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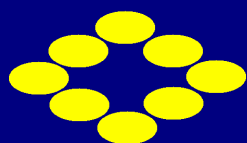
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RESEARCH UNIT ON INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND COOPERATION

UNISCI Discussion Papers

CONTENTS / ÍNDICE

TURKEY / TURQUÍA

(Mustafa Aydin, Coord.)

CENTRAL ASIA / ASIA CENTRAL

EDITOR'S NOTE / NOTA EDITORIAL

Antonio Marquina [1]
UNISCI Director

This issue of the journal coordinated by Professor Mustafa Aydin, Rector of Kadir Has University, can be considered an important contribution to our knowledge of current Turkish Foreign Policy. Several years ago in Istanbul, UNISCI had the opportunity to contrast its views on Turkish Foreign and Security Policy with the views of several relevant scholars selected by Professor Aydin. The outcome was the book entitled "Turkish Foreign and Security Policy. Its Environs in Euroasia and the Middle East". It was published in December 2006. Several of the Turkish co-authors make here another contribution to the topic. It can be said that in the last four years we have been witness to a sea change in Turkish Foreign Policy.

First, the changes introduced by the AKP party and the diminishing role of the Army in internal and foreign policies as well as its growing lack of cohesion should be noted. In second place the implications of the democratization process against a background of internal Islamization. In third place the new foreign policy designated, "New Ottoman", created by Foreign Minister Davutoglu which according to different articles, can be qualified on occasions as "grandiose", and implies a clear departure from the traditional Turkish Foreign Policies of the nineties and the beginning of this decade. The relationship with neighbouring countries, becoming an important player in the Caucasus, the populist criteria, the new approach to the Middle East, the possible implications and involvement in inter-Arab and intra-Arab-Iran disputes, the lack of progress in the Armenian dossier, the difficult negotiations on Cyprus, the asymmetries in the Turkish-US relationship, the implications of the energy agreements and finally the aspiration to membership of the EU in the new internal and external context are all interrelated issues in the new Turkish Foreign Policy. On occasions, the articles point out that it is difficult to identify internal coherence within some Turkish movements and approaches, including the theoretical approaches behind them.

These critical analyses contribute to opening up the horizon to the reader in order to facilitate an understanding of the deep changes affecting the Turkish political environment and the difficult process of adaptation that Turkey has to manage, balancing East and West in a clear departure from the Kemal Ataturk vision. Nevertheless, Turkey remains an important regional player.

This issue of the journal also includes an article on Central Asia, given the historic importance of the Kazakh Chairmanship of the OSCE.

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Finally, I would like to thank Professor Mustafa Aydin and his brilliant Turkish collaborators for giving us the opportunity to discover different approaches to the present Turkish Foreign Policy and enlightening us on the subject.

PARAMETERS OF TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY UNDER THE AKP GOVERNMENTS

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Abstract:

The study employs a critical approach to the parameters of Turkey's foreign policy under the AKP governments. Having abandoned all learning experience from the past, AKP tries to score points in foreign policy through sheer populism. Frenzied activity abroad points not to active or new foreign policy, but to loss of priorities. Foreign policy rhetoric is carried out by the Prime Minister, President, and the Foreign Minister, who sometimes contradict each other. Contrasting the new populist criteria injected into the art and science of traditional foreign policy, the study concludes that all the recent initiatives taken by the government may be noble in spirit, but lacking of sophistication and managerial acumen.

Keywords: history, policy, economy, populism and rhetoric.

Resumen:

Este estudio emplea un acercamiento crítico a los parámetros de la política exterior turca bajo los gobiernos del AKP. Habiendo abandonado toda experiencia aprendida del pasado, el AKP intenta marcar puntos en su política exterior a través del populismo. Una actividad frenética en el exterior no apunta a una política exterior activa o novedosa, sino más bien a una pérdida de intereses. La retórica de la política exterior es llevada a cabo por el primer ministro, el presidente y el ministro de exteriores, quienes en ocasiones se contradicen los unos a los otros. Contrastando estos nuevos criterios de populismo injertados dentro del arte de la política exterior de corte tradicional, este estudio concluye que todas las iniciativas recientemente tomadas por el gobierno pueden ser nobles en sus motivaciones, pero carentes de sofisticación y de buena gestión.

Palabras clave: Historia, política, economía, populismo y retórica.

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1. Introduction

Currently there are three ways of evaluating Ankara's foreign policies. One is an extremely hostile approach, which goes to the extreme by questioning Turkey's reliability as a NATO member, the other is skeptical and the third adopts a pragmatic, self-centered, as well as self-congratulatory way of explaining the proximate hyper activism. This study takes up the second view because what follows does not leave much alternative to thinking that experience is being surrendered to hope. Since colleagues who contribute to this special edition will write about specific bilateral and/or regional issues, this essay on parameters dwells on foreign policy thinking, conduct, and rhetoric. The framework is the use and abuse of history, foreign policy and the state of the economy, as well as an assessment of dilemmas that the conduct of foreign policy currently presents.

The image projected abroad by the AKP's pro-activism, especially at the expense of old alignments, caused much consternation as to whether Turkey was changing sides. Turkey is not changing direction, because no government can afford to do so. Priorities may always have to be re-directed under changing junctures, but AKP does not seem to have priorities. Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu's latest declarations practically suggest that Turkey will be globally omnipresent and omnipotent.[2] AKP is merely trying to score points in foreign policy through populism. Contrasting the new populist criteria injected to the art and science of traditional foreign policy making, the study concludes that all of the recent initiatives taken by the government may be noble in spirit, but innocent of sophistication and managerial acumen.

Populism and sophistry towards the Middle East, a hopeful start towards normalizing relations with the Republic of Armenia, pragmatic initiative taking in Africa, reactive rhetoric towards the West (including Israel) describe the overall approach to foreign policy behavior during the *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* (henceforth AKP) government rule.

However, many, if not all policies towards the neighborhood build on what had been established before the AKP came to power. This "new" foreign policy was not spirited out of the ether except for its contours and rhetoric. Therefore, what is being presented as "the new" foreign policy is hardly new. The only novelties are the conjuncture, style and discourse which shun traditional rules of conduct, engagement, and protocol. This stems from the Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's self-centered behavior as well as his disdain for diplomatic/statesmanly finesse. In 2008, since Ahmet Davutoğlu, former professor of international relations, was appointed foreign minister, populism has been wrapped in concepts such as "strategic depth," "zero problems with neighbors," "pro-activism," "geographical centralism" and "soft balancing." Davutoğlu had been senior foreign policy adviser to the government since its inception (2002) and policies were always amalgamated with his conceptualizations. Meanwhile the government broke a good deal of political china, alienated Israel and Azerbaijan, many in the U.S.A., and the European Union (EU). The AKP triumvirate (President Abdullah Gül, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu) seem to pave the foreign policy road seemingly with good intentions by abandoning caution and credible distance.

