The uniqueness of the Syrian case is its ability to unite even the hostile countries of the world politics. History of this complicated power and politics can be seen in the image 3. China and U.S.A, U.S.A and Iran, Iran and Israel are hostile to each other. Among these countries China, Iran, also leader of Hezbollah publicly declared their support to Bashar al-Asad.<sup>384</sup> At the beginning of Syrian uprising, in March 2011 U.S secretary of state, Hilary Clinton, has said that U.S will not intervene in Syria in the way it has in Libya.<sup>385</sup> U.S and Israel never said that they are backing up Bashar al – Asad but maybe because of the Al Qaeda-linked groups in Syrian rebel infighting<sup>386</sup> they almost stayed quiet against the war crimes committed by Syrian regime. When Asad used chemical weapons against the rebels and

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<sup>383</sup> Bülent Aras, "Making Sense of Turkish-Eu Relations in the Aftermath of the Arab Spring," *SAM Papers* 5 (2013): 5.

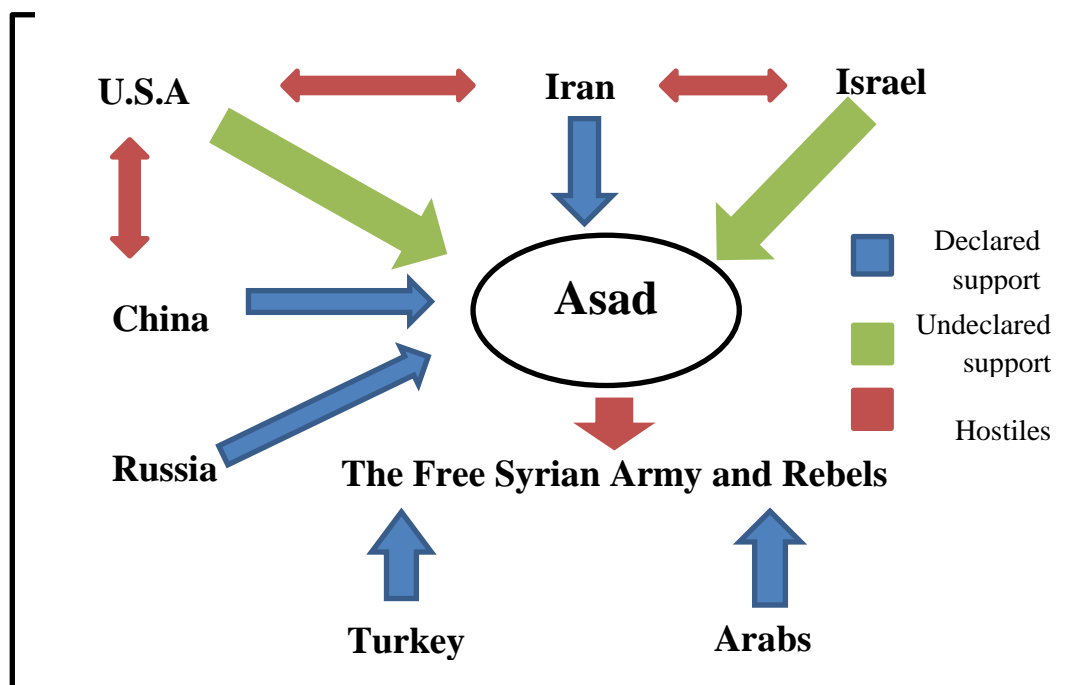
<sup>384</sup> Anna Bernard, "Hezbollah Commits to an All-out Fight to Save Assad," *The New York Times* 25.May.2013.

<sup>385</sup> "Us Will Not Intervene in Syria as It Has in Libya, Says Hillary Clinton," *The Guardian* March.27.2011.

<sup>386</sup> Nabih Bulos, "Al Qaeda-Linked Group Routed in Syrian Rebel Infighting," *The New York Times* January.5.2014.

Syrians<sup>387</sup> the U.S, U.K and Turkey have warned Syria that its use such weapons would trigger military retribution.<sup>388</sup>

Figure 3: Power Games in Syrian Civil War



Source: Newspaper articles and internet news

At the end Asad gave up using the chemical weapons and keep on with traditional method to kill civilians. The other important player of this game is Russia. Russia and China veto three times U.N Resolution on Syria sanctions.<sup>389</sup>

<sup>387</sup> Rick Gladstone, "Forensic Details in U.N. Report Point to Assad's Use of Gas," *The New York Times* September.16.2013.

<sup>388</sup> Julian Borger, "Russian Military Presence in Syria Poses Challenge to Us-Led Intervention," *The Guardian* December.23. 2012.

On the other hand there is no secret that Saudis helping the rebels.<sup>390</sup> Also Turkey has sent a large volume of heavy weapons to all the rebel groups in Syrian uprising including al-Nusra Front, also Turkey hosts Syrian refugees and helped the Free Syrian Army to form their political unity.<sup>391</sup> The Syrian War has attracted huge amount of foreign volunteers who fight against the Assad and also who are backing the regime. The majority comes from the Arab world, with Saudi Arabia, Libya, Tunisia and Iraq. The second-largest grouping is Western Europeans, especially from the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands. Conservative estimate would place the number of foreigners at 5,000 individuals, while a more liberal estimate could be upward of 10,000.<sup>392</sup>

Syria's demographics include Shia, Christian and Kurdish minorities encompasses by sixty-percent Sunni Arab majority. Syria's Shia sects include the Alawites, who constitute approximately twelve percent of Syrians but whose members include the Assad family.<sup>393</sup> This heterogenous demographics structure of Syria causes fractures within the society. As a result, there is also another civil war within the Syrian Civil War; between Kurdish forces and

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<sup>389</sup> Rick Gladstone, "Friction at the U.N. As Russia and China Veto Another Resolution on Syria Sanctions," *The New York Times* July.19.2012.

<sup>390</sup> Andrew Osborn and Amena Bakr, "Putin, Obama Face Off over Syria; Rebels Get Saudi Missiles," *Reuters* June.17.2013.

<sup>391</sup> "Ex-Deputy Pm: Turkey Supplying Heavy Weaponries to Al-Nusra Terrorists in Syria," *Fars News Agency* September.08.2013.

<sup>392</sup> Aaron Y. Zelin, "Who Are the Foreign Fighters in Syria?," (w: The Washington Institute, December.05.2013).

<sup>393</sup> Joseph Holliday, "The Struggle for Syria in 2011, an Operational and Regional Analysis," in *Middle East Security Report* (Institute for the Study of War, December 2011), p. 8.



radical Islamits in the northeast of the country<sup>394</sup> and between secular and religious Syrians in various rebel-held towns and cities<sup>395</sup>.

Turkey is one of the non-Arab states that is the most affected by the Arab Revolutions of 2011. Especially the Syrian Uprising damaged all the efforts that have been done to re-generate Turkish foreign policy. As a consequence Turkish-Syrian and Turkish-Iranian relations are damaged. Şaban Kardaş says that “Turkey conducts its Syria policy very much on the liberal principles that underpin the normative bases of the international order”<sup>396</sup>. But the reality shows the actions of Turkish Government caused a lot pain to Turkish citizens as in the example of Reyhanlı<sup>397</sup>. On the other hand, according to Ahmet Davutoglu, “From Syria to Iran regional stability depends on Washington and Ankara’s continued cooperation.”<sup>398</sup> It seems that Ankara’s stable, peaceful mutual relations and consolidated economic ties with Damascus will only be possible though a new regime.

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<sup>394</sup> Harald Doornbos and Jenan Moussa, "The Civil War within Syria's Civil War," *Foreign Policy Magazine* August.30.2013.

<sup>395</sup> Hassan Hassan, "Breaking Syria's Reign of Terror," *Foreign Policy Magazine* January.09.2014.

<sup>396</sup> Şaban Kardaş, "Global Swing States and International Order: A Turkish View," *On Turkey Analysis* (December.21.2012).

<sup>397</sup> Reyhanlı is a small town situated in the Turkey’s border with Syria. In May 2013, the twin car bombs hit the town and kill 46 people. Turkey’s foreign minister has blamed Syria for bombings. See, Matthew Weaver, "Turkey Blames Syria over Reyhanlı Bombings," *The Guardian* May.12. 2013.

<sup>398</sup> Ahmet Davutoglu, "With the Middle East in Crisis, U.S. And Turkey Must Deepen Alliance," *The Foreign Policy Magazine* November.15.2013.

## 4. Two effective powers in Middle East Turkey and Iran

Throughout the history Turkey and Iran have a closer understanding of each other. Like other countries of the region; the lands currently named as Iran became province of Seljuk Turks while Persians continued to live in their culture and sects with a broad of freedom.<sup>399</sup> Moreover Turks participated in state construction period and military organization in Iran,<sup>400</sup> whereas Turkish language and culture was profoundly affected by Persian language and traditions.<sup>401</sup> Even the Ottoman and Safeties empires were formed by nomadic Turkish origin tribes<sup>402</sup>; they had a complex and rival relationship with a strong stress on regional power politics. Both empires clashed many times in order to capture Baghdad, Tabriz, and Karbala. The War of Çaldıran which took place on 24 August 1514 between Yavuz Sultan Selim and the Safavid Shah Ismail ended with Ottoman victory and prevented Safavid expansionism to the Ottoman Empire.<sup>403</sup> At the end of more than two centuries of unsolved conflicts between Ottomans and Safeties, they signed the Treaty of Qasr-i Shirin (17

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<sup>399</sup> Vasilij V. Bartol'd, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion* (Luzac&Co.Ltd, 1968), p. 475.

<sup>400</sup> İbrahim Kafesoğlu, *Türk Milli Kültürü* (Boğaziçi Yayınları, 1984), p. 83.

<sup>401</sup> G.E. Tetley, *The Ghaznavid and Seljuk Turks: Poetry as a Source for Iranian History* (Taylor & Francis, 2008), p. 25.

<sup>402</sup> Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Volume 1, Empire of the Gazis: The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire 1280-1808* (Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 4-5.

<sup>403</sup> Bilal Dedeyev, "Safevi Tarikati Ve Osmanli Devleti İlişkileri," *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi* 1, no. 5 (2008): p. 220.

May 1639) which were to survive with little change into modern times.<sup>404</sup> The struggle between two powerful empires of Middle East continued until the decline of Ottoman Empire without any supremacy for both sides and every border conflict solved based on Treaty of Qasr-i Shirin.

After the collapse of Ottoman Empire, Turkish - Iranian relations started to develop as two secular neighbors. Even though Reza Shah Pahlavi declared that he did not want to follow Atatürk's anti-Islamic path of secularization<sup>405</sup>, secularity interpretation of both states pulled Mustafa Kemal and Reza Shah Pahlavi together.<sup>406</sup> Additionally, the Kurdish population settling both in Iran and Turkey, on the other hand the Soviet imperialism treating both states, caused to develop similar co-operative security policies. As a result of the chaotic environment, Iran and Turkey signed Turkish - Iranian Friendship and Security Treaty to reinforced mutual understanding and to recognized borders along with sovereignties of the states. Soon after non-aggression pact named as Sadabat Pact signed among Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan.

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<sup>404</sup> Stanford J. Shaw, "Iranian Relations with the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. William Bayne Fisher, et al. (Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 297.

<sup>405</sup> Gavin R. G. Hambly, "The Pahlavi Autocracy: Muhammad Riza Shah, 194 1979," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. William Bayne Fisher, et al. (Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 224.

<sup>406</sup> For more information on secularization process of Iran and Turkey see: Touraj Atabaki and Erik J. Zürcher, *Men of Order: Authoritarian Modernization under Atatürk and Reza Shah* (I. B. Tauris, 2004).

During the Cold War years Turkey was essential neighbor of Iran<sup>407</sup> against increasing Soviet threat.

The Islamic revolution of Iran headed by Imam Khomeini changed the dynamic of mutual relations. Ecevit administration which was in power at that time pursued a cautious foreign policy during the revolution period.<sup>408</sup> Main concern of the Ecevit administration was that Iran would break apart because of internal chaos and be exposed to Soviet intervention and this power vacuum could strengthen the Kurdish nationalist movement.<sup>409</sup> Thus, two days after its establishment Turkey recognized the new regime in Iran on 13 February 1979. After the revolution the ideological rivalry become milestone of the relations. The following crisis was Iran-Iraq war. Turkey declared that it would adhere to neutral policy in the Iran-Iraq War<sup>410</sup> but tried to develop its economic relations with Iran.<sup>411</sup> Especially Turgut Özal thought that close economic relations with Iran were vital for Turkish interests. Therefore Turkey and Iran became regional allies as the member of Baghdad Pact, Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) and Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD).<sup>412</sup> Yet, those relations were

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<sup>407</sup> Gökhan Çetinsaya, "Rafsanjani'den Hatemi'ye Iran Dis Politikasına Bakışlar " in *Türkiye'nin Komşuları*, ed. Mustafa Türkeş and İlhan Uzgel (İmge Kitabevi, 2002), p. 293.

<sup>408</sup> Gökhan Çetinsaya, "Essential Friends and Natural Enemies: The Historical Roots of Turkish-Iranian Relations," *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 7, no. 3 (September 2003): p. 127.

<sup>409</sup> Gökhan Çetinsaya, "Turkish-Iranian Relations since the Revolution," *Turkish Review of Middle East Studies* 14 (2003): p. 143.

<sup>410</sup> Çetinsaya, "Essential Friends and Natural Enemies: The Historical Roots of Turkish-Iranian Relations," p. 129.

<sup>411</sup> Bülent Aras, "Turkish Foreign Policy Towards Iran: Ideology and Foreign Policy in Flux," *Journal of Third World Studies* 18, no. 1 (Spring 2001): p. 106.

<sup>412</sup> Altunışık, "Turkey's Changing Middle East Policy," p. 154.

not only limited to commercial relations. Following Gulf War brought Iran and Turkey together to prevent the establishment of an independent Kurdish state in Northern Iraq.