A lot of energy goes into taking initiatives in selectively cultivating deeper relations with countries in the Middle East, as well as Libya. Newspapers reported in November 2009

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[2] "Davutoğlu: Hattı diplomasi yoktur sathı diplomasi vardır, satıh ise tüm dünyadır", [Davutoğlu: There are no limits to our diplomacy, it covers the entire world], *Radikal*, January 5, 2010.

that Turkey will be opening up to Africa in cooperation with Libya. In December 2009, following Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's visit to Ankara, Egypt was added to the list of strategic partners in the military, social and economic fields.[3] Less than a week later, taking liberty with Greece's economic crisis, Davutoğlu suggested that the two neighbors should establish a high level strategic partnership, cultivate a common block within the EU, as well as develop regional and global cooperation. All of this, according to the foreign minister, would happen if Turkey helped out Greece financially.[4] Even the mere suggestion of economic aid from Turkey to an EU member is stranger than life. Besides, as of December 22, 2009 Moody's had not yet dropped Greece's financial rating to a crisis level.[5]

While there is nothing necessarily peculiar with pro-activism with the goal of becoming a regional power, the oddity is simultaneous engagement with almost all the near and not-so-near neighborhood. Consequently, Turkey looks as if it no longer has any priorities in foreign relations. The situation is rather confusing for observers, foreign and Turks alike, because no one is sure which path Turkey will follow, if and when it may come to making choices. Simultaneous engagement with more than one partner makes the body disease prone in medical terms. A similar situation may make the body politic just as vulnerable.

In recent years, the government boasted strategic partnership with the US, the Russian Federation, Israel, Azerbaijan, Iraq and Syria, which renders the concept null and void. There is some talk about integration with Syria[6] and the unfortunate reference to "Şamgen" following the lifting of visa requirements between the two countries (Şam is the Turkish word for Damascus), a pique at the exhausting and exhaustive visa procedures of the EU. Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu refers to the rise of a new Mesopotamian civilization. It is rather awkward to declare a new civilization when Mesopotamia was the cradle of civilization thousands of years ago.

This study is a follow-up on "Turkey's Foreign and Security Policy with the AKP Government,"[7] which covered the years 2002-2006. That article was critical of the self-centered style of carrying out personal diplomacy by the AKP leadership which was, to a large extent, based on religious worldviews and values. At the same time, to its credit, the AKP carried out reform legislation to conform to EU's Copenhagen criteria, complied with fiscal discipline, and enhanced trade and development, albeit as a continuation of previous policies. That article concluded: Systemic changes have been apparent since the late twentieth century. One positive result of this transformation was the way the Turkish Armed Forces (TAF) adapted itself to the new security environment, as well as to the EU vocation, albeit incrementally. Another outcome is the changing mood of the society. Public service is no longer regarded as the premise of bureaucracies, and this resonates in increased democratic participation through NGOs and civil associations. There is ample evidence that societal and institutional inertia, coupled with international incentive, is transforming society. The AKP

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[3] "Mısır'la hedef stratejik ortaklık", [Strategic partnership with Egypt] *Radikal*, 16 December 2009.
[4] Karan, Ceyda: "Karşı Kıyıya Topyekün açılım vakti", [Time to open up to the coast across the sea] *Radikal*, 12 December 2009.
[5] *BBC World News TV*, 22 December 2009.
[6] Güzel, Hasan Celâl: "Suriye ile tam entegrasyona doğru", [Towards total integration with Syria] *Radikal*, 15 October 2009.
[7] Criss, Nur Bilge: in Marquina, Antonio and Aydın Mustafa (eds.) (2006): *Turkish Foreign and Security Policy; Its Environs in Eurasia and the Middle East*, Madrid, UNISCI, pp. 23-46.

government has the obligation to rise to the occasion, but there is scant evidence so far that this is in the purview of its leadership.[8] Why?

Is this outlook not overly skeptical given that AKP's is a majority rule, unhampered by coalition partners? Why is the government not concentrating on good governance at home instead of engaging in frenzied activity abroad? Does the answer plausibly lie in the fact that AKP has not come of age about consensual democracy, but instead insists on majority democracy; and when that fails, tries to score points with an imaginary grand strategy in foreign policy?

Although the government had four different foreign ministers during its tenure, namely Yaşar Yakış, Abdullah Gül, Ali Babacan, and lately Ahmet Davutoğlu, the party leaders' self-centered style and monopoly of foreign policy has not changed.

In line with strategic depth, the government decided to adopt the concepts in a book by that very name, written by Ahmet Davutoğlu in 2001 before he was recruited as the senior foreign policy adviser.[9] One of the most appealing tools to be utilized in the book was Ankara's potential to use its soft power in the former Ottoman geography. On an idealistic plane, Davutoğlu wrote about a system akin to a commonwealth in the Middle East, with Turkey at its center. In practice this approach was taken definitely to tantalize collective memory, which in turn served domestic populism.[10]

2. History, Neo-Ottomanism and Politics

One of the main principles of foreign policy making is not to use decision-making as an instrument of populist domestic policies. When foreign policy is based on populism/public opinion it leads to confusion, hurts credibility, and results in loss of prestige. For instance, many foreign analysts look at opinion polls to explain Turkey's foreign policy. When Pew polls point to negative attitudes of the West, then analysts rush to match these numbers with AKP's eastern and southward demarches or the Turks' disappointment with EU's exclusivit rhetoric. To the contrary, in 2003 the AKP leadership pressured the parliament to pass the resolution to accommodate US troops for a northern attack on Iraq. This ran totally against public opinion, and although the resolution did not pass, it was only short by two votes. The ruling party did not take public opinion into account then, any more than it later has been doing. It is again for entirely populist reasons to cater to businessmen, to cover for the declining state of the economy, as well as attempt to fill the so-called power vacuum yet to be created by US withdrawal of troops from Iraq, that AKP has re-directed its attention to the east and south of the borders.

A legitimizing tool for the re-direction in behavior was found in historic references. Historians cringe every time a politician, no matter from which country refers to history. However, the use and abuse of history has come to the fore in AKP rhetoric.

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[8] *Ibid.,* p. 46.
[9] Davutoğlu, Ahmet (2001): *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu* [Strategic Depth: Turkey's International Position], İstanbul, Küre Yayınları.
[10] *Ibid*., pp. 556-557; Davutoğlu, Ahmet: "Turkey's Foreign Policy Vision: An Assessment of 2007", *Insight Turkey*, vol. 10., no. 1 (2008), pp. 77-96.