Throughout the history the relations of Turkey and Iran as non-Muslim countries of Middle East followed a fluctuating line. The headlines of the relations were; trade, energy, the Kurds and PKK, export of the revolution, Iranian opponents living in Turkey and Turkey's efforts at mediating the war. Even though mutual economic interests have always constituted an important factor, the mutual relations between Iran and Turkey characterized by both conflict and collaboration.<sup>413</sup>

## **4.1. Is Turkey mediator or provocateur between Iran and the world?**

It should be said that the relationship between Turkey and Iran was never been easy. Geopolitics, ethnic minorities, economic ties and trade are the factors that have shaped Turkish-Iranian relations since the establishment of Turkish Republic. Before AKP era, Turkey had already breached relations with Iran based on common economic interest and Kurdish uprising threatening the territorial integrity of both states. The nature of Turkish-Iranian relations until 2002 basically shows two main trends. One is the political, economic

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<sup>413</sup> Çetinsaya, "Essential Friends and Natural Enemies: The Historical Roots of Turkish-Iranian Relations," p. 116.

cooperation. The other is a trend of disagreement and strife. Considering the fact that both countries with their multi-ethnic character have been considered gate ways to Central Asia and Caucasus and above all they have high trade volume which makes them natural shareholder of the region.<sup>414</sup> Notably, the chaotic environment of Middle East after the invasion of Iraq started to make Ankara and Tehran get closer.<sup>415</sup> Furthermore Turkey's rejection of support for the Iraqi invasion lessened Turkey's image as U.S ally in the eyes of Iranians.<sup>416</sup>

In 2002 Turkey entered to a new era in the terms of foreign policy, and as well Turkey's internal politics underwent a radical change. Likewise, AKP gradually changed traditional mindset of Turkish foreign policy with a novel worldview of Turkey being a central player in world politics, thus emphasizing greater regional activism and trade-driven foreign relations.<sup>417</sup> In addition, good relations with Iran become one of the most important goals. June 17, 2002, Turkish President Ahmet Necdet Sezer for the first time paid a high-level visit to Islamic Republic of Iran. He said that "no one prevents Turkish-Iranian relations to improve. Turkey and Iran have been neighbors for ages. Improving political, trade, economy relations is beneficial for both sides" and Khamtami

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<sup>414</sup> Nihat Ali Özcan and Özgür Özdamar, "Uneasy Neighbours; Turkish Iran Relation since the 1979 Islamic Revolution," *Middle East Policy Council* 17, no. 3 (2010): p. 110.

<sup>415</sup> Nuri Yeşilyurt and Atay Akdevelioğlu, "Turkey's Middle East Policy under the Jdp Rule " *The Turkish Yearbook of International Relations* 40: p. 61.

<sup>416</sup> Elliot Hentov, "Turkey and Iran " in *Turkey's Global Strategy* (LSE, May 2011), p. 30.

<sup>417</sup> Ibid., p. 29.

declared that "they support Turkey's EU membership and their mutual interests is to fight terrorism"<sup>418</sup>

After Ahmet Necdet Sezer's historical visit to Iran, Turkish - Iranian trade capacity notably increased. As a result, by 2008 Turkey's export to Iran reached two billion US dollars. In addition Iran has become Turkey's second-largest supplier of natural gas after Russia, and Turkey's fifth-largest trading partner.<sup>419</sup>

**Table 3: Official Visits between Iran and Turkey since 1990**

Date	Turkish Leaders	Iranian Leaders
<b>Jul 1994</b>	Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel	
<b>August 1996</b>	Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan	
<b>December 1996</b>		President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani
<b>July 2002</b>	President Ahmet Necdet Sezer	
<b>July 2004</b>	Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan	
<b>August 2008</b>		President Ahmadinejad
<b>January 2009</b>		Speaker of Parliament Ali

<sup>418</sup> "Sezer:No One Prevents Turkish-Iranian Relations to Improve," *Hurriyet Daily News* 19 June 2002.

<sup>419</sup> Bülent Aliriza, Jon B. Alterman, and Andrew C. Kuchins, *The Turkey, Russia, Iran Nexus Driving Forces and Strategies* (Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2013), p. 5.

		Larijani and meets with President Abdullah Gül
<b>November 2009</b>		President Ahmadinejad
<b>May 2010</b>	The presidents of Turkey and Brazil attended the Group 15 summit in Tehran.	
<b>May 2010</b>	Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu	
<b>December 2010</b>		President Ahmadinejad
<b>February 2011</b>	President Abdullah Gül	
<b>May 2011</b>		President Ahmadinejad
<b>January 2012</b>		Speaker of Parliament Larijani
<b>January 2012</b>	Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu	
<b>October 2013</b>		Foreign Minister Mohammed Cevad Zarif

Source: Newspaper articles and internet news

The other substantial cooperation was against PKK and PJK<sup>420</sup>. At the end of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's visit in July 2004 the two countries signed a Memorandum of Understanding on Security Cooperation<sup>421</sup> and they agreed to fight against the terrorism.

<sup>420</sup> PJK: Party of Free Life in Kurdistan is the Iranian branch of PKK which created after the capture of Abdullah Ocalan.

<sup>421</sup> Altunışık, "Turkey's Changing Middle East Policy," p. 155.



The most significant issue on Turkish-Iranian relations was the Turkish attitude vis-à-vis Iranian nuclear programme. Notably, the debates on Turkish drift from the West started when Iran signed nuclear fuel-swap deal with Turkey on May 17, 2010.<sup>422</sup> Under the deal, Iran would ship 1,200kg of low-enriched uranium (LEU) which corresponds to 3.5percent of Iran's LEU<sup>423</sup> to Turkey in return for the fuel rods.<sup>424</sup> The agreement signed in Tehran between Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, Brazilian President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva and Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan. As Graham Fuller explains "These two medium-size powers, Brazil and Turkey, have just challenged the guiding hand of Washington in determining nuclear strategy toward Iran; they undertook their own initiative to persuade Iran to accede to a deal on the handling of nuclear fuel issues."<sup>425</sup>

Recep Tayyip Erdoğan have been defending Iran's right to develop peaceful nuclear technology, even offering to mediate between Iran and the West.<sup>426</sup> Turkey also used its seat on the UN Security Council to vote against imposing additional sanctions on Iran.<sup>427</sup> In conclusion Brazil and Turkey have resisted

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<sup>422</sup> "Iran Signs Nuclear Fuel-Swap Deal with Turkey," *BBC News* May.17.2010.

<sup>423</sup> "Iran Signs Nuclear Fuel Swap Deal with Turkey and Brazil," *Telegraph* May.17.2010.

<sup>424</sup> Julian Borger, "Iran-Turkey Nuclear Swap Deal 'Means New Sanctions Are Unnecessary'," *The Guardian* May.17.2010.

<sup>425</sup> Graham E. Fuller, "Brazil and Turkey Shift Global Politics," *New Perspectives Quarterly* 27, no. 3 (2010): p. 23.

<sup>426</sup> Özcan and Özdamar, "Uneasy Neighbours; Turkish Iran Relation since the 1979 Islamic Revolution," p. 114.

<sup>427</sup> Sinan Ülgen, "A Place in the Sun or Fifteen Minutes of Fame? Understanding Turkey's New Foreign Policy," *Carnegie Endowment For International Peace* 1 (December 2010): p. 2.

US-led efforts to push through new sanctions against Iran to stop uranium enrichment activity. Turkey believed isolating Iran from the international community did not mean controlling Iranian nuclear programme and it should better be applying diplomatic methods *in lieu* applying embargos. As a result of the efforts that have been done by Turkey to integrate Iran to the international arena and to diminish economic sanctions against Iran, they started to co-operate

**Figure 4: Iran, Turkey and Brazil celebrate the nuclear fuel swap deal**



Place and Date: Tehran, 17/May/2010, From left to right, Brazilian Foreign Minister Celso Amorim, Brazilian President Luis Inacio Lula da Silva, Iranian Foreign Minister Manouchehr Mottaki, Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu, joined hands after signing a nuclear fuel swap deal.

Source: The Guardian

in regional issues like Iraqi neighborhood countries conference and the meeting of Friends of Democratic Pakistan. Consequently, Western powers and US was

skeptical on the agreement<sup>428</sup> and after the pressure that have been made to Brazil and Turkey by US, they have broken the deal with Iran.<sup>429</sup>

Arab Revolutions changed the regional dynamics; Turkey and Iran have found themselves supporting different political factions in Syria and Bahrain. As a result of its immediate foreign-policy interests, Turkey re-started to cooperate more with its tradition Western allies and US. Meanwhile Ankara and Washington agreed that nuclear-armed Iran is dangerous for the Middle East and their own interests.<sup>430</sup> Even Turkey and Iran seeks for power in Middle East along with powerful Saudis and Qataris, economic relations between Iran and Turkey remains its acceleration, for example the volume of trade transaction in the first eleven months of 2013 reached over \$ 13.5 billion.

## 5. Israel and Turkey, Enemy or Friend?

Since the end of the Cold-War, one of the most significant rapprochements within the Middle East was Turkish-Israeli alignment. The historical roots of this relationship dates back to the expulsion of Jews from Spain in 1492. Subsequent to expulsion, Jews incorporated into Ottoman

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<sup>428</sup> David Sanger and Slackman Michael, "U.S. Is Skeptical on Iranian Deal for Nuclear Fuel," *The New York Times* May.17.2010.

<sup>429</sup> Stephern Kinzer, "Iran's Nuclear Deal " *The Guardian* May.17.2010.

<sup>430</sup> Philipp C. Bleek and Aaron Stein, "Turkey and America Face Iran," *Survival* 54, no. 2 (2012): p. 27.

Empire.<sup>431</sup> According to Amikam Nachmani notes “Historically the Jews never suffered persecution in Turkey, and no Jewish blood had ever been spilled there by Turks”<sup>432</sup> and he continues “Turkish Jews who freely migrated to Israel did not leave as a result of persecution or deprivation, although they left in their masses.”<sup>433</sup> It should be pointed out that history of Turkish-Jew relations based on mutual understanding.

Turkey is the first Muslim majority country that recognized Israel in 1949 shortly after its establishment. The good reciprocal relations between Israel and Turkey gained acceleration during the government periods of Adnan Menderes and Ben Gurion.<sup>434</sup> On the other hand “Turkey established official relations with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1975 and also recognized the Palestinian State established in exile on 15 November 1988”.<sup>435</sup> Thus Turkey became the first country cooperating with Israel recognizing the existence of Palestine state. Throughout the Cold War and since then successive Turkish political and military leaders of the Kemalist (secular) establishment

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<sup>431</sup> Joshua Walker, "Turkey and Israel's Relationship in the Middle East," *Mediterranean Quarterly* 17, no. 4 (Fall 2006): p. 62-66.

<sup>432</sup> Amikam Nachmani, *Israel, Turkey, and Greece: Uneasy Relations in the East Mediterranean* (Frank Cass, 1987), p. 147.

<sup>433</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>434</sup> See, Ofra Bengio, *The Turkish-Israeli Relationship Changing Ties of Middle Eastern Outsiders* (Palgrave Macmillan 2010), p. 46-42.

<sup>435</sup> *Türkiye Filistin Siyasi İlişkileri* (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Dış İşleri Bakanlığı).

have viewed links to Israel as a pro-western non-Arab Middle Eastern state in terms of Turkey's historic Western orientation in foreign policy.<sup>436</sup>

In the 1990s, relations between Israel and Turkey were quiet perfect. In 1991, the number of high-level state visits increased, following in 1997 free trade agreement was signed<sup>437</sup>. Also they realized a sophisticated military cooperation process in 1996 unusual in the history of Turkey's relations with any Middle Eastern country.<sup>438</sup> Further to that Israeli companies became involved in the modernization efforts of the Turkish military, a growing number of Israeli tourists visited Turkey's southern costs. Until the end of 90s the relations between Israel and Turkey greatly expanded and reached an unprecedented degree of closeness. Both states signed enough trade, tourism and cultural agreements that can created an affiliation between Ankara and Tel Aviv. In conclusion Israel together with Turkey has become a determinant element in the politics of the Middle East and Eastern Mediterranean areas.<sup>439</sup> Also it should not put aside the positive effect of 'soft coup' of the June 1997 against Islamist Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan and his Welfare (Refah) Party colleagues in terms of domestic considerations such as public support for

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<sup>436</sup> Michael B. Bishku, "How Has Turkey Viewed Israel?," *Israel Affairs* 12, no. 1 (2006): p. 177.

<sup>437</sup> Amikam Nachmani, "The Remarkable Turkish - Israeli Tie," *The Middle East Quarterly* 5, no. 2 (1998): p. 25.

<sup>438</sup> Tarik Oğuzlu, "The Changing Dynamics of Turkey-Israel Relations: A Structural Realist Account," *Mediterranean Politics* 15, no. 2 (2010): p. 274.

<sup>439</sup> Efraim Inbar, "Regional Implications of Israeli - Turkish Strategic Partnership," *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 5, no. 2 (Summer 2001): p. 50.

the Palestinian struggle.<sup>440</sup> According to Daniel Pipes “The events in Sincan point up an extremely significant strategic development: a budding Turkish-Israeli alignment with the potential to alter the strategic map of the Middle East, to reshape American alliances there, and to reduce Israel's regional isolation.”<sup>441</sup> Conversely, to the pragmatic relations built in 90s, over the last decade Turkish–Israeli relation going through a cooling-off period.<sup>442</sup> Especially the violent policies of Ariel Sharon government towards Palestinians caused unforeseen reaction of three party coalition government led by Bülent Ecevit. He told that “...genocide was being committed against the Palestinians and that the administration of Prime Minister Ariel Sharon had chosen the path of occupation and war.”<sup>443</sup> The complex nature of Turkish-Israeli relations based on pragmatic policies stayed as usual after Ecevit’s ‘genocide’ declaration but it should be noted that under AKP governance the mutual relations has become more complex than before.

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<sup>440</sup> See, Hakan Yavuz, "Turkish–Israeli Relations through the Lens of the Turkish Identity Debat," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 27, no. 1 (Autumn 1997): p. 27-31.; Bülent Aras, "Turkish Foreign Policy and Jerusalem: Toward a Societal Construction of Foreign Policy," *Arab Studies Quarterly* 22, no. 4 (Fall 2000): p. 45–46 and p. 48–49.; Daniel Pipes, "A New Axis: The Emerging Turkish-Israeli Entente," *National Interest* (Winter 1997/98 ).; Bishku, "How Has Turkey Viewed Israel?," p. 177.

<sup>441</sup> Pipes, "A New Axis: The Emerging Turkish-Israeli Entente." p.16

<sup>442</sup> Oğuzlu, "The Changing Dynamics of Turkey–Israel Relations: A Structural Realist Account," p. 274.

<sup>443</sup> "Turkey Accuses Israel of Genocide ", *BBC News* 4 April 2002.

## 5.1. The Relationship between Israel and AKP

Justice and Development Party victory in 2002 initially did not change the nature of mutual relations between two states. Notwithstanding Israeli authorities publicly put into words their worries about the Islamic past of AKP government and also Israeli preoccupations "... that relations with their closest friend in the region might cool."<sup>444</sup> The first serious tension between Israel and Turkey broke out in 2004 when Israeli army assassinated Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, the spiritual leader of militant Palestinian organization Hamas.<sup>445</sup> Erdogan accused Ariel Sharon of "state terrorism" against Palestinians and associated it to their bad treatment under Spanish Inquisition.<sup>446</sup> The speech of Erdogan made tremendous impact both in national and international level. Moreover it helped Erdogan to recuperate bad reputation of Turkey among Arab neighbors. At the same time the international conjuncture was quiet complicated for Turkey. In 2004 AKP government was facing with serious crisis like, the resumption of PKK activities in Northern Iraq, the need for international support against the Armenian genocide drafts law and the critical process of Annan Plan towards Cyprus peace. On the other hand, relations with United States were damaged because of the March 1 bill. Therefore Turkey chooses to soften its relations with Israel. Due to this perspective the normalization of relations gained acceleration. First a delegation headed by Justice and Development Party Foreign Affairs Council director Şaban Dişli, Egemen Bağış

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<sup>444</sup> "A Strategic Friendship Cools," *The Economist* June.24.2004.

<sup>445</sup> "Hamas Founder Killed in Israeli Airstrike ", *CNN International* May.6.2004.

<sup>446</sup> "Turkish Pm Accuses Israel of Practicing State Terrorism, ," *The Guardian* 4 June 2004.

Ömer Çelik and Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu visited Israel on September 2, 2004.<sup>447</sup> After, Abdullah Gül as the Foreign Minister of Republic of Turkey paid another official visit.<sup>448</sup> Eventually, on May 1, 2005 Turkish Prime Minister undertook an official visit to restore economic and politic ties with Israel.<sup>449</sup> During his visit, Recep Tayyip Erdogan offered to serve as a peace mediator in Middle East conflicts.

The significant change in Israeli politics came with Hamas victory in 2005 elections.<sup>450</sup> Hamas was accepted as a terrorist organization according to E.U blacklist<sup>451</sup> and this situation caused worries among western countries and Israel. At the same time Hamas's was refusing to recognize Israel. This situation lunched as the main concern of international community.<sup>452</sup> Above all Turkish Prime Minister mentioned that international community should respect free will of Palestinians.<sup>453</sup> Soon after the elections AKP also took a huge step and invited Khaled Mashel, the leader of Hamas' political wing based in

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<sup>447</sup> "Peres: Akp Türk Lokumu," *Hürriyet* September 2 2004.

<sup>448</sup> Stratejik Düşünce Enstitüsü, *Türkiye-İsrail İlişkileri* (SDE Analiz, November 2011), p. 13.

<sup>449</sup> Greg Myre, "Turkish Leader Visits Israel, Restoring Friendly Ties," *The New York Time* May 2 2005.

<sup>450</sup> "Hamas Rolls to Victory in Local West Bank Voting," *New York Times* 16 December 2005.

<sup>451</sup> "Eu Blacklists Hamas Political Wing," *BBC News* 11 September 2003.

<sup>452</sup> Bülent Aras, "Davutoğlu Era in Turkish Foreign Policy," *SETA Policy Brief* (2009): p. 10.

<sup>453</sup> Soner Çagaptay, "Hamas Visits Ankara: The Akp Shifts Turkey's Role in the Middle East," *Policy Analysis* 1081 (February 16, 2006).



Damascus, to Ankara.<sup>454</sup> The idea of AKP was to serve as a third party in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This invitation was harshly criticized by Israel, United States and secular elites of Turkey and interpreted as an unfriendly action that would damage Turkish-Israeli relations. Moreover Davutoğlu met twice in Syria with Khaled Mashel.<sup>455</sup> In spite of hard critics over Turkey's mediation initiatives in Israeli-Palestine conflict, from the other side of river French President Nicolas Sarkozy's request for help from Erdoğan. Turkey was acting like a spokesperson of Hamas in the international arena. As Bülent Aras explained so clearly, "in this sense, Turkey has started a mediation process between HAMAS and international actors while maintaining regular contacts with Fatah, the Palestinian Authority and Abbas. Ankara's contribution at this point has been to motivate HAMAS to take pragmatic steps and ensure a rapprochement among the Palestinian factions."<sup>456</sup> Turkey's eagerness to play mediator role in Middle East conflicts opened a new horizon in its relations with neighboring states. Meanwhile Ankara was searching for possibilities of mediation between Israel and Syria. The talks started in February 2008 when both sides became ripe. Turkey conducted five rounds of indirect talks in Istanbul until December 2008.<sup>457</sup> 5 days after the last meeting, on 27 December 2008 Israel attacked Gaza. During Israel's three-week offensive in the Gaza Strip in December 2008 and January 2009, 1,417 Palestinians, including 926

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<sup>454</sup> "Exiled Hamas Leader in Turkey for Talks," *Times* 16 February 2006.

<sup>455</sup> Aras, "Davutoğlu Era in Turkish Foreign Policy," p. 10.

<sup>456</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>457</sup> Meliha Altunisik and Esra Cuhadar, "Turkey's Search for a Third Party Role in Arab-Israeli Conflicts: A Neutral Facilitator or a Principal Power Mediator?," *Mediterranean Politics* 15, no. 3 (2010): p. 381.

civilians killed.<sup>458</sup> Turkish government was feeling angry, and with a sense of betrayal because shortly before the attacks, Israeli officials visiting Turkey guaranteed that there would be no resort to a military option.<sup>459</sup> Continuously Turkish government announced that they put an end to their honest broker role in Israeli-Syrian conflict. The result was that Erdoğan described the Israeli operation in Gaza using statements like: ‘crime against humanity’, ‘disrespectful behavior against Turkey’, ‘we’ll not take side with the oppressors’.<sup>460</sup>

Turkish disgruntlement with Israeli policies came to a head when Erdoğan exchanged vitriolic statements with Shimon Peres on the sidelines of the World Economic Forum meetings in Davos in late 2008. Erdoğan thought that Peres was simply trying to help legitimize the use of disproportional force by Israel’s defense forces against Hamas.<sup>461</sup> In the last minute of meeting he said “one minute” and turned to the Shimon Peres and he continued “Mr. Peres, you are older than me,” he said. “Your voice comes out in a very loud tone. And the loudness of your voice has to do with a guilty conscience. My voice, however, will not come out in the same tone.” Resisting efforts by Mr. Ignatius to end the session, Erdoğan continued, saying President Peres, “When it comes

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<sup>458</sup> Hasan Kösebalaban, "The Crisis in Turkish-Israeli Relations: What Is Its Strategic Significance?," *Middle East Policy* 17, no. 3 (2010): p. 38.

<sup>459</sup> Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>460</sup> Altunisik and Cuhadar, "Turkey's Search for a Third Party Role in Arab-Israeli Conflicts: A Neutral Facilitator or a Principal Power Mediator?," p. 386.

<sup>461</sup> Oğuzlu, "The Changing Dynamics of Turkey-Israel Relations: A Structural Realist Account," p. 276.

to killing, you know well how to kill.” Finally he declared that Davos is over for Erdoğan.<sup>462</sup>

**Figure 5: Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan of Turkey, left, and President Shimon Peres of Israel at a discussion on Gaza in Davos, Switzerland.**



Place and Date: Davos, 29/January/2009

Source; The New York Times

After Davos Erdoğan became the rising star of the Middle East. He integrated himself so much to Palestinian issue that Arab leaders have had to

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<sup>462</sup> Katrin Bennihold, "Leaders of Turkey and Israel Clash at Davos Panel," *The New York Times* 29 January 2009.

declare that the Palestinian issue was an internal Arab matter.<sup>463</sup> It should be mentioned that whatever happened in Davos Conference was less important than how it was interpreted. In pursuit of Davos the main concern was Turkey's reorientation in Muslim world. The skeptical ideas on AKP's conservative Islam identity consolidate after Davos.

The most serious development in relations between Israel named as *Mavi Marmara* incident. In June 2010, the Israeli navy stormed the Turkish vessel *Mavi Marmara* that carries humanitarian aid to Gaza. Israeli navy killed nine people whom were majority Turkish and injure other civilians onboard. Israel described the incident as normal self-defense, whereas Turkish statesmen called it an act of "piracy," "murder by a state"<sup>464</sup> and "state terrorism."<sup>465</sup> Turkey was waiting for an official apology and an objective jurisdiction on the issue. UN report which said Israel's blockade of Gaza was a legal security measure, Turkey expelled the Israeli ambassador.<sup>466</sup> Three years after the incident, in March 2013 Israel's Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu made a phone call of apology to his Turkish counterpart Recep Tayyip Erdogan.<sup>467</sup> The positive step can be considerate as the re-generation of Turkish-Israeli relations.

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<sup>463</sup> Kösebalaban, "The Crisis in Turkish-Israeli Relations: What Is Its Strategic Significance?," p. 36.

<sup>464</sup> "Erdogan: İsrail Bir Terör Devletidir," *Zaman* 19 October 2012.

<sup>465</sup> Kösebalaban, "The Crisis in Turkish-Israeli Relations: What Is Its Strategic Significance?," 37.

<sup>466</sup> "Gaza Flotilla: Turkey 'to Take Israel to Un Court'," *BBC News* 3 September 2011.

<sup>467</sup> Kevin Connolly, "Mavi Marmara: Us Extracts Last-Minute Israeli Apology," *BBC News* 22 March 2013.

## 6. Why Cyprus is so important for Turkey and for the Middle East

Cyprus is the third largest island which situates in maritime crossroads of the Eastern Mediterranean basin. The island is neighbor with Greece, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Israel and Egypt. Its location at the crossroad of three continents (Asia, Europe and Africa) and the entire Mediterranean civilizations made it natural stopover and natural place to clam as strategic base. The population of the island-about 1,120,489-is composed of 77% Greeks, 18% Turkish and 5% Armenians, Maronites, and Latins.

For more than five decades the ongoing ethno-religious conflict between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, which characterized by a continuing tension and mistrust between two communities affected all the spheres of daily and political life in physically and demographically divided island of Mediterranean Sea. Protection of their own collective identities and attachment to their 'mother lands' elaborates the dynamic and complicated nature of identity and border conflict in Cyprus.

Almost 60 years have passed since the internationalization of the Cyprus Question. The United Nations , European Union , the various players in the international scene and the two ethnic communities of the island, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots are still working to solve the Cyprus problem with a serious examination of its peacekeeping and peacemaking operations but even today there is no certain solution, the island still remains physically, demographically and culturally divided and the atmosphere of mistrust between communities keeps its actuality. Several studies have been conducted, all

aiming the identification of the causes and suggest possible scenario towards the resolution of the conflict.<sup>468</sup> The ongoing decades-long physical and cultural separation between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots has resulted to what Bryant described as 'ethnic estrangement'. Ethnic estrangement has been reinforced by intensive processes of 'nation-building' in both communities, heightening their respective 'Greekness' and 'Turkishness', while constructing the other community as the 'ethnic-Other' and 'arch-enemy' of the ethnic self.<sup>469</sup> From this point of view, it is clear that the case of Cyprus is totally shaped by the image of the 'other' and 'self'. Sometimes in the mind of Greek Cypriots identifies, Turkish identity in the case of 'difference in mentality' as the element of Turkish identity, which they integrated into a larger explanatory framework of West equal to civilized versus East which equal to uncivilized. This story has produce a world of spate peoples each with their culture and each organized in a society which can legitimately be isolated for description as an island itself.<sup>470</sup>

In the case of Cyprus both ethnic membership and nationalism have played a key role in the process of boundary formation between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. Especially after 1963, Greek and Turkish nationalisms

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<sup>468</sup> Arax-Marie Yildizian and Anoush Ehteshami Ehteshami, "Ethnic Conflict in Cyprus and the Contact Hypothesis: An Empirical Investigation," in *Interdisciplinary Conference on Political Science* (Oxford, UK: 15 February 2004).

<sup>469</sup> Michalinos Zembylas, "Ethnic Division in Cyprus and a Policy Initiative on Promoting Peaceful Coexistence: Toward an Agonistic Democracy for Citizenship Education," *Education Citizenship and Social Justice* 6 (2011): p. 45.

<sup>470</sup> Fredric Barth, "Selected Studies in International Migration and Immigration Incorporation," in *Introduction to Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Differences*, ed. Marco Martiniello and Jan Rath (Amsterdam University Press, 2010), p. 409.

had become the matters of official policy. The ongoing propaganda war gained more ground in the absence of contact between the two communities. In the process of ‘nation-building’ two communities use their ‘Greekness’ and ‘Turkishness’ and their attachment of their ‘motherland’. Because of this ethnic policy we could not talk about the common ‘Cypriotness’ that can unify the state and the people.