Neo-Ottomanism had surfaced in the 1990s for the first time, during Turgut Özal's prime ministry and presidency. After his demise in 1993, the concept was dropped and foreign policy concentrated on security against the terrorist threat emanating from the PKK (Kurdestan Workers' Party). As of 2002, concepts such as using soft power and naturalization of foreign policy as well as the further democratization of the country were revived. At the same time, these concepts were/are used anachronistically to criticize the "Kemalist" foreign policy, which accordingly had severed Turkey's ties with the Middle East and blocked democratization at home. Never mind that the Middle Eastern countries were not receptive to Turkey before or during the Cold War. The status quo based on defensive instincts would no longer do in a globalized world. "In other words, neo-Ottomanism foresaw a comprehensive transformation which required a new definition of Kemalism, politics, society, and identities. The first goal was to soften the approach to secularism, and second to solve the Kurdish problem, not with Kemalist/assimilationist measures, but through brotherhood in religion."[11] Along with this approach was Turkey's soft power which emphasized re-direction of its diplomacy, economy, cultural and historic ties. The only arena that AKP's approach became operational at least on paper is the Middle East. Consequently, domestic and foreign policies overlapped, again at least in theory.

AKP member of the Parliament and member of the Parliamentary Commission on Foreign Affairs, Suat Kınıklıoğlu wrote "While the neo-Ottoman outlook naturally embraces the Ottoman geopolitical space and has no qualms about being a proactive actor in this geography, the traditionally conservative foreign policy establishment remains reluctant to come out of the comfort of not being a significant player…Yet the rise and rapid embrace of neo-Ottoman thinking in foreign policy cannot be explained by the impact of events in our immediate neighborhood only. The ascendancy of Ottomanism in Turkish society is likely to continue for some time. The challenge for Turkey followers will be to see whether neo-Ottomanism will be able to turn into a coherent and well-articulated ideology that will provide the intellectual legitimacy to transform Turkey both domestically and regionally. One thing is for certain though – Osman is recovering and is on his way to being fully liberated from the prevalent ideological interpretation that did much injustice to him."[12] The allegory is commendable as sophistry, except in reality, nobody in Turkey has any problems with Osman Bey, founder of the Ottoman dynasty.

A trajectory of re-direction in foreign and domestic policy involved the Ottoman past. History became the first casualty. It is not unusual for politicians to resurrect the past in order to justify current policy, but the problem is that they usually rely on false analogies and uninformed concepts for domestic consumption. The AKP discourse is not an exception.

Abdullah Gül, as foreign minister of Turkey, in 2006 rendered a speech at a local party convention whereby he made an effort to justify the political bureau chief of Hamas, Khalid Mashal's visit to Ankara. He said Turks were not cognizant of the country's greatness, and asked who is better situated than ourselves to engage in the Palestinian problem. "We possess all of the deeds and archives of Palestine, Israel, Jerusalem, and all of this geography…We made a gift of all these [deeds] to Palestine last year."[13]

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[11] Uzgel, İlhan: "Dış Politikada AKP: Stratejik Konumdan Stratejik Modele" [AKP's Foreign Policy: From Strategic Position to Strategic Model], in Uzgel, İlhan and Duru, Bülent (eds.) (2009): *AKP Kitabı. Bir Dönüşümün Bilançosu* [The AKP. An Account of Transformation], Ankara, Phoenix, pp. 357-380; 358-359.
[12] Kınıklıoğlu, Suat: "The return of Ottomanism", *Today's Zaman*, 27 March 2007.
[13] Özbaran, Salih: "Filistin'in Tapusu", [The Deeds of Palestine] *Radikal İki*, 26 February 2006.

The Foreign Minister understood the word "deed" to mean property ownership documents. Alas, in the Ottoman system deed registers (*tapu sicil defterleri*) informed the State of household statistics based on counting the head of household for the purpose of taxation. Households to be taxed were on *mîrî* (public) land which had little if anything to do with private property.   Furthermore, information on these registers was published by historians Uriel Heyd, Bernard Lewis and Amnon Cohen as well as K. Abdulfattah and W. Hütleroth, among others. *Arz-ı mîrî* or *mîrî* lands for short constituted 90 percent of the total lands in the Empire. Some cultivable lands were rented out to persons called *öşriyye* who paid a special tax, *öşür* to the state.[14] Gül, however, implied that Turkey has a say over the former Ottoman provinces because these deeds are in the Istanbul archives.

It is one thing, wrote Özbaran, to utilize the archives of the Ottoman Empire as a legacy to write demographic, economic, social, and diplomatic history of the imperial geography. But it is totally a different matter to construct a "new" foreign policy for Turkey, based on the archives through falsified terminology.[15] In fact, property rights should be searched in United Nations' archives during and after the time of partition of Palestine, not in the Ottoman archives.[16]

Nonetheless, obviously misunderstanding of the deed issue must have given false hope to some Palestinians. In 2009, upon being evicted from his home in east Jerusalem, which had been his family homestead since 1956, a Palestinian announced that since his attorney could not find any proof of ownership in the archives delivered to Palestine, he would go to Istanbul to look at deeds in the archives.[17]

In December 2009, Foreign Minister Davutoğlu complained in an interview that he did not appreciate being labeled as neo-Ottomanist.[18] But the content of his former publications are not commensurate with his current "idealist" approach, especially when he was the instigator of soft power extension to the former Ottoman geography.[19] Neo-Ottomanism, whatever it means, does not go over well in 2009 because the term is being used in myriad publications as a point of criticism toward Turkey's new foreign policy. But, three years ago it found a receptive audience at home when combined with historic myths, nationalism, and religion beyond sectarianism.

In 2006, then State Minister Kürşad Tüzmen stated that the AKP government wished to cultivate a relationship with peoples who once lived in the Ottoman geography based on respect and cooperation. He emphasized that more than 30 countries which occupy a space of 24 million square kilometers need a strong center; and this center must be Turkey. Brussels is

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[14] İnalcık, Halil (2000): *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ekonomik ve Sosyal Tarihi* [Socio-economic History of the Ottoman Empire], 1st ed., İstanbul, Eren Yayıncılık, p. 147.

[15] See Özbaran, *op. cit.*

[16] Land tenure in the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire continued as is from ancient times as opposed to land tenure in the Balkans. Privately owned lands in Palestine were sold to Jewish émigrés by absentee Arab landlords at the end of the 19th century against all efforts to prevent this by the Porte. See, Öke, M. Kemal: "The Ottoman Empire, Zionism, and the Question of Palestine (1880-1908)", *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies,* vol. 14, no. 3 (August 1982), pp. 329-341.

[17] "Doğu Kudüs için Osmanlı arşivi umudu", [Hope lies in the Ottoman archives for east Jerusalem] *Radikal*, 6 December 2009.

[18] Karan, Ceyda: "Batı'nın emperyal perspektifinden Yeni Osmanlılık", [Neo-Ottomanism from the western imperial perspective] *Radikal,* 7 December 2009.

[19] Davutoğlu, Ahmet: "Medeniyetler arası Etkileşim ve Osmanlı Sentezi", [Inter-civilizational dialogue and the Ottoman synthesis] in Çakır, Ç. (ed.) (2005): *Osmanlı Medeniyeti: Siyaset, İktisat, Sanat*, [Ottoman Civilization: Politics, Economy, and the Arts], İstanbul, Klasik Yayınları, pp. 3-13.

just as important to the AKP as are Baghdad, Aleppo, Cairo and Tabriz, he said. The last of which should not have even been touched upon considering that Tabriz is the center of southern Azerbaijan and Iran has always been very sensitive about its Azerbaijani Turks. However, according to the Minister, Turkey should combine three sets of countries, the EU, Turkic republics in Central Asia, and the Arab countries within the overall theme called the "Great Ottoman Project."[20]

The notion of being co-religionists with the Kurds domestically also inspired, among other factors, the democratic initiatives taken towards ending the twenty-five year long PKK terrorism. It was a fine initiative but because the AKP did not seek consensus at the level of major political parties to agree on basic premises, it caused another sense of polarization between autonomy seeking Turkish Kurds and the non-Kurds.[21] The PM did not even acknowledge let alone begin a dialogue with the (Kurdish) Democratic Turkey Party (DTP) about the very issue that concerned the legally elected representatives of the Kurds. Erdoğan's avoidance of the DTP caused the radical elements of the party to turn to Abdullah Öcalan, former head of the PKK who is serving a life sentence in Turkey. Tension culminated in the decision by the Constitutional Court to close the DTP in December 2009. Protests and restiveness followed and are continuing. AKP's hubris and unilateralism caused much instability at home, which is not very promising for foreign affairs either.

Some jumped on the bandwagon to argue that the Republic of Turkey is a mere continuation of the Ottoman Empire, where major let alone minor differences were overlooked for the sake of expediency, in tandem with the "new"outlook.[22] Concomitantly, the doyen of Ottoman history, Professor Halil İnalcık (who was awarded the Medal of Honor by the Parliament in 2008) stated "We are not Ottomans. The Empire resided on minorities. We cannot replicate it, this is a nation-state. The former was an empire."[23] His was a reaction not to democratization but to suggestions to confer minority status to Turkey's Kurds. Actually, it would be very beneficial to study İnalcik's scholarship before speaking of identity politics or alluding to the empire.

In sum, naming is a very effective political tool, and journalistic, policy analyses and academic writings reflect a high state of confusion about a reasonable diagnosis of Turkey's foreign policies. This may plausibly be due to the term first concocted during the Bush administration referring to the so-called pro-American Muslim majority countries as "moderate Islamic" countries. This terminology overlapped with AKP rule in Turkey, whose members come from politically oriented religious backgrounds. Public pronouncements of Prime Minister Erdoğan reacting to criticism of embracing Sudan's dictator Omar al-Bashir to the effect that Muslims would never commit genocide did not help either. Consequently, one encounters titles such as "The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey", "Turkey's Ottoman Mission", "Neo-Ottomanism is All We Don't Need," "Neo-Ottomanism and Kemalist Foreign Policy", "Turkey's Middle East Policies: Between Neo-Ottomanism and Kemalism", "The AKP's Foreign Policy: The Misnomer of "Neo-Ottomanism", "Neo-Ottomanism",

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[20] See Özbaran, *op. cit.*; Özbaran, Salih (2007): "*Osmanlı'yı Özlemek ya da Tarih Tasarlamak*" [Nostalgia for the Ottoman Empire or Re-designing History], Ankara, İmge Yayınları; Özbaran, Salih: "Sömürü ile Pax Ottomana Arasında Sıkıştırılmış bir konu, Osmanlı Yönetiminde Arap Ülkeleri" [Between Pax Ottomana and Colonialism; Arab Countries under Ottoman Rule], *Toplumsal Tarih,* vol. 189 (September 2009), pp. 12-21.

[21] I use the term non-Kurds deliberately because the rest of Turkey's human profile is a mirror image of the multi-ethnic Ottoman Empire, although ethnic Turks may be in the majority.

[22] Alkan, Türker, "Eski ve Yeni Osmanlılar", [The old and new Ottomans] *Radikal*, 17 November 2009.

[23] *Ibid.*; Bila, Fikret: "Halil İnalcık'ın Uyarısı", [Cautionary note from Halil Inalcık] *Milliyet*, 19 November 2009.

"Shifting Sides? The problems of Neo-Ottomanism" and "Neo-Ottomanism, Historical Legacies and Turkish Foreign Policy."[24] Further, foreign media, at least the Anglo-Saxon versions continue to qualify AKP and its leadership as pro-Islamic, Islamic, Islamic-oriented, or Islamist *ad nauseam*. There are certain problems with this kind of labeling. In the first place, the authors obviously do not know the difference in lexicon between Islam (the religion), Muslim (the follower), Islamic (adjective as in Islamic architecture), Islamist (somewhat short of a fundamentalist but a proponent of religious worldviews adhering to the Holy Book, when and if possible). Secondly, public labeling of people's faith, which should remain a private affair is incongruous with policy analysis and explanation, because the approach is reductionist as well as simplistic. Last but not least, such clichés may cater to identity politics, but fall short of understanding events. That said, AKP leaders' behavior, rhetoric, and life styles plausibly prompt such labels, but these are not helpful in identifying current political behavior. Identity politics alone is not a sound instrument to decipher politics any more than misplaced historical references are. Instead, we might look at the worldly values of these parvenu statesmen to get some clues about their foreign policy demarches. The next section will take up bilateral relations to draw a reasonable picture of AKP's current foreign policy parameters. One should, however, bear in mind the religious-cultural mettle of the AKP leadership, which sometimes brings dividends to them and at other times, is used against them.

3. Bilateral Relations / Multilateral Implications

From Strategic Partnership to Model Partnership: When the U.S. policy of winning hearts and minds in the aftermath of the Iraq war of 2003 failed to yield much return in the Middle East, the AKP government stepped in to complete the job, not in America's image, but in its own Muslim image. Consequently, AKP adopted a double parlance. One was geared towards the Arab world as a powerful Muslim country which seeks justice in international affairs. The other language was one of a secular, democratic government which respects the rule of law when addressing the West.

We understand from Erdoğan's stormy response to criticism about Turkey's change of axis in foreign policy at the SAIS conference during his visit to Washington D.C. early in

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[24] Rabasa, Angel and Larrabee, F. Stephen "The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey", Santa Monica, Ca., Rand Corporation (2008), at http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2008/RAND_MG726.pdf; Strauss, Delphine: "Turkey's Ottoman mission", *Financial Times*, 23 November 2009, at
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 http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC06.php?CID=1270; Kanlı, Yusuf: "The EU report", *Hurriyet Daily News*, 14 October 2009 at http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/n.php?n=the-eu-report-2009-10-14; Rubin, Michael: "Shifting Sides? The problems of neo-Ottomanism", Middle East Forum, *National Review* (10 August 2004), at http://www.meforum.org/628/shifting-sides; Fisher Onar, Nora: "Neo-Ottomanism, Historical Legacies and Turkish Foreign Policy", Center for Economics and Foreign Policy Studies, *Discussion Paper Series,* Istanbul (March 2009), at
http://www.edam.org.tr/images/PDF/yayinlar/makaleler/discussion%20paper%20series_fisher.pdf.