Many invaders, settlers and immigrants have come here over the centuries, and the island has seen Egyptians, Phoenicians, Assyrians, Ptolemies, Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, Crusaders, Lusignans, Venetians, Ottomans, and, of course, the British Empire—before gaining its independence in 1960. Among all these rulers, only the Greeks and Turks have had a significant and long-lasting demographic impact on modern Cypriot society.<sup>471</sup> Thus, the Island’s fate has always been intertwined with coming and going, rising and fading of external powers and passage of time.<sup>472</sup>

During the 12<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C Achaean Greeks come to settle on the island bringing with them Greek language, their religion and customs so called ‘Hellenization of the Island’. There are two separate assumptions to be Hellenization:

1. There were since the coming of the Greek, Cyprus culture has been Greek or part of a Greek culture

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<sup>471</sup> S. Joseph, *Cyprus: Ethnic Conflict and International Politics* (St. Martin’s Press 1997), p. 16.

<sup>472</sup> Harry Anastasiou, *The Broken Olive Branch: Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict, and the Quest for Peace in Cyprus. Nationalism Versus Europeanization*. (Syracuse University Press, 2008), p. 5.

2. Cyprus ever since has become and reminds, a part of Greek world and (what is considered to be similar) of the Greek nation.<sup>473</sup>

More specifically, the Greek brand of nationalism, which became endemic among the Greeks, developed through the Romantic tradition that was rooted in the works of the Jean Jacques Rousseau. Nationalism through the romantic route capitalized on the common ethno-cultural and the folkloric elements of Greeks: the common spoken language (albeit with its great variety of dialects), shared customs and traditions, and the Greek Orthodox religion.<sup>474</sup> Besides Greek culture, the most important “ingredient” of Greek-Cypriot identity is seen to be The (Greek) Orthodox religion and Greek language. It is again assumed that once Cyprus became a part of the Byzantine world, Greek culture combined with Christianity (Greek Orthodoxy) so that Cyprus was henceforth even more securely (ethnically) Greek - and this Greekness, it managed to maintain under the various conquerors that followed (Franks, Venetians, Ottomans and British). In brief, the assumption is that the Greek national identity of Cyprus was maintained, despite centuries of enslavement, through Greek culture and Orthodoxy.<sup>475</sup>

The division between ethnic groups of Cyprus started at 1571. The cause was the Ottoman Empire’s *millet* administrative system which divided subjects of the empire on their religious beliefs. The millet, or religious group, operated

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<sup>473</sup> Nicos Peristianis, *Between Nation and State: Nation, Nationalism, State, and National Identity in Cyprus*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (Middlesex University 2008), p. 48.

<sup>474</sup> Anastasiou, *The Broken Olive Branch: Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict, and the Quest for Peace in Cyprus. Nationalism Versus Europeanization*, p. 22.

<sup>475</sup> Peristianis, *Between Nation and State: Nation, Nationalism, State, and National Identity in Cyprus*, p. 48.



as a civil unit that was semi-autonomous, allowing the separate exercise of legal, fiscal and educational functions, though final authority rested with the Sultan and his government. The Orthodox Church on the other hand held a strong position among the Greek- Cypriots and helped them preserve their political ethnic and religious identity under all the years of Ottoman rule.<sup>476</sup> Cyprus just before the Turkish conquest had been an almost “empty” island. Only around 180,000 inhabitants are presumed to have lived there in 1570, 140,000 of whom seem to have been rural serfs and poor peasants in scattered villages. Only 40,000 dwellers lived in the two main Venetian fortified urban centers, namely the capital and main city of Nicosia<sup>477</sup> and the fortress of Famagusta (Magosa in Turkish). To these could be added some minor towns and harbors along the coasts, such as Limassol (Limosa), Girniye (Kyrenia), Tuzla-Larnaka (Larnaca) and Baf (Paphos).<sup>478</sup> The Turks tried to respond to this demographic crisis by transferring peasants from Anatolia to Cyprus.<sup>479</sup> The first immigrants were the soldiers who took place in the conquest. In 1571 the Sultan issued a *firman* for the resettlement of Cyprus to transfer people skilled in a variety of professions and crafts. Apart from these, banishment of nomadic tribes (Yörüks) from Anatolia and conversion to Islam of non-Muslim Cypriots continued to form the main elements of the Muslim fabric on the

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<sup>476</sup> M. Constantinou Costas, "Aporias of Identity and the 'Cyprus Problem'," in *ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops* (Nikosia: 25-30 April 2006 ), p. 10.

<sup>477</sup> Nicosia was the only town located in the interior of the island, which came to be called Lefkoşa under Ottoman rule

<sup>478</sup> Elena Brambilla, "*Convivencia under Muslim Rule: The Island of Cyprus after the Ottoman Conquest (1571-1640)*" (Plus-Pisa Universty Press 2010), p. 123.

<sup>479</sup> Particularly since the times of Mehmed the Conqueror forced population transfers were an important part of Ottoman social and economic policy

island throughout the Ottoman period.<sup>480</sup> Thereafter, all peasants could be mixed under the general category of Turkish subjects, *re'aya*.<sup>481</sup>

The Ottoman Empire ruled by Islamic law (Sharia) which did not distinguish between ethnicities -"The law knows no Turk, Arab, or Kurd" - but only between believers (Muslims) and non-believers (*zimmis*). Thus, in court, Ottoman *kadis* had to "apply the same standard of justice for both *zimmis* and Muslim". It must be point out that religion was the only criterion of differentiation. Thus, in court, Ottoman *kadis* had to apply the same standard of justice for both *zimmis* and Muslim. It should be pointed out that religion and not ethnicity was the only criterion of differentiation: "In the court [of Nicosia] the name Greek Orthodox (Rum) was never used; those groups were always called *zimmis*. Although other *zimmis* - the minorities -were often identified as Armenian (Ermeni), Maronite (Süryani), or Jew (Yahudi), those distinctions had no significance in regard to legal rights, only for administrative organization".<sup>482</sup> In Cyprus after the Ottoman conquest, however, Muslims were a minority group; but Kadi court registers show that they lived peace-fully side by side with the majority of Orthodox Greeks and with smaller groups of Jews and Catholics. Religious difference was not a source of conflict but acted as a barrier against social integration. Intermarriage of Christian women to Muslim men was a rare phenomenon but nevertheless occurred. Marriage of a Christian

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<sup>480</sup> Akgün Mensur et al., *Quo Vadis Cyprus?* (TESEV, 2005), p. 8.

<sup>481</sup> Brambilla, *"Convivencia under Muslim Rule: The Island of Cyprus after the Ottoman Conquest (1571-1640)*, p. 122.

<sup>482</sup> Peristianis, *Between Nation and State: Nation, Nationalism, State, and National Identity in Cyprus*, p.75.

man to a Muslim woman was not regarded as permissible.<sup>483</sup> During the late period of Ottoman Empire, emerged an informal social-economic division between Muslims and non-Muslims. As it is known the *zimmi*s were not required to serve in the army, for this reason they engaged in commerce while the Muslims, as representatives of ruling power, talked place in the bureaucracy and the military and the Turks on the Island were engaged in the farming as their principal economic activity.

The British colonialism, who took over the administration in 1878 from Ottoman Empire, changed the identity politics in Cyprus. When they arrived, the Island was still structured according to the Ottoman millet system. The aim of the colonial authorities was to 'westernize' the millet system not to abolish therefore the religious division stay as it was but the authorities progressively shifted it to ethnic divisions which modern state could be exercised. Meanwhile they were creating the necessary conditions for a strategy of *divide-and-rule*. However every colonizer country had their colonization policies, British policy was "preserving native culture". It means that, native customs, believes and behaviors among local population should be stay the same as it was before the colonization. This, "civilizing mission" that the British authorities used in their colonies was about helping them to transform themselves from their more traditional or backward stage of development, to a higher and more progressive stage of civilization, in the case of Cyprus this transformation corresponded to 'secularization'. The idea of separating church and state while limiting the traditional rights of the local Church in Cyprus, emerge an intense anti-British campaign among the Greek population of Cyprus. In the Ottoman practice of millet system, the archbishop of the Church of Cyprus was recognized as

<sup>483</sup>

Mensur et al., *Quo Vadis Cyprus?*, p. 8.

*ethnarch* (millet leader) thus he was representing the Orthodox population in secular matters as well.<sup>484</sup>

The British census of 1881 estimated population at 136,629 Greeks, 46,389 Turks, 691 English and 2,400 other which includes Arabic-speaking Maronite-Catholics, mostly from Lebanon (now from Syria), and Armenian, who arrives near the end of nineteenth century, and also the island's population included Muslim-Christians called Linobambaki.<sup>485, 486</sup> In the census of 1925, membership increased to 24, out of which 12 were Greeks, 3 Muslims and 9 officials.<sup>487</sup> Communal representation was, in many ways, a new version of the millet system. City and village council representation was distributed proportionally, and representatives were elected through separate electoral rolls by their co-religionists. The crucial point is that the bi-ethnic system of governance that established by the British colonial authorities forced individuals to choose between religious, social and cultural aspects of their identity and repress those aspects that transgressed or contradicted the official definition of who they were or ought to have been.<sup>488</sup>

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<sup>484</sup> M. Constantinou Costas, "On the Cypriot States of Exception," *International Political Sociology* 2 (2008): p. 150.

<sup>485</sup> Linobambaki means in Greek language 'linen and cotton', which indicates the attachment of their religious practices. Moreover, in nineteenth century the intermarriage between Orthodox and Muslims signify the conversion from Islam to orthodoxy more especially the Linobambaki case which also affected the number of Muslim and Christians in the Island.

<sup>486</sup> Adamantia Pollis, "Intergroup Conflict and British Colonial Policy: The Case of Cyprus," *Comparative Politics* 5 (1973): p. 582.

<sup>487</sup> Peristianis, *Between Nation and State: Nation, Nationalism, State, and National Identity in Cyprus*, , p. 123.

<sup>488</sup> Costas, "Aporias of Identity and the 'Cyprus Problem'," p. 12.

The powerful idea of “nation” emerged in the 19th century, and came to reinforce confessional identity by linking it with other closely connected factors, such as language and ethnic origin. Later, as Bernard Lewis has underlined in more general terms, this peculiar combination of religious superiority and tolerance that gave way to new conflicts. Causes were the combination of two factors: the emergence the nation-state, with their multiple identities. In the mid of nineteenth century Greek revolution broke out and ended with the liberation of Greece. In the length of time, the British’s forget their noble purpose of ‘civilization mission’; all they want was the stability in the Island. First of all they needed to prevent the nationalist vague of *enosis* and they were fostering Cypriot patriotism. However, when the local population, especially the Greek Christians, used their nationality as a way of challenging the British presence on the island, the British policy tried to promote the idea that (Greek) Cypriots were really a *mélange* culture, a Hybrid community with only dubious connections to ancient Greek culture as well as modern Greece.<sup>489</sup> During the colonization period two ethno-religious communities of Cyprus developed their national identities in different ways and directions. Furthermore they grew "walls of demarcation" between them, and until today they keep their walls.

## 6.1. Neither Enosis nor Taksim: Peacemaking in Process

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<sup>489</sup>

Ibid., p. 17.

It is difficult to talk about a common “Cypriot Identity” in Cyprus. When the Turks ceded Cyprus to Britain in 1878, the bicomunal character of Cyprus had already been formed. A census in 1832 recorded 198 Christian villages, 92 Muslim and 172 mixed villages. The Greek-Cypriot community was 80% and the Turkish-Cypriot 20%, and both communities were divided linguistically, religiously, ethnically and culturally.<sup>490</sup> The Turkish-Cypriots identified with Turkey, the Ottoman Empire and the Muslim religion and the Greek-Cypriots identified with the Byzantine Empire, the Greek language, culture and the Orthodox religion.<sup>491</sup> The Turkish nationalism in Cyprus developed in different way; Cypriot Muslims started adopting Turkish nationalist ideas from the 1920s on. The escalating conflict in the 1950s and 1960s made Turkish nationalism the predominant ideology within the Turkish Cypriot community.<sup>492</sup> The first nationalist movement in 1920 among the Muslims of Cyprus was a more elitist movement than mass action, Kemalism was the source of this movement. It was the first time that the two sides of the conflict acted together against colonial power; Turks with Greeks and they had a chance to had their sovereignty. The head agent of the nationalist movements among the Turkish Cypriots was Asaf bey. He was helping the nationalist groups to create Turkish nationalism and he wanted that the Turks in the Island immigrate to Turkey.<sup>493</sup> The major characteristic of the Turkish nationalism was:

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<sup>490</sup> Niyazi Kızılyürek, *Paşalar Ve Papazlar* ( Kaledon yayıncılık, 2011), p. 36.

<sup>491</sup> Maria Zingi, "Language and the Construction of Identity in Cyprus," *LEQS Papers* (18 November 2010): p. 1.

<sup>492</sup> Ramm. Christoph, *Construction of Identity Beyond Recognized Borders: The Turkish Cypriot Community between Cyprus, Turkey and the European Union* (<http://www.sant.ox.ac.uk/esc/esc-lectures/ramm.pdf>, [cited 29/11/ 2011]).

<sup>493</sup> Niyazi Kızılyürek, *Milliyetçilik Kıskacında Kıbrıs* (İletişim, 2002), p. 42.