December 2009, that there is no diversion in Turkey's foreign policy, but that the EU had diverted from its path.[25] Speaking at another conference, Davutoğlu elaborated on the axis debate, stating that the major axis was Ankara in trying to bring about global peace.[26] On the contrary, although not articulated the new US administration was above scrutiny, plausibly for accommodating the new cultural identity of its Turkish ally. Close to 100,000 civilian casualties in Iraq caused by US attacks, however meekly criticized before, were promptly forgotten. U.S. President Barack Obama welcomed Erdoğan at the Oval Office with the Arabic salute "Salaam 'alaykum." This is not a trivial matter. No western leader ever addressed his/her Turkish counterparts during the 86 years of the republic in this manner.[27] Had they done so, it would have been considered a major diplomatic scandal. Today, it is acceptable as an extension of American public diplomacy directed by misplaced cultural anthropology. It simply signals recognition/promotion of the Muslim cultural identity of Turkey's prime minister. As long as the AKP leadership wears its religious identity on their sleeves at all occasions they will be addressed in this manner, trampling state protocol.

An "embedded" journalist with the Prime Minister's entourage gave credit to Erdoğan for being the first and only leader for having criticized Israel in a Washington, D.C. setting about its isolation of Gaza.[28] Almost at the same breath, the PM iterated that his government wished to sustain strategic partnership with Israel. Likewise, although Turkey did not wish to see a nuclear armed Iran, Ankara was against using sanctions or military force against Tehran. On the one hand, it may be argued that the Turkish PM's peace vision towards the Middle East overlaps with that of the U.S. President. On the other hand, Davutoğlu's principle of "zero problems with neighbors" increasingly looks like a cloak whereby Ankara is trying to solve US's problems in Turkey's neighborhood. Turkey can certainly talk to some parties/countries in its neighborhood that the US officially does not talk to or with those over which Washington no longer has leverage. Ankara used to do this in the past without fanfare.

When Davutoğlu explained Turkey's role in the post Cold War order as that of contributing to the global order by restructuring the sub-regional space around Turkey,[29] it raised questions about one, Turkey's priorities along with its own national self interest, and two, the risks Turkey may be taking by its integrative approach to Syria and Iraq because both have the potential to draw Turkey into the Middle Eastern quagmires. It is one thing to help these two countries become part of the international community, but another to embrace them with much fanfare as long lost brothers. In other words, it is the lack of professionalism and lack of maintaining equidistance from the political parties alike that raise questions about Turkey's "new" foreign policy. The parameters of Turkish foreign policy have been broadened in tandem with American strategic interests.

A report written for the Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association of Turkey (TUSIAD) in April 2009, on rebuilding Turkey-US partnership concluded, "Turkey can be of significant assistance to the United States in dealing with the problems of Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Iran and the Caucasus, as well as moving the moribund Middle East peace process forward, which will be crucial for rebuilding Turkish-American

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[25] "Erdoğan: Eğer eksen kayması varsa bu Avrupa'daki eksen kaymasıdır", [Erdoğan: If there is any diversion from the axis it is the European diversion] *Radikal*, 7 December 2009.
[26] "Artık eksen Türkiye'de", [From now on Turkey is the axis] *Radikal*, 10 December 2009.
[27] Şahin, Haluk: "Selamün aleyküm", [Salaam 'alaykum] *Radikal*, 11 December 2009.
[28] Karan, Ceyda: "ABD'de İsrail'i böyle eleştiren lider gördünüz mü?", [Have you ever seen a leader who criticizes Israel like this in the U.S.A.?] *Radikal*, 9 December 2009.
[29] *Anatolian Agency Bulletin*, quoting Davutoğlu from a speech he made in Princeton University on March 20, 2009 about the objectives of Turkey's foreign policy.

partnership in a new era."[30] This is exactly the geographically extended line which the AKP government follows. But, there are limits to Ankara's soft power. What seems to be working south of the border does not work as well north-east (the Caucasus) where Ankara is forced to take its relations with Russia into account. To say the least, AKP is dependent on Russia's goodwill and calculations in its relations, no matter how sincere it is about its initiative towards Armenia, not to mention its relations with Georgia and Azerbaijan.

The picture drawn here suggests the following: The AKP government searches for legitimacy in its foreign policy behavior through the US administration which, in turn, favors every initiative to remedy its own image in the Middle East. Secondly, AKP leadership has assumed a "big brother" role both in its rhetoric and deeds towards the Middle East, which may backfire sooner than later. Third, favorable economic relations do not always guarantee favorable international relations, but perhaps for once it may work for Turkey in the Middle East in the current conjuncture, barring civil war or another form of war in the region. Fourth, the much used and abused metaphor, "Turkey as a bridge between the East and West" has been revived to account for the Janus-like foreign policies, which render Ankara as the self-appointed middle-man based on personal initiatives. Fifth, although energetic and dynamic, Turkey's foreign policy is being monopolized by the AKP triumvirate, the PM, FM and the President, who bring personal diplomacy to the fore at the expense of dismantling traditional conduct in state affairs. This style may be beneficial for bilateral relations in the short-term, but does not necessarily cater to multilateral confidence building as witnessed by reactions from Iran, Israel, and the EU. The AKP is definitely trying to fill what it perceives as power vacuums in its neighborhood left over from the demise of the Cold War as well as the resultant environment in the Middle East following US engagement in Iraq.

But it is breaking a good deal of political china through rhetoric and behavior such as when President Abdullah Gül retorted that it was none of EU's business if Ankara decided to host Omar al-Bashir of Sudan in Turkey during (this would be the second time) the convention of the Islamic Conference in Istanbul in October 2009.   One of Erdoğan's polemical statements was that he had seen no signs of genocide when he visited Darfur in 2008. During his visit to the US in December 2009, he reiterated that Muslims do not commit genocide. Such rhetoric points to double standards per excellence. Does an economically powerful Turkey, as it is being promoted by the government, need to resort to such extremes, if indeed, its economy is as sound as its membership in the G-20 suggests? How else is this frenzied activity in foreign relations to be explained?

4. State of the Economy

In October 2008, PM Erdoğan declared that the global economic crisis was tangential to the Turkish economy. Consequently, no fiscal or economic precautions were taken. Exactly one year later numbers indicate that Turkey is the third country after Russia (-7.5 per cent) and Mexico (-7.3 percent) which experienced the highest percentile of a shrinking economy with -6.5%.

As of 2006, the AKP governments relaxed financial discipline and did not take into account that the crisis would affect the real state sector. When it did, banks became overly

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[30] Özel, Soli; Yılmaz, Şuhnaz and Akyüz, Abdullah: "Rebuilding a Partnership: Turkish-American Relations for a New Era, A Turkish Perspective", *TUSIAD Publication* No-T/2009-04/490, p. 90.

cautious about extending credit to commercial firms. Meanwhile the Central Bank pressured the banks into decreasing interest rates concomitant with the public sector appeals to the banks to finance their budget deficits. Banks received no guarantees let alone an answer to the question as to whether they could maintain liquidity or whether the government would seek international funding. Although the government did not refuse to negotiate with the IMF overtly, the AKP has chosen to stretch the negotiations. Even though agreement with IMF would not be a definitive solution to the problem, funds could have been used to buttress the national budget, prevent bankruptcies as well as relieve the shrinking economy.[31] Moreover, the 2009 budget expenditures were geared towards the March 2009 local elections. In this budget, there was a 25 percent ($4 billion) increase in allocations to local administrations. On December 31, 2009 the government announced that a two year agreement of $15 billion with the IMF was about to be signed. The amount is to be used for debt financing.

By November 2009, the unemployment rate was 13.4percent with 3,396,000 people out of a job. According to *The Economist* and OECD figures, Turkey's unemployment rate is the fourth highest globally after South Africa, Lithuania, and Spain.[32] With an annual 1.3 percent population increase, the working age population increases fast, but the unemployment rate is still higher than those who come of age.[33] Having lost touch with reality, Erdoğan has been preaching to Turkish women that they should at least have three children per family, and God would provide for them.[34]

There are more numbers just as adverse as the above. Sixty-four thousand enterprises closed down. Forty-seven percent of prison inmates are debtors who defaulted on checks or promissory notes. During the first 80 years of the Republic, the country had a cumulative debt of $148 billion. The AKP government's debt accumulation reached $285 billion in seven years, $225 billion to be paid in interest. The budget deficit as of November 2009 was $40.3 billion, projected to reach $62.3 billion by the year's end.[35]

The General Directorate of Social Assistance and Solidarity announced that 2.6 million families received aid in cash and kind worth $1.5 million during the first nine months of 2009. This aid precludes free dispensation of textbooks, lunch subsidies to school children, free transportation for handicapped youngsters, and other social service projects.[36] This is significant in terms of poverty levels.

Calibrating the world economy at the end of 2009, the economist Baran Tuncer spoke of G-2, China and the US as the giants of global economy despite the recession in the latter, and economically the most promising country was India. Tuncer contrasted real conditions with AKP's rhetoric in context. "It is not credible to say that Turkey is engaged in initiatives that would make it a grand player in the future despite government rhetoric to the contrary…Besides major players at the global level not only should have a sound economy but a sustainable rate of growth."[37] The growth rates that Turkey boasted before the global

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[31] Gürses, Uğur: "10 Maddede 'Teğet'in Yıldönümü", [Anniversary of the 'tangential' in 10 points] *Radikal*, 21 October 2009.

[32] "The World in 2010", *The Economist* (December 2009), p. 100.

[33] "İşsizlik yüzde 13.4'e demir attı, işsiz sayısı 3 milyon 396 bine çıktı", [Unemployment is 13.4%, 3 million 396 thousand people are unemployed] *Radikal*, 16 December 2009.

[34] "Erdoğan: En az üç cocuk doğurun", [Give birth to at least three children] *Hürriyet*, 7 March 2008.

[35] Türenç, Tufan: "İşte Tayyip Bey'in Türkiyesi", [This is Tayyip Bey's Turkey] *Hürriyet*, 23 November 2009.

[36] "10 milyon kişi yardımla yaşıyor", [Ten million people survive on social aid] *Radikal*, 24 December 2009.

[37] Tuncer, Baran: "Bir on yıl daha geride kalırken", [Another decade is gone] *Radikal*, 27 December 2009.

economic crisis depended on the flow of foreign investment which is no longer available, and as such these rates had been a misleading indicator of growth.

In the aftermath of the 2001 economic crisis Turkey benefited from the financial expansion in international markets and cheap credit. Foreign debt deficits were met by foreign investments attracted to Turkey because of high interest rates. Merger of firms and privatization which brought direct investments also contributed to deficit financing. Subsequently, the private sector became the major debtor and the industries succumbed to recession.[38]

Deficit financing by acquiring foreign debt feeds the current account deficit and unemployment. On the one hand, it seems unrealistic to turn to labor intensive production at the expense of imported technologies, because business is here to make profits, not to provide social justice. On the other hand, neo-liberal policies are also bankrupt mainly because of unregulated financial markets and abstract gains, without any correlation to real-time value.

The AKP government turned to its Middle Eastern neighborhood to boost business. "Turkey heavily relies on economic instruments in improving relations with its neighbors. The economic instruments, mainly trade and investment projects, are used as facilitators in foreign policy [in line with the new foreign policy paradigm, the "zero problem policy" with neighbors]."[39] That neighborhood is rife with many interrelated disputes. The government, however, appears to treat international affairs as if they were items of dispute in some business deal. As a result, Erdoğan attempted to mediate the peace process between Syria and Iraq, Israel and Palestine, and facilitate talks between Iran and the Western world. It may be too soon to evaluate the outcomes, but even if the self-assumed role of mediator or facilitator helps make a dent in disputes, then it will have been worthwhile. Consequently, conclusions dwell on dilemmas that Turkey's foreign policy activism presents.

5. Conclusions

Dilemmas are manifold. In the first place, Turkey overtly took Iran's side on the nuclear issue and the PM announced that the nuclear program is intended for peaceful means. Iran not only presents, at least in rhetoric, a threat to Israel. Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and Yemen also see Tehran as a threat. While Kuwait saw Saddam Husein's Iraq as a threat, and rightfully so, now it perceives a nuclear Iran as a threat. Iran's support for Shi'i Arabs in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, the Gulf countries, and Yemen poses security problems. Islamic fundamentalists in Syria, Lebanon and Palestine receive military aid from Iran. Tehran's missile range has increased steadily. Turkey's government, however, does not have a nuanced outlook in foreign policy, and ignores the dichotomies prevalent in its behavior.

Turkey's influence in the Arab countries might have been positively viewed in the hope of offsetting Iran. There was hope in the Arab countries that NATO member Turkey will

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[38] Yeldan, Erinç: "Küresel Kriz: Yapısal Nedenleri ve Türkiye Ekonomisine Etkileri", [Global Crisis: Structural Causes and Effects on the Turkish Economy], Speech delivered at the Kocaeli University and Kocaeli Bar Association Conference, İzmit (9 May 2009). Courtesy of Professor Yeldan.

[39] Kutlay, Mustafa: "Is Turkey Drifting Away from the West? An Economic Interpretation", *The Journal of Turkish Weekly*, October 28, 2009, at http://www.turkishweekly.net/columnist/3212.

balance Iran.[40] On the one hand, this is exactly the direction that may embroil Turkey in intra-Arab-Iran disputes. On the other, AKP's support for Iran does not fare well with its close relations with the Arab countries. Turkey's sale of weapons to the Gulf countries along with its support for Iran, enhanced economic relations with Arab countries as well as Iran, present a serious dilemma and heralds loss of credibility in the foreign policy arena.