- Anti-Britannic
- Anti-Traditional, Muslim and Laic
- Close to Helen pollution of the Island.<sup>494</sup>

The confusing point was: how these anti-colonial movements among the Turks turned to eternal friendship with Britain Empire and took this place against the Hellenic Nationalist movements? Simply in 1930's, the common interest in The Mediterranean politics of Turkey and England was threatened by the fascist Italy this danger pushed two country to work together. On the other side at the end of 1930's ενosis (Enosis), political union with motherland Greece, changed its structure to mass movement. The common social and political interest of Turkey and England played an important role in the development of the Enosis. The first clash between Church and British colonial administration was the no recognition of the Church privileges. The no recognition of the privileges panicked the Church and Church created the "Enosis" movement and supported it with education system. The Church used the education system as a weapon, it means that they teach "Enosis", "Megali Idea" to their community.

At the end of the Second World War the Greek Cypriots expected that their old national aspiration of Enosis would be granted in return for having fought on the side of the Britain's but war changed the entire world. England lost a lot of power and Cyprus as the one of the critical point that they did not want to lose. On the other hand the strategies of new imperialist power U.S.A was different than England. US encouraged colonial states to create independent anti-Soviet states. Hence U.S.A took up seriously "Enosis" plans<sup>495</sup>, for this

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<sup>494</sup> Ibid.

<sup>495</sup> Kizilyürek, *Paşalar Ve Papazlar*, p. 50.

reason England come close to Turks leadership .The mid 1950's was an important historical period for the Cyprus conflict. It is identified as decolonization and self-determination for the Greek Cypriots and the internationalization of the Cyprus problem. U.N took place in the negotiations to solve the problem. At that time England needed Cyprus more than before. Because for England "NO Cyprus=NO Oil" and it means that unemployment and hunger.<sup>496</sup> From 1955, the Greek Cypriot *enosis* assumed the form to an arm insurrection led by EOKA (*Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston* - National Organization of Cypriot Fighters) and in 1958 Turkish Cypriots set up their own armed organization TMT(Turkish Resistance Organization).<sup>497</sup> In the late 50's the policy of imperialist power in Cyprus was "Divide and Rule" or "Divide and Exploit". This rule has effected physical and demographic separation of Cyprus. The ravages of "divide and rule" policy showed itself among the Turkish population as campaign of "*Turk to Turk*". This movement had three main characteristic

- Animosity of Hellenism
- Violence
- Anti-communism

The idea was to avert exploitation of Turks. The purpose was to avert to buy any goods from Helen population of the Island.<sup>498</sup> After the radicalization of Greek Cypriots and first clashes between Greek and Turkish Cypriots in 1955, in January 1959, the Church of Cyprus organized a referendum, which was

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<sup>496</sup> Ibid.

<sup>497</sup> Papadakis Yiannis, Nicos Peristianis, and Gisela Welz, *Divided Cyprus: Modernity, History, and an Island in Conflict* (Indiana University Press, 2006), p. 4.

<sup>498</sup> Kizilyürek, *Paşalar Ve Papazlar*, p. 43.



boycotted by the Turkish Cypriot community, where over 90% voted in favor of *enosis*.<sup>499</sup> Nationalist movements showed its effects especially after the foundation of bicommonal Republic of Cyprus on 16 August 1960 with Zurich and London Agreements. It was the time when Cyprus attained independence with the negotiations between the United Kingdom, Greece and Turkey. The UK retained the two sovereign bases areas of Akrotiri and Dhekelia while government posts and public offices were allocated by ethnic quotas giving the minority Turkish Cypriots a permanent veto, 30% in parliament and administration, and granting the three mother-states guarantor rights. In 1960 independent state of the Republic of Cyprus created as a compromise solution reflecting the opposed interest of two antagonistic ethnic-groups. The RoC propagated the colonial mentality of dividing and segregating the population.<sup>500</sup>

The only difference with the Turkish-Cypriots compared to Greek-Cypriots was that during the years 1963-1974 their only aim was to be identified with Turks and did not recognize themselves as Turkish-Cypriots. Their political aspiration in contrast to the Greek-Cypriots' was *Taksim* division of the island and the denial of the existence of Turkish-Cypriots as such was a way to legitimize the division of Cyprus. It was seen as treason towards the Turkish nation to look at the Turkish-Cypriot community as different from the Turks.<sup>501</sup>

These ideological tensions have produced intractable conflict in the politics of the region that came to be known as the 'Cyprus Issue': first,

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<sup>499</sup> Frank Hoffmeister, *Legal Aspects of the Cyprus Problem: Annan Plan and EU Accession*. (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers 2006), p. 9.

<sup>500</sup> Costas, "On the Cypriot States of Exception," p. 18.

<sup>501</sup> Zingi, "Language and the Construction of Identity in Cyprus," p. 3.

between 1963 and 1967 the Turkish Cypriots were the weaker party; during 1964, the UN came to Cyprus to maintain the peace and then has stayed ever since. The period between 1963 and 1974 can be described as the period of Turkish suffering. The Turkish Cypriots were forced to live enclaves on their own and during that period, they controlled no more than 5 percent of the island's territory, whereas they had owned 35 percent at the time of the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus.<sup>502</sup> In 1974, after a failed military coup by the Greek junta to unify Cyprus and Greece, the Turkish invasion imposed the *de facto* partition of the island in two ethnically homogeneous parts which caused the forced displacement of Greek-Cypriot (about 200,000) and Turkish-Cypriot (45,000) populations to the south and north parts of Cyprus, respectively. Declaration of the 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' in 1983 (considered legally invalid by the UN and recognized only by Turkey), created two rival states *in situ*<sup>503</sup>, without any sort of substantial contact.

### 6.3. AKP and Cyprus Issue

Since 1974, significant international efforts have been done to solve or to find a solution to the Cyprus problem. In April 2004, the Annan Plan was perhaps the longest and most complicated technical document ever drawn by the UN, as it involved not only the two sides of Cyprus but also Greece, Turkey, Britain,

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<sup>502</sup> Vamik D. Volkan and Itzkowitz Norman, *Turks and Greeks: Neighbours in Conflict* (The Eothen Press, 1994), p. 104.

<sup>503</sup> Constantinou Costas and Papadakis Yiannis, "The Cypriot State(S) in Situ: Cross-Ethnic Contact and the Discourse of Recognition," *Global Society* 15 (2001): p. 130.

and the EU.<sup>504</sup> Two side of the island voted for Annan Plan. AKP supported the referendum. Turkish Cypriots expectation was different from the Greek Cypriots. They voted *yes* in order to end the uncertainties created by their economic and political isolation, mass emigration, and control of Turkey. For them, the Annan Plan represented an end to the deadlock of Cyprus and a move towards more certain and prosperous future but RoC said *no* to Annan Plan because it was against to their *enosis* plans. A few days later RoC entered the EU and TRNC stayed out. In the spring of 2003 after the failure of Annan Plan the permission granted by the Turkish-Cypriot side for unfettered access across the dividing ‘Green Line’ rekindled hopes for a settlement of the Cyprus issue, yet despite on-going diplomatic efforts, the partition remains in place.<sup>505</sup> Finally after thirty years of separation Greek and Turkish Cypriots could cross the ‘Green Line’ without special permission. In contrast to the old nationalist warning that ‘Greeks and Turks will kill each other if the border falls’ almost no incidents between inhabitants from both communities appeared, on the contrary, most visitors were first welcomed in the respective other community.<sup>506</sup>

Along the years a lot of wealth research has been done about the Cyprus Conflict concerning the two ethnic communities. Especially after the opening of Green Line serious activities of peacemaking have been done to find a way

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<sup>504</sup> Papadakis Yiannis, "Locating the Cyprus Problem: Ethnic Conflict and the Politics of Space," *Macalester International* 15 (2005): p. 92.

<sup>505</sup> Zembylas, "Ethnic Division in Cyprus and a Policy Initiative on Promoting Peaceful Coexistence: Toward an Agonistic Democracy for Citizenship Education", p. 55.

<sup>506</sup> Christoph, *Construction of Identity Beyond Recognized Borders: The Turkish Cypriot Community between Cyprus, Turkey and the European Union*, LSE, available at <http://www.sant.ox.ac.uk/esc/esc-lectures/ramm.pdf> ([cited 19.May.2011), p.5.

towards the peace.<sup>507</sup> Firstly it is better to indicate that Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots as two different opposing ethnic groups in relation to one another, or to the various players in the international scene and live side by side several hundred years and they were not integrated. As a result of longstanding social conflict characterized by a continuing tension and mistrust between two ethnic communities constructed barriers between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Those barriers fostered by language differences, historical myths, and religion.

Rauf Denktaş, who was the Turkish Cypriot nationalist leader and president of the TRNC until April 2005, characterized himself on a conference in 1995 as follows:

I am a child of Anatolia. With all of mine I am a Turk, and my roots are in Central Asia. With my culture, my language, my history and my whole personality I am a Turk. [...] There are neither Turkish Cypriots, nor Greek Cypriots, nor Cypriots. [...] the only Cypriot living in Cyprus is the Cyprus donkey.<sup>508</sup>

In the Turkish nationalist perspective the immigrants from Turkey were part of the greater 'Turkish nation', in accordance with the famous remark attributed to Rauf Denktaş, who is said to have described the parallel processes of Turkish Cypriot emigration and Turkish settlement in Northern Cyprus with the words 'Gelen Türk, giden Türk': 'Those coming are Turks and those leaving are Turks.. Consequently, the nationalist administrations after 1974 considered all inhabitants of Northern Cyprus with no difference as citizens of the TRNC.<sup>509</sup>

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<sup>507</sup> J. Broome Benjamin, "Reaching across the Dividing Line: Building a Collective Vision for Peace in Cyprus," *Journal of Peace Research* 41 (2004): p. 194.

<sup>508</sup> Kızılyürek, *Paşalar Ve Papazlar*, p. 13.

<sup>509</sup> Christoph, *Construction of Identity Beyond Recognized Borders: The Turkish Cypriot Community between Cyprus, Turkey and the European Union*, p.7.

Since until 2004 administration of the TRNC was dominated by parties and politicians with an explicitly nationalist agenda, the reference to Turkey and the ‘Turkish nation’ became part of the state ideology, and this ideology was also reflected in the national symbols.<sup>510</sup> In December 2003, for the first time in a TRNC election, a left party with a Cypriotist tradition, the Republican Turkish Party (CTP), reached a majority in parliament and formed a coalition government. The Republican Turkish Party (CTP) is a supporter of a Greek and Turkish Cypriot federal state and EU membership. Therefore, it is possible to say that the political hegemony of Turkish nationalism in the Turkish Cypriot community ended after nearly 50 years, but still there is no change. Even if today after the several developments in Cyprus conflict there is no certain solution. It should be noted that in post Annan era, the process of resolving the Cyprus issue has lost its momentum.<sup>511</sup> Furthermore EU did not end the isolation of Turkish Cyprus as it has promised. After Annan Plan, *de novo* peace negotiations started on 18 April 2008.<sup>512</sup> Taya-Brook Zerihoun, head of the UN mission on the island said that "The aim of the fully-fledged negotiations is to find a mutually acceptable solution to the Cyprus problem, which will safeguard the interests of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots".<sup>513</sup> By the end of 2010 Cyprus had a new campaign for peace; “Cypriot-led, Cypriot-owed”. As UN Secretary Ban Ki-moon explains:

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<sup>510</sup> Benjamin, "Reaching across the Dividing Line: Building a Collective Vision for Peace in Cyprus.", p. 49.

<sup>511</sup> George Kyris, "Turkey, Cyprus and the Turkish Cypriot Political Parties: The Ephemeral Catalyst of EU?," *Turkish Policy Quarterly* 10, no. 2 (2008): p. 103.

<sup>512</sup> "Turkish-Greek Cypriot Leaders to Meet on May 23," *Hurriyer Daily News* 18 April 2008.

<sup>513</sup> "Cyprus Sets Date for Peace Talks," *BBC News* 25 July 2008.

Both leaders must take responsibility for the course of the talks, for their success or their failure. No one else can do this. Cypriot leadership means that it is leaders who must propel the process forward and defend it against those who would seek to derail it.<sup>514</sup>

By 2010 Turkey changed the rhetoric that has been used in last 60 years. In May 2010, Davutoğlu underlined that “Turkey would open all of its ports to Greek Cyprus if the world and the EU opened two ports and an airport to Turkish Cyprus.” It was clear that Turkey was using this position as a bargaining chip, yet neither Greek Cyprus nor the EU agreed to Davutoğlu’s suggestion. Continuously in September 2010 Recep Tayyip Erdogan said that “We want a just and lasting solution to the Cyprus issue by year’s end,” and continued “Efforts to solve it can’t continue forever.”<sup>515</sup> It should also be mentioned that Northern Cyprus affected by the Arab Revolutions. In March 2011 anti-Turkish demonstrations took place in the Northern Cyprus. In November 2011 Turkey offered “Taiwanese-style” of diplomatic arrangement between Northern Cyprus and World. The aim was to help drive Cypriot reunification talks resuming on Monday under U.N. pressure for a breakthrough.<sup>516</sup> At the end in 2012 the peace talk again failed. Above all, in last years another issue added to Cyprus agenda; discovery of natural gas reserves around the Cyprus. There are two communities on the island: the Greek

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<sup>514</sup> Michális Stavrou Michael, *Resolving the Cyprus Conflict: Negotiating History* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 196.

<sup>515</sup> Ali Uslu, "Akp Government Plans to Change Its Cyprus Policy," *Today's Zaman* 17 August 2010.

<sup>516</sup> Ralph Boulton and Asli Kandemir, "Turkey Would Open Ports to Cyprus, No Diplomatic Strings," *Reuters* 28 November 2011.

and Turkish Cypriots, both claiming to have their own sovereign states.<sup>517</sup> As it is known Cyprus is the most important barrier in front of Turkey's EU candidacy. Even AKP demonstrates a lot of willingness to compromise on Cyprus issue, for now there is no absolute solution.