Second, enhanced relations with the Kurdestan autonomous region in northern Iraq did not yield much cooperation from Masud Barzani. What still counts is the US-Turkey cooperation in obtaining real-time intelligence on PKK camps in that region. Otherwise, Barzani keeps the logistical routes to PKK camps open and keeps a choice in the matter. Whether the central Iraqi government can rise above sectarianism is another issue with which to contend.

Third, fifty-one agreements were signed with Syria on health, trade, local administration, energy, the environment, agriculture, tourism, education, culture, and defense in the name of inter-regional cooperation. Visa requirements were lifted to help businessmen. Davutoğlu maintained that the foreign ministry was applying the EU model (of eliminating borders and entry visas, as well as establishing common air routes between Turkey, Iraq, Syria and Jordan) towards the Middle East with Syria being the pilot project.[41] Apart from the false analogy of the EU model in the Middle East, two questions linger. One is at what point will the US relieve Syria from its list of terrorist states as well as whether Syrian entry stamps on Turkish citizen's passports will impede obtaining visas to the West. Yet another question is about problems that might occur if and when terrorists of different affiliations enter Turkey, because now their space for maneuver has been expanded.

Fourth, the Russia-Georgia conflict clearly showed that Turkey's "strategic depth" tool is not going to work towards its northern neighborhood. During this conflict, Erdoğan attempted to broker an armistice between the warring parties, only to find out that the French President Nicholas Sarkozy had already brokered one. In the aftermath of military conflict in summer 2008, Erdoğan offered a peace project under the banner of the Caucasian Stability Pact. The pact was designed to bring Russia and Georgia together to a platform and seek a solution to disputes over south Ossetia and Abkhazia. The Russian PM, Vladimir Putin, reacted furiously to the proposal and the Georgian Foreign Ministry refused the proposal as well. Currently, Russia and Georgia are holding talks in Geneva while both countries made it crystal clear that Turkey will not become a party to *their* conflict or to its resolution.

Like with every other diplomatic initiative monopolized by the AKP, the pattern followed is to advertise Turkey's intentions up front without necessarily being invited by disputing parties to facilitate/mediate, and then expect instant results. One of the golden rules of diplomacy is to keep such initiatives confidential because otherwise nobody will take it seriously. It is only when and if the solution or partial solution is near that the parties make the process public. In other words, consensus is reached privately so that if a resolution becomes impossible nobody's prestige will be at stake. This is exactly what is meant here by criticizing the AKP for having dismantled the international rules of conduct and engagement.

Fifth, structurally speaking, the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs does not have sufficient numbers of personnel to sustain the current activism. The Ministry has 1,200

[40] Zeyrek, Deniz: "İran denkleminde bir sorun var", [Problems with the Iranian equation] *Radikal*, 29 December 2009.

[41] Çalışkan, Emre: "Türkiye, AB modelini Ortadoğu'da uyguluyor", [Turkey is applying the EU model in the Middle East], *Radikal*, 3 January 2010.

diplomats. Davutoğlu stated that the Office of the Undersecretary was working on a plan to restructure the Ministry whereby the number of diplomats recruited will increase, and non-career experts will be hired. Junior diplomats are already required to learn Arabic or Persian in addition to a Western language.[42] Such reforms are sorely needed at the Ministry with the caveat that quality is not sacrificed at the altar of quantity; simply because AKP has a penchant for building cadres. The question also remains as to how this expansion will be financed.

"What causes concern – in the West but also among critical thinkers in Turkey –" wrote an analyst, "is Ankara's ability to pursue its ambitious international conduct, maintaining both the depth and the breadth of its foreign policy course. Given the sheer number of problems, enormity of the tasks, complexity of the regions, tangled nature of conflicts, coupled with Ankara's limited resources and the new constraints imposed by the current economic recession, a certain downsizing of the Turkish foreign policy agenda appears to be inevitable. Will Turkey not be compelled, critics argue, to scale down its ambitions, and prioritize and zero in on a carefully selected set of problems, instead of pursuing an all-azimuths policy?"[43] The question goes right into the heart of the matter.

Finally, in contrast to the skepticism this article carries, FM Davutoğlu held a press conference on December 31, 2009, explaining his vision of Turkey in 2010. He hopes that Turkey will become one of the top ten economies in the world, that Ankara will be the center for resolving global crises, as well as combine freedoms and security. But, goodwill is not a substitute for mutual political will in international affairs. Foreign policy, moreover, does not consist on diplomacy alone. Tensions between the government, judiciary, military, and security forces pose serious challenges to Turkey's internal stability. The FM at last concedes that the internal situation may tarnish Turkey's credibility abroad if it continues unabated.[44] These tensions will cease in the long run, and Turkey will become a more democratic country, because the top echelons of state institutions are already cooperating to alleviate the ills. This is a matter of survival for the state apparatus. But, a foreign policy line, without priorities, is a more dangerous path to tread. The major threat would be loss of credibility internationally. This may result in alienating the entire Middle East. Worse yet, AKP's self-centered and self-defined foreign policies may upset (if it has not already done so) the Euro-Atlantic balance that Turkey had always been keen on maintaining. This balance tilts towards the Atlantic despite discourse in the West about AKP's "independent" foreign policy acts.[45]

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[42] Aydıntaşbaş, Aslı: "Dışişleri by yükü nasıl kaldırır?", [How is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to work under such burdens?] *Milliyet*, 14 December 2009.

[43] Ojanen, Hanna: "Is Turkey emerging as an independent regional power", *Europe's World*, 12 April 2009, at http://www.europesworld.org.

[44] Yetkin, Murat: "Dışişleri değişen dengeleri tartışıyor", [Foreign Ministry debates changing equilibriums] *Radikal*, 3 January 2010.

[45] See Ojanen, *op. cit.*; Rachman, Gideon: "The U.S. is losing Turkey", *Financial Times*, 4 January 2010.

THE CHANGING ROLE OF TURKEY´S MILITARY IN FOREIGN POLICY MAKING[1]

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Abstract:

Changing domestic power configurations following the EU Helsinki Summit in 1999 and increasing US influence in Iraq after 2002 created distinct political circumstances in which the military in Turkey had to relinquish its grip on foreign policy- making process. The harmonization process with the EU deprived the military of its most influential bureaucratic instruments to exert influence over the formulation of foreign policy decisions, and removed one of the main obstacles that prevented governments from exercising full authority in making foreign policy decisions. Furthermore, the invasion of Iraq caused a chain of reactions that eventually limited the military's influential position in Turkish foreign affairs. This article tries to shed light on the combined impact of the EU reforms and the invasion of Iraq in restricting military influence on foreign policy- making in Turkey.