## 7. Conclusion

This chapter analyzed Turkey's unstable relations with nearby Middle East countries under AKP governments 2002 to 2013 and tried to find answers to the following questions: Is there any shift in Western oriented foreign policy of Turkey?, or Is Turkey taking advantage of good relations with Middle East to become a central country in world politics? According to Tarık Oğuzlu Turkey's foreign policy practices in the Middle East is very much European and this might further bring Turkey and EU closer to each other. It is true that in various occasions E.U and U.S asked for Turkey's contribution to the peace negotiations in Middle East, but the negotiations remained inconclusive. In the same vein U.S though to promote Turkey as a peace builder in Middle East region and as a model of the "Islamic democracy".

It should be noted that in comparison to traditional foreign policy practices of Turkey, AKP took serious initiatives in regional politics. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the changes in Middle East permit

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<sup>517</sup> "The Ethnic Conflict in Cyprus Is Turning into a Greater Game," *Hurriyet Daily News* 12 January 2013.

Turkey to play a decisive role in the region. The most significant change happens in the relations with Israel. When it comes to Ankara's attitude toward the Revolutions occurred in this area, AKP mostly applies pragmatist foreign policy rather than ideological. The exception happened in the relations with Syria.



UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI  
FOREIGN POLICY OF TURKEY AND SPAIN VERSUS MIDDLE EAST, AFTER 2002. TRANSITION  
TO DEMOCRACY AND NEW INTERNATIONAL AGENTS  
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Dipòsit Legal: T 957-2014

# CHAPTER VI



## **SPAIN AND TURKEY TOWARDS THE PEACE PROCESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST**

UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI  
FOREIGN POLICY OF TURKEY AND SPAIN VERSUS MIDDLE EAST, AFTER 2002. TRANSITION  
TO DEMOCRACY AND NEW INTERNATIONAL AGENTS  
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## 1. Introduction

The events of September 11, the second Intifada, the Iraq war and Arab Revolutions have completely changed the conditions for cooperation in the Middle East. In parallel with the needs of changing international conjuncture, peace mediation or peacebuilding and democratization is increasingly becoming a very important issue to bring to a large and challenging audience at the UN, and other international organizations. For that purpose the initiatives working for the global peace become a new phenomenon of research. In this chapter I examine two important international organizations that work for pluralistic integration in order to achieve peaceful change in their region and in the world and also where Turkey and Spain cooperates together with other international actors; Union for the Mediterranean and Alliance of Civilizations.

This chapter analyzes the development of Europe's Mediterranean policy; the Alliance of Civilizations and its politico-military dimension in particular, an evolution which was driven by growing awareness of the European interests in the Mediterranean.

## 2. Barcelona Process: Union for the Mediterranean

Mediterranean can be considered as a *carrefour* of civilizations; as a meeting point of the 'North' and 'South' and of different cultures in the area; as an interface between three continents, North Africa, Europe and Asia: as a 'region' with diversity and as a complex case which presents challenges –

perhaps more than other areas.<sup>518</sup> Considering the geographic centrality and the complexity of the Mediterranean area, it is not surprising to encounter ethnic and religious differences, differences in development, differences in lifestyles and forms of government. According to Fernand Braudel description the Mediterranean is a thousand things together. It was, he said, not one landscape, but numerous landscapes; not one sea, but a complex of seas; not one civilization, but a number of civilizations piled one above the other.<sup>519</sup> For this reason, along the history Mediterranean basin has been analyze from many different perspectives and has been defined in many ways. Main criteria of the definition based on geographic as well as geo-strategic or geo-economic terms. After all, the Mediterranean is dominated by deep differences and divided by lasting conflicts.<sup>520</sup>

Actually, the roots of European Mediterranean policy can be traced to Rome Treat (1957).<sup>521</sup> The effort that has been done for the development of relations between two shores of the Mediterranean was not good or successful enough until the signature of Barcelona Process. For example in 1992 the EU approved a Euro-Maghreb Partnership framework that envisaged economic and political co-operation and dialogue. The partnership concentrated on free trade, balance of payments loans, human rights and the creation of a Euro-Maghreb

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<sup>518</sup> Michelle Pace, *The Politics of Regional Identity: Meddling with the Mediterranean* (Taylor & Francis, 2005), p. 2.

<sup>519</sup> Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (University of California Press, 1995), p. 3-8.

<sup>520</sup> Romano Prodi, "Europe and Mediterranean Time for Action," in *Euromed Report* (European Commission, 28 November 2002), 2.

<sup>521</sup> Ricardo Gomez, *Negotiating the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership: Strategic Action in Eu Foreign Policy?* (Ashgate, 2003), p. 26.

Bank.<sup>522</sup> But, the initiative could not succeed. Three years after on 27 November 1995, fifteen members of the European Union and twelve Mediterranean states<sup>523</sup> met in Barcelona, Spain, with the idea of integrating the Mediterranean region into the broader EU political-economic partnership.<sup>524</sup> The Barcelona Process marked the beginning of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP) and often argued to be the millstone of collective initiative towards creating peace, prosperity and stability in the Mediterranean. General objectives of Barcelona Process described in the Barcelona Declaration as:

"Turning the Mediterranean basin into an area of dialogue, exchange and cooperation guaranteeing peace, stability and prosperity requires a strengthening of democracy and respect for human rights, sustainable and balanced economic and social development, measures to combat poverty and promotion of greater understanding between cultures, which are all essential aspects of partnership."<sup>525</sup>

27 Euro-Mediterranean partners were structured the Barcelona Declaration on the three main objectives of the partnership:

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<sup>522</sup> Fatih Tayfur, "Security and Co-Operation in the Mediterranean security and Co-Operation in the Mediterranean," *Perceptions* (2000): p. 4.

<sup>523</sup> Twelve Mediterranean states: Algeria, Cyprus, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Malta, Morocco, the Palestinian Authority, Syria, Tunisia and Turkey

<sup>524</sup> Ioannis Seimenis and Miltiadis Makriyannis, "Reinvigorating the Parliamentary Dimension of the Barcelona Process: The Establishment of the Euro-Mediterranean Parliamentary Assembly," *Mediterranean Quarterly* 16, no. 2 (2005): p. 85.

<sup>525</sup> Barcelona declaration adopted at the Euro-Mediterranean Conference - 27-28/11/95, available at [http://ec.europa.eu/research/iscp/pdf/barcelona\\_declaration.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/research/iscp/pdf/barcelona_declaration.pdf)

- “The definition of a common area of peace and stability through the reinforcement of political and security dialogue (political and security chapter).
- The construction of a zone of shared prosperity through an economic and financial partnership and the gradual establishment of a free trade zone (economic and financial chapter).
- The rapprochement between peoples through a social, cultural and human partnership aimed at encouraging understanding between cultures and exchanges between civil societies (social, cultural and human chapter).”<sup>526</sup>

The participation of 27 governments and respectable relations with wide range of non-governmental actors provide the Declaration an extensive maneuver capacity. After all, at that time, Barcelona Process was the unique international forum that Israel, Lebanon, the Palestinian Authority and Syria can sit together at the same table. For this reason the declaration was also dealing with critical subjects such as arms control, democratization reforms and human rights in a format resembling that of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).<sup>527</sup> Additional reasons behind those efforts were the need to redefine the position of the EU in the Mediterranean basin following the end of Cold War, and the so-called second regionalization wave.

The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership complex includes, two international “regimes” (Western Europe and the Middle East) and three sub-regional

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<sup>526</sup> "Europe and the Mediterranean: Towards a Closer Partnership an Overview of the Barcelona Process in 2002," (European Commission, 2003).

<sup>527</sup> Gomez, *Negotiating the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership: Strategic Action in Eu Foreign Policy?*, p. 69.

groupings: Southern Europe (Portugal, Spain, France, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Cyprus, and Malta); the Mashreq (Jordan, Israel, Lebanon, Egypt, and the Palestinian Authority); and the Maghreb (Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia).<sup>528</sup> The Mediterranean relations of EU were left to the responsibility of southern European countries, especially Spain, France<sup>529</sup> and Italy.

Historically, in the Mediterranean, countries such as Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco remained dependent on France for both their currency and their military security.<sup>530</sup> On 23 October 2007 during a speech in Tangier presidential candidate Nicolas Sarkozy advanced the idea of a 'Mediterranean Union'. His vision was to reassert French influence in the EU. The proposal encountered criticism at the highest levels. With this vision Nicolas Sarkozy was aiming to shift Turkey from candidate for EU accession to member of a looser framework for regional cooperation. In his discourse Sarkozy described Turkey as a «Great Mediterranean country » moreover affirmed that Turkey can help Europe to progress in this cause of "Mediterranean Union". From Turkish perspective, a central role in the Mediterranean could not any way compensate for the lack of role in Europe.<sup>531</sup> And as well, Italy, Spain and Germany expressed their concerns that the project should not undermine the Barcelona process, but

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<sup>528</sup> Xenakis Dimitris, "Order and Change in the Euro-Mediterranean System," *Mediterranean Quarterly* 11, no. 1 (2000):p. 77.

<sup>529</sup> Annette Junemann, "German Policies in the Mediterranean," in *Euro-Mediterranean Relations after the Arab Spring: Persistence in Times of Change*, ed. Annette Junemann and Jakob Horst (Ashgate Publishing, Limited, 2013), p. 112.

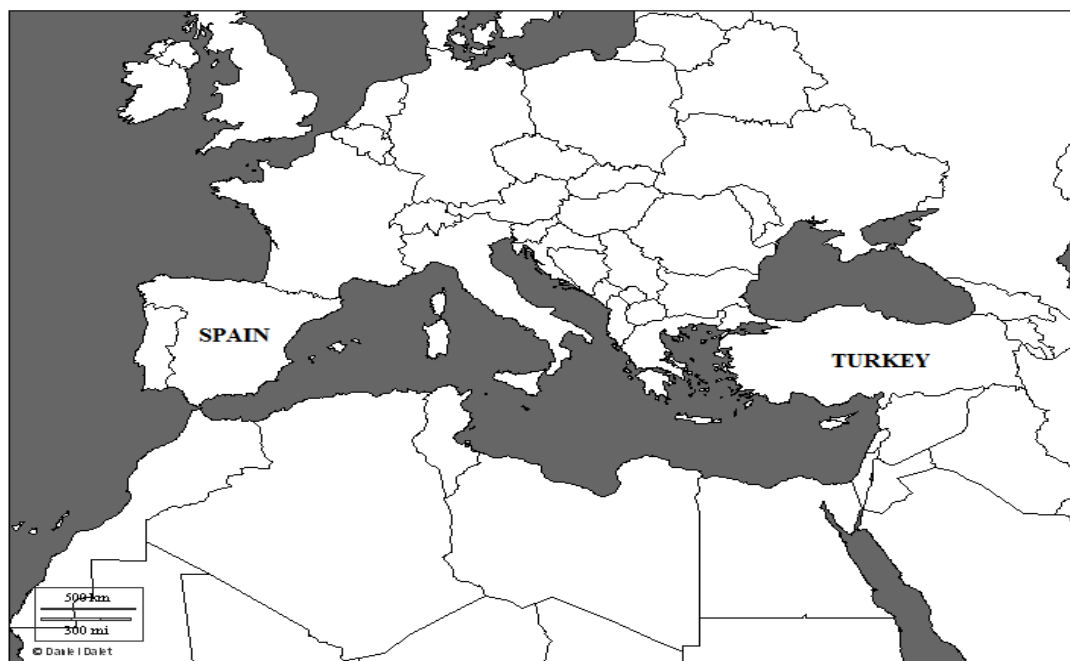
<sup>530</sup> Stephen Calleya, *Evaluating Euro-Mediterranean Relations* (Taylor & Francis, 2012), p. 16.

<sup>531</sup> Dorothee Schmid, "La Turquie Et L'union Pour La Méditerranée : Un Partenariat Calculé," *Politique étrangère* 1 (2008):p. 68-70.



strengthen it.<sup>532</sup> The reality check came during the meeting between Sarkozy and the Angela Merkel in March 2008. Berlin had clearly highlighted the strongest opposition to the project, though it was by no means isolated.<sup>533</sup> After the harsh criticism on “Mediterranean Union” German Chancellor Angela Merkel declared that the project will be built on existing Barcelona Process and included not just the EU countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea, but the whole EU countries. And she continued saying that the project will be Union for the Mediterranean, not Mediterranean Union. Turkey agreed to participate to the project after France guaranteed that the UfM is not going to be an alternative for Turkey’s EU membership.

#### Map 4: Turkey and Spain



<sup>532</sup> Michael Emerson, "Making Sense of Sarkozy’s Union of the Mediterranean," *CEPS policy brief* 155 (2008): p. 1-3.

<sup>533</sup> Rosa Balfour, "The Transformation of the Union for the Mediterranean," *Mediterranean Politics* 14, no. 1 (2009):p. 100.

The story of transformation from the ‘Mediterranean Union’ to the ‘Union for the Mediterranean’ and through the ‘Barcelona Process: Union for the Mediterranean’ was a painful and confusing period for all the countries of the Union: Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP, or Barcelona Process) established in 1995, and the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) launched in 2003–04, and after in 2007 Nicolas Sarkozy planted the idea of Mediterranean Union but especially after the critics made by Spain, Italy and Germany Mediterranean Union transformed to Union for the Mediterranean in 2008. Considering the international conjuncture, all the changes was a part of the necessarily needs and motivated by domestic politics and rooted in national foreign policy priorities. Euro-Mediterranean dialogue and cooperation, within the framework of the Union for the Mediterranean and within the context of the various sub-regional initiatives, is not a choice but a must for the achievement of peace, stability, and prosperity for all.<sup>534</sup>

### 3. Alliance of Civilizations

When secretary General Kofi Annan was puzzling over the biggest nightmare of the time, the possibility of a clash of Civilizations as Huntington specify, he addressed the leaders of Spain and Turkey to co-chair the Alliance of Civilizations(AoC) .With the background of having different cultures co-existing peacefully an harmoniously, both in the Iberia and Anatolia, no other countries would have better to lead such an initiative Alliance of Civilization

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<sup>534</sup> Michael Frendo, "Building the Mosaic of Mediterranean Integration," *Mediterranean Quarterly* 21, no. 3 (Summer 2010): p. 7.

Forum, an important achieving global peace, which is being supported by Premier Minister of Turkey and the president of Spain by promoting cultural understanding among the people or the world to achieve global peace.

The idea of AoC was coming from the previous initiative of intercultural and interdenominational dialogue; Dialogue among Civilizations promoted by former Iranian president Mohammad Khatami in a framework of UNESCO as a response to theory of a Clash of Civilizations. UN worked on the proposal and 2001 was named as the United Nations Year of Dialogue among Civilizations. The initiative was an important opportunity to transform negative image of Iran in international community. Because of the changing nature of international affairs after September 11, partners of the initiative become on the verge of war. Continuously, crisis like the occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan, the Danish cartoon crisis, Pope Benedict XVI's insulting comments on Islam, issues related to immigrant rights, and torture photos from Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib prisons revived traumatic memories of the colonial era for many Muslims damaged the fine tie between Muslim and Christian world.<sup>535</sup>

The transformation of Dialogue among Civilizations to Alliance of Civilizations took at least six years. The idea came from prime minister of the government of Spain, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero. The aim of the Alliance was to bridge the growing cultural and growing gap between West and East/Christian and Muslim world. After eight years of People's Party governance in Spain, Zapatero came to power with the rhetoric of change in terms of foreign policy. Internal dynamic of Spain could explain the need of change, first of all towards the end of its 1994-2004 periods in government the Conservatives'

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<sup>535</sup> Talha Kose, "The Alliance of Civilizations: Possibilities of Conflict Resolution at the Civilizational Level," *Insight Turkey* 11, no. 3 (2009): p. 86-87.

pursuit a kind of assertive foreign policy. José Maria Aznar, unlike to the other European partners, choose to align with USA in order to participate Iraq War. He was aiming to enhance the importance of Spain in international arena like in the transition to democracy period. The terrorist attacks in Madrid on 11 March 2004 were perceived as a natural result of Spain's assertive foreign policy. It is likely for this reason that the Socialists' success was due to the 'social momentum' against the participation of Spain to the Iraq War.<sup>536</sup>

The first action of José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero was the immediate withdrawal of the troops from Iraq which created a positive image on Spain among European, Arab and Muslim countries. Zapatero was outlining the new Spanish foreign policy upon soft power of Spain. Meanwhile Zapatero prepared the proposal of AoC and presented it before the UN General Assembly on September 21, 2004.<sup>537</sup> He said that:

"Thus, in my capacity as representative of a country created and enriched by diverse cultures, before this Assembly I want to propose an Alliance of Civilizations between the Western and the Arab and Muslim worlds. Some years ago a wall collapsed. We must now prevent hatred and incomprehension from building a new wall. Spain wants to submit to the Secretary General, whose work at the head of this organization we firmly support, the possibility of establishing a High Level Group to push forward this initiative."<sup>538</sup>

AoC employs soft diplomacy as a toll to mitigate all kinds of radicalism and fundamentalism. The main goal is to contribute to a global movement which

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<sup>536</sup> Isaiás Barreñada, "Alliance of Civilizations, Spanish Public Diplomacy and Cosmopolitan Proposal," *Mediterranean Politics* 11, no. 1 (2006): 100.

<sup>537</sup> *Statement by the President of the Government of the Spain*, (UN Alliance of Civilization, [www.un.org/webcast/ga/59/statements/spaeng040921.pdf](http://www.un.org/webcast/ga/59/statements/spaeng040921.pdf)., [cited 8 April 2011]).

<sup>538</sup> *Ibid.*

reflects the will of the vast majority of the people and rejects extremism in any society. AoC launched in 2005 with the presence of President Jose Luis Zapatero y Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.

**Figure 6: Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero**



Place and date: 3rd High-Level Turkey-Spain Meeting 6/September/ 2011, Istanbul  
Source: The Guardian

This ideological initiative criticized by Popular Party in Spain. The Socialists' lost the election in 2011 and *de novo* Popular Party came to power. Although they criticized a lot AoC, they maintained the participation for not to harm Turkish-Spanish relations and for not to create a negative image on Spain.

## 4. Conclusion

In the post-11 September world, the eastern Mediterranean has been the focus of attention of policy makers, news organizations, and academics.<sup>539</sup> Those initiatives created for to promote the relations Western and Eastern world. In this regard the outlines of Turkish and Spanish foreign policy towards Mediterranean in general, Middle East in particular built upon soft power. It is clear that Barcelona Process and AoC are working for the global peace but in this turbulent environment it seems that is so hard to bring peace to Middle East.

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<sup>539</sup> Donald M. Payne, "Security in the Eastern Mediterranean: Bargaining with Law Breakers," *Mediterranean Quarterly* 14, no. 1 (2003): 25.

UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI  
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# CONCLUSIONS

The question is; it exist unique and an universal change for all societies, it means that when all the societies will be equal in economic terms, their cultural life will be similar, or in different cultures with different beliefs, “modernization” will develop in different forms? Those questions above can be interpreted as the critics of modernist elites who accept modernization equal to occidentelization in Turkey. More precisely, is it possible to “modernize” by rejecting the western path of development? Otherwise of all societies eventually faced to take the same way of change and development as western ones. Or, revolution is a concept only for Western Societies? Why the revolutions which takes place among Muslim countries named as Arab Spring? Why the world beware of calling the recent events as revolutions.

Those questions seems as they are not relevant to the subject but I want to explain why I asked those questions. In the second chapter of the dissertation I gave a wide explanation on democracy after I explained the tiny tie between democracy and foreign policy. Continuously for to understand and to evaluate Turkey’s level of democracy, I choose the most relevant western country which is Spain, the idea was to compare the period of transition to democracy. The results are:

1. Turkey is not a democracy, but Turkey has its own democracy. From that point on the question is: Turkey’s interpretation of democracy could be an inspiration for Muslim countries?



2. First of all it should be mentioned that Turkey is not a country which respects the minority rights, and all the countries pointed in the dissertation; Iran, Iraq, Syria, Israel and Cyprus living struggle with theirs' ethnic and religious minorities. Maybe Turkey can be an example for the synthesis of Islam and democracy but Turkey's democracy with the lack of minority rights, can not be and should not be an example for those countries.
3. Turkey should study more the example of Spain for to learn how to consolidate its democracy.
4. On the other hand in the Turkish interpretation, Modernization is equal to Westernization. This attitude of Turkish elite especially created a negative image on Turkey among Arab Middle East. For this reason, promoting Turkey as a role model in Islam world is not a clever move, moreover it increases the struggle between Iran and Turkey, this struggle hits Syrian internal dynamics and other neighbors of the region blames Turkey because of its assertive foreign policy.

The other question that I posed was; is there any change in Turkey's tradition foreign policy? What drives Turkey's new foreign policy activism? Is there any shift in Turkey's western oriented foreign policy?

1. The dissertation shows that before to develop good relations with Middle East AKP always declared that accession to EU is the priority target of Turkish foreign policy. The willingness to enter E.U decelerated after the neutralization the role and influence of Turkish Armed Forces with the reforms made for E.U accession.
2. Until 2002 four foreign policy principles dominated Turkey's agenda. Primarily, external recognition of Turkish Republic, afterwards remain outside of WWII, keep territorial integrity of Turkish Republic particularly along the Cold War and post-Cold War era, finally integration to E.U. Today, Turkey is the unique pending candidate of the EU with a predominant Muslim population and Spain supports the full membership of Turkey. But the reality is, until AKP governance Turkey keep its distance to Syria, Iraq and Iran, on the other hand Turkey has always good relations with Israel furthermore it was the first Muslim majority country that recognizes Israel.
3. The change in Turkish foreign policy started with Turgut Özal, continued with Ismail Cem and fostered with Ahmet Davutoğlu . They all argue that in a changing environment Turkey need to redefine its foreign policy superiorities and compose equilibrium between realities and her national interest. In other words Turkey needs to change its security base foreign policy. The significant change on Turkish foreign policy during AKP government is one of the few subjects that reach consensus on academic level. Especially Ahmet Davutoglu considered as the architect of new foreign policy

practices With the help of Davutoğlu's Strategic Depth doctrine that shaped Turkey's foreign policy orientation to a large extent, Turkey entered a new era. He argues that Turkey need consider her historical and geographical background to move towards to "bridge country" to "central country". According to him Turkey needs to create multi-dimensional and multidirectional proactive foreign policies in order to strengthen its position so as to be a regional power. Also he considers Turkey as a wise country.

4. With the guidance of him, first Turkey entered to a compromising era. Initially developments of relations with Syria aftermath of Adana Protocols, natural gas agreements with Iran and close affiliation with Israel in this period are good samples to figure out Ankara's engagement with the Middle East.
5. Turkey's foreign policy engagement under the AKP rule, towards Middle East may not be considered as an axis shift. Actually the unexpected external dynamics change the rules of cooperation. As a consequence Turkey re-oriented to its habitual Western allies. Today Turkey has got unstable relations with her Eastern neighbors. The case of Syria and Israel is the clear evidence of this instability

Finally, Turkey and Spain can really have an international impact by using soft power tolls like Alliance of Civilizations or Union for Mediterranean?

1. It is clear fact that after the collapse of Soviet Union moreover after 9/11 Islam appears as the different one, as new source of threat. The international initiatives that work for to annihilate the prejudices are our way to peace. In order to achieve such an aim we all have to work hard. But today, especially because of the economic crisis and after the government changes, Turkey and Spain leave their noble cause to bring peace to our old world.

Nonetheless, when analyzing the recent developments, it is essential to see the political, economical and cultural background as well. The major problem in Turkey built upon the question: Is it exists the modernity with Islam? In other words there is segmentation between Islamist and Kemalist which causes debates on modernity and Islam, religion and politics, tradition versus modernity. There is common belief that the reason why AKP came to power was a result of negative feelings among the general public towards the ruling Kemal elites. AKP came to power with the rhetoric of change and liberty. In Turkey foreign policy consists of internal dynamics. The impact of changing domestic political alignments and the power struggle among the elites effects the decision making process.

Today Turkey is so far to be a model for Middle East countries. At first glance Turkey need to develop its democracy, Spain can be good example for Turkey in this point. But, is it exists one true definition of democracy? What really is democracy? Is it exists other path of modernization which is not a Westernization? I hope that after the Arab Revolutions, Middle East can develop its own democracy which arises from will of the people sharing the same soil.

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UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI  
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# APPENDICES

## Appendix1: Basic Statistics, Spain and Turkey

<b>Comparative Statistic</b>	<b>Spain</b>	<b>Turkey</b>
<b>Population (Million) (*)<sup>540</sup></b>	47,370,542	80,694,485
<b>Unemployment rate ( % ) (*)</b>	25.1	9.2
<b>GDP (Purchasing Power Parity) , (\$ trillion) (*)</b>	1.109	1.388
<b>GDP per head (*)</b>	30,100	14,800
<b>GDP-composition by sector of origin % (*)</b>		
<b>Agriculture</b>	3.1	9
<b>Industry</b>	26.3	27.2
<b>Services</b>	70.7 (Est. 2012)	63.8 (Est. 2012)
<b>Exports of goods and services (% of GDP)</b>	32.7	31.5
<b>Imports of goods and services (% of GDP)</b>	31.9	26.5
<b>Real GDP Growth</b>	-1.6	2.2
<b>Current account (% of GDP)</b>	-1.1	-6.1
<b>Inflation rate (Consumer price) (%)</b>	2.4	8.9
<b>Government deficit (% of GDP)</b>	-9.6	-0.8 (Est. 2011)
<b>General government debt (% of GDP)</b>	92.4	--
<b>General government revenues (% of GDP)</b>	37.1	36.6

<sup>540</sup> (\*) 2013 unless otherwise stated. Other data based on 2012 values.

<b>Inflows of foreign direct investment investment (MIn \$)</b>	27 063	12 519
<b>Outflows of Foreign direct investment (MIn \$)</b>	-4 081	4 074
<b>Total tax revenue (% of GDP)</b>	31.6 ( Est. 2011)	25.0 ( Est. 2011)
<b>Fertility rate</b>	1.36	
<b>UN human development index <sup>541</sup></b>	0.885	0.772
<b>Percentage of population over the age of 65</b>	17.5% (male 3,514,051/female 4,753,638)	25.9% (male 10,682,900/female 10,201,965)
<b>Percentage of population under the age of 15</b>	15.4% (male 3,747,028/female 3,531,247)	6.6% (male 2,422,983/female 2,870,341)
<b>Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index (Ranking, 2013) (*)</b>	59 <sup>th</sup>	53 <sup>th</sup>
<b>Number of governments since 1977<sup>542</sup></b>	10	20

Source: Eurostat, OECD, Turkish Statistical Institute, Spanish Statistical Institute, UNCTAD, UN Human Development Report and World Development Indicators, CIA Factbook.

<sup>541</sup> The maximum value is one.

<sup>542</sup> This is taken as the reference year because it was when Spain had its first free elections since 1936

## **A**ppendix 2: List of Interviews

Demirkıran, Afif( 2013), Member of the Turkish Parliament and Co-President of the Turkey –EU Joint Parliamentary Committee, Barcelona. September 10.

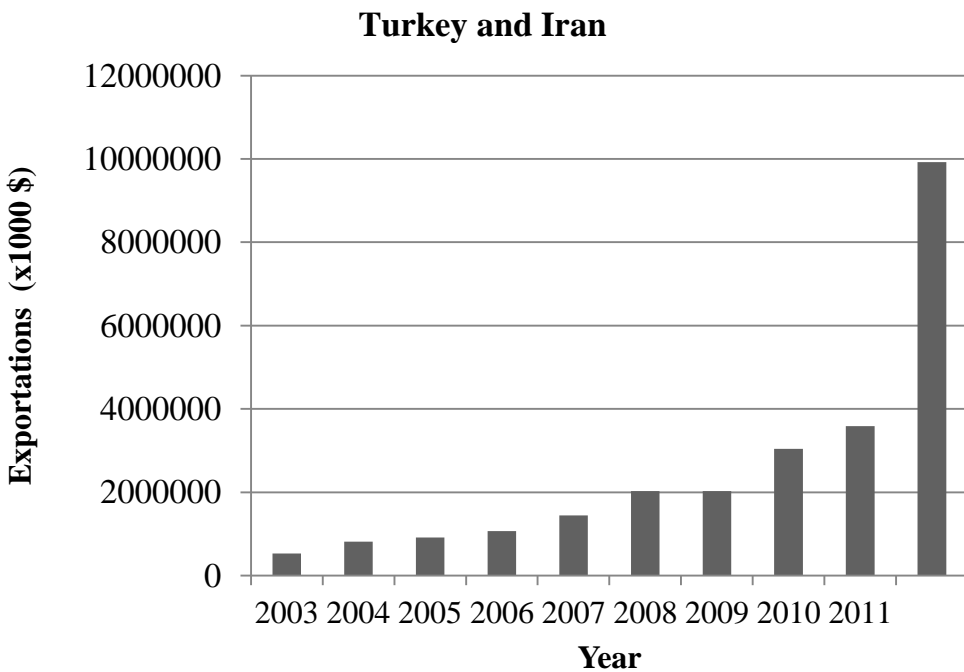
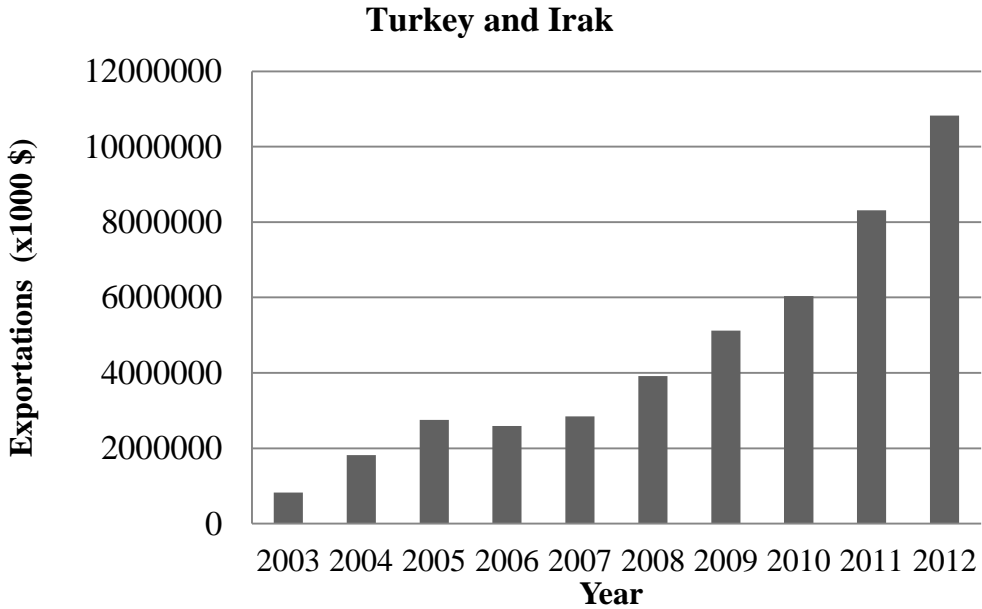
Kardas , Saban (2013), Associate Professor of Internaitonal Relations at TOBB University of Economics and Technology and Advisor of the Center for Strategic Research (SAM), Barcelona. September 10.

Özcan, Mesut (2013), Deputy Chairman of the Center for Strategic Research of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey, Barcelona. September 10.

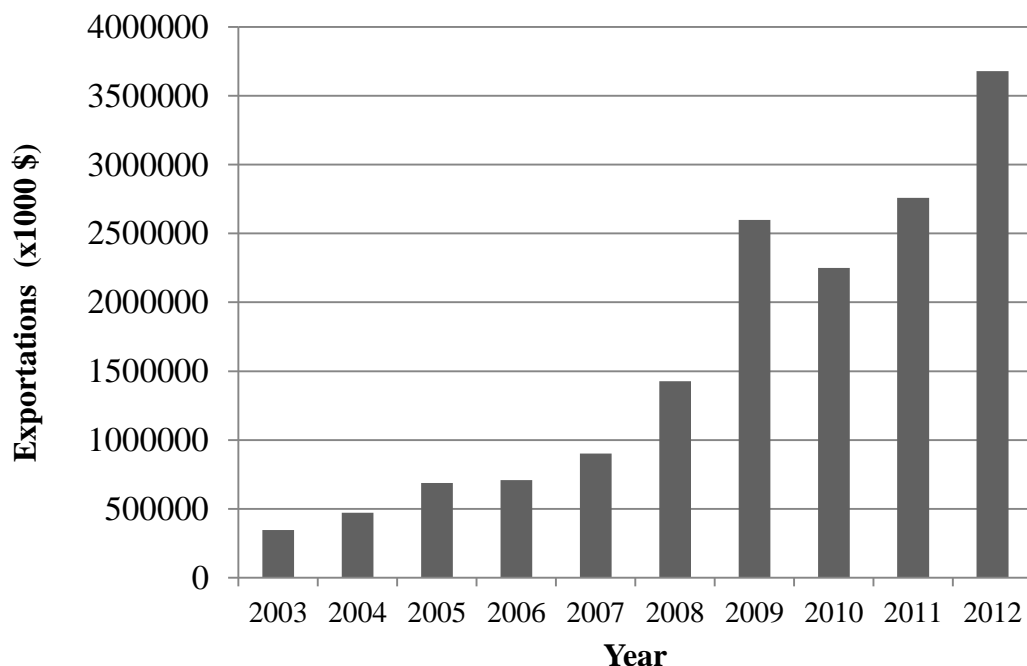
Ülgen, Sinan (2013), Chairman of the Center for Economics and Foreign Policy Stuides (EDAM) and Visitng Scholar of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Barcelona. September 10.

Yüksel, Elim Salim (2012), Consul General of Turkey in Barcelona. April 15.

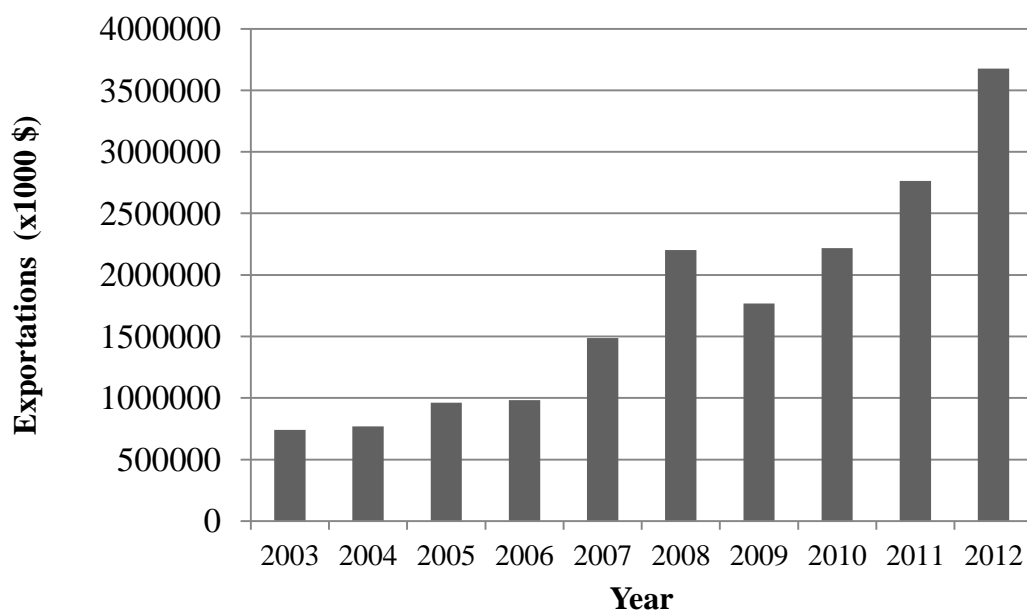
## Appendix 3: Graphics of Exportation

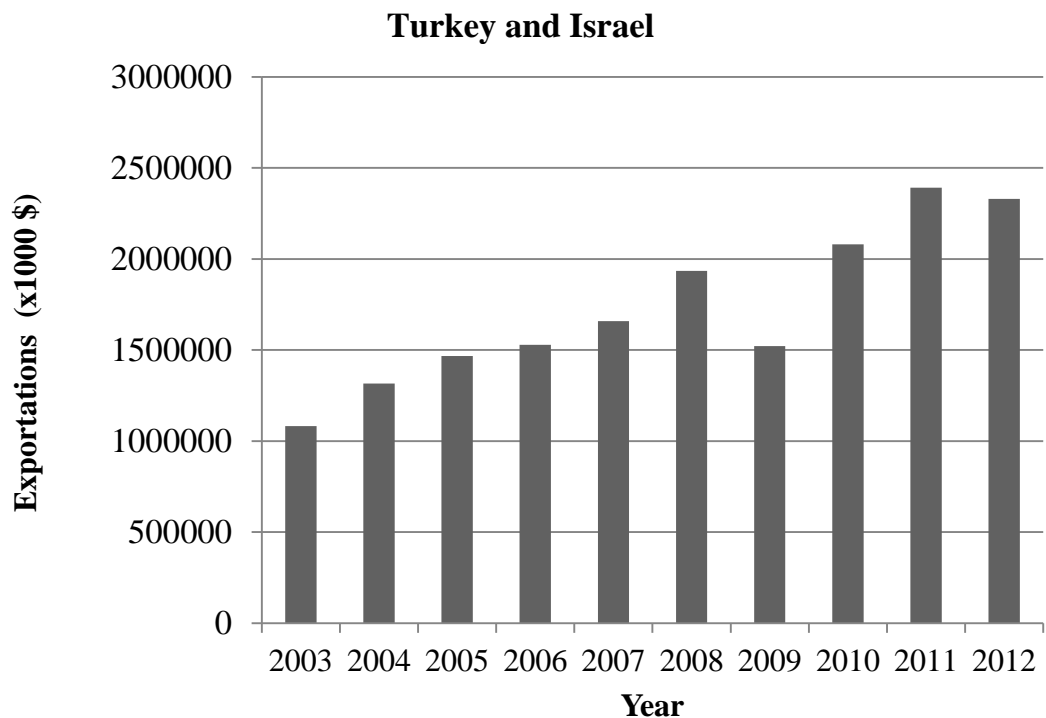


### Turkey and Egypt

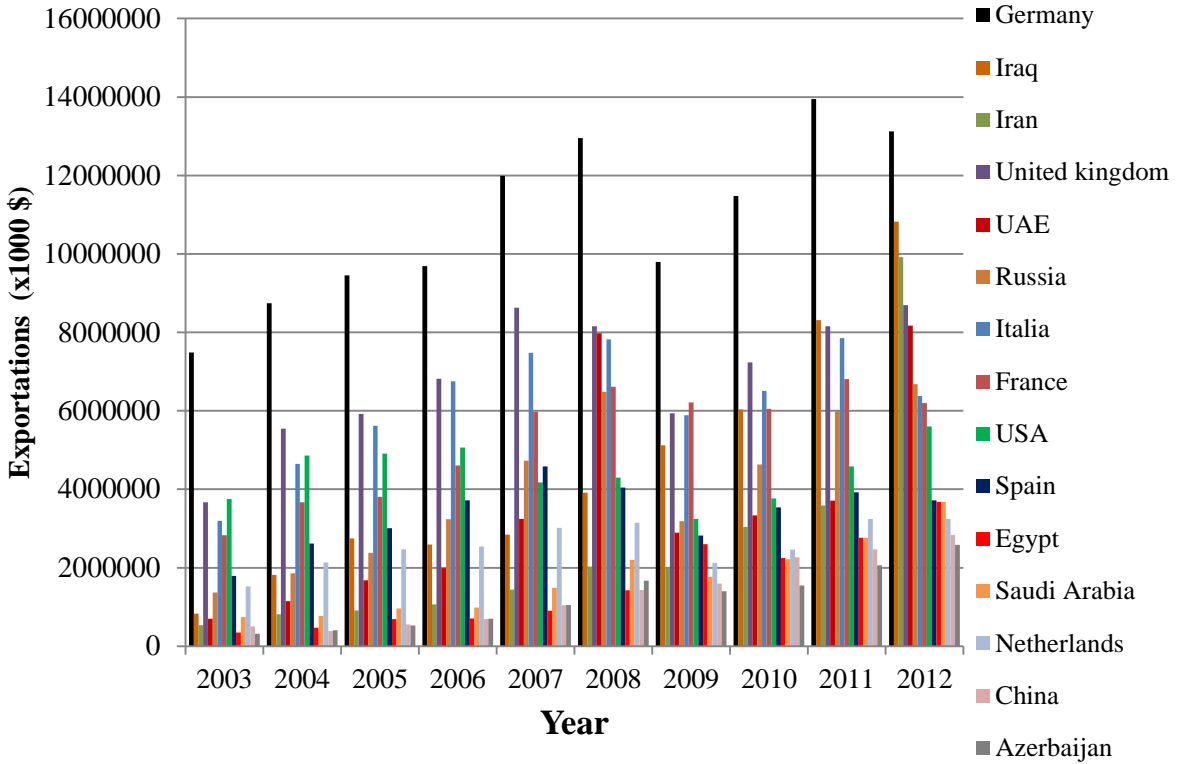


### Turkey and Saudi Arabia





### The Exportation List of Turkey





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