Keywords: Turkish military, EU, Invasion of Iraq, foreign policy-making.

Resumen:

Configuraciones domésticas cambiantes tras la Cumbre de Helsinki de 1999 y la creciente influencia de los EEUU en Iraq tras el 2002, crearon unas circunstancias políticas distintas en las cuales los militares en Turquía tuvieron que ceder su protagonismo en el proceso de toma de decisión en política exterior. El proceso de armonización con la UE privó a los militares de sus instrumentos burocráticos más influyentes para ejercer influencia sobre la formulación de las decisiones concernientes la política exterior, y eliminó así uno de los principales obstáculos que impedían a los gobiernos ejercer su plena autoridad en tal ámbito. Además, la invasión de Iraq causó una reacción en cadena que acabó limitando la posición tan influyente del ejército en los asuntos exteriores de Turquía. Este artículo intenta esclarecer el impacto combinado de las reformas de la UE y la invasión de Iraq que logró reducir la influencia del ejército en el proceso de toma de decisiones en Turquía.

Palabras clave: Ejército turco, UE, invasión de Iraq, toma de decisiones en política exterior.

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[1] An earlier version of this chapter appeared in, "Facing Its Waterloo in Diplomacy: Turkey's Military in Foreign Policy Making Process", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, vol. 40 (2009), pp.85-104.

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1. Introduction

The military's decisive position in Turkey's foreign policy-making process seems to have been undermined by interrelated domestic and international developments that have been taking place since the early 2000s. Firstly, Turkey's harmonization process with the EU that gained momentum after 2001 introduced legal reforms limiting the military's jurisdiction. From a legal standpoint, the harmonization process with the EU deprived the military of the bureaucratic instruments which allowed it to exert great influence over the formulation of foreign policy. Military authorities wrangled with successive governments over the political prerogatives they had cultivated for decades and were compelled to forsake some of the turf they seized in the nineties. Concomitantly, EU reforms also opened up a larger space for non-governmental agencies to take an active role in the process of foreign policy-making, and this, too, contributed to military loss of influence in this field. Secondly, the 3 November 2002 elections that brought the Justice and Development Party (JDP) to power with a clear cut majority in parliament heralded the end of the political fragmentation that had prevailed in Turkish politics since the 20 October 1991 elections. By surmounting the pressure imposed by the military, the JDP government gradually consolidated its position and succeeded in exercising full authority over the decision making on foreign and security policy issues. In a number of issues the JDP government challenged the military and eventually redefined Turkey's position in cases such as Cyprus. Thirdly, the military's retreat from Northern Iraq also meant a loss of influence. A divergence of ideas over priorities regarding the future of Iraq between Turkey and US after 1998 led to events that distorted the working harmony between the armies of the two age-old allies. Eventually, in the aftermath of the US invasion of Iraq in April 2003, the military found themselves less able to steer the country's most sensitive foreign and security policy issue, i.e. Turkey's policies towards the Kurds of Iraq.

Although both developments should be taken into consideration simultaneously to explain the military's loss of influence in foreign policy making, current literature on the issue appears to focus on the question as to how and to what extent Turkish foreign policy has become Europeanized. It is true that the EU's conditions for entry sparked a wave of reformation that changed many aspects of Turkish politics.[1] The extensive literature on this deals with Europeanization as a consequence either of overall demilitarization/ desecuritization in Turkish polity[2] or the increasing civic involvement in the foreign policy decision making,[3] or both of these. The first group of documents describes the recent state of Turkey's foreign affairs as embodying the principle of "zero-problem-with neighbours"

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[1] Aydın, Mustafa and Açıkmeşe, Sinem A.: "Europeanization through EU conditionality: Understanding the New Era in Turkish Foreign Policy", *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*, vol. 9, no. 3 (2007), pp. 263–74; Öniş, Ziya: "Turkey and the Middle East after September 11: The Importance of the EU Dimension", *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, vol. 2, no. 4 (2003), pp.84-95; and Akçapar, Burak (2007): *Turkey's new European era: Foreign policy on the road to EU Membership*, Lanham, MD: Toronto, Rowman & Littlefield.

[2] Linda, Michaud-Emin: "The Restructuring of the Military High Command in the Seventh Harmonization Package and its Ramifications for Civil-Military Relations in Turkey", *Turkish Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1 (2007), pp. 25-42; Aras, Bülent and Karakaya Polat, Rabia: "From Conflict to Cooperation: Desecuritization of Turkey's Relations with Syria and Iran", *Security Dialogue,* vol. 39, no. 5 (2008), pp. 495-515.

[3] Hakkı, Murat Metin: "Turkey and the EU: Past Challenges and Important Issues Lying Ahead", *Turkish Studies*, vol. 7, no. 3 (2006), pp. 451-471; Rumelili, Bahar: "Civil Society and the Europeanization of Greek–Turkish Cooperation", *South European Society and Politics*, vol. 10, no. 1 (March 2005), pp. 45–56; Kubicek, Paul: "The Earthquake, Civil Society, and Political Change in Turkey: Assessment and Comparison with Eastern Europe", *Political Studies*, vol. 50, no. 4 (September 2002), pp.361-377; Göksel, Diba Nigar and Güneş, Rana Birden: "The Role of NGOs in the European Integration Process - The Turkish Experience", *South European Society and Politics*, vol. 10, no. 1 (March 2005), pp.57–72; Ulusoy, Kıvanç: "Europeanization and Political Change: The Case of Cyprus", *Turkish Studies*, vol. 10, no. 3 (2009), pp. 393-408.

introduced by the JDP to improve Ankara's bilateral relations by deploying a less coercive discourse than the one which had prevailed in the previous decade, thereby dislodging the military from its position of power in foreign policy. The second group highlights the emergence and role of NGOs that gradually became more discernible in the foreign -policy making process. They are concerned about the importance and extent of NGO activities regarding issues of foreign policy. Both debates try to understand the impact that developments regarding Iraq had on the change in the military's position on the foreign and security policy decision making. Initially, the plight of the Iraqi Kurds and the formation of a Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG), and later their alliance with US before and after the occupation, together with their recent elevation in status in post-occupation Iraq, compelled decision-makers to redefine the tenets of Turkey's foreign and security policy, thereby shifting the balance of power within the foreign and security policy-making establishment. In 1998, when Washington started to pursue policies relating to Iraq at variance with those of Ankara, the priorities of the two allies had already begun to move in different directions. However, following the Turkish parliament's refusal to allow US troops to be stationed in their country on the eve of the invasion, Turkey was gradually forced to cut down its military activities in Northern Iraq, thus causing the loss of an important operational ground where for a decade the Turkish military had had the opportunity to exert its power with almost no interference.

In addition to the impact created by the Europeanization of Turkish polity and the new power configuration in Ankara, this chapter argues that the invasion of Iraq caused a chain of reactions that undermined the effectiveness of the military's position in establishing foreign policy and security. This chapter will take a closer look at events relating to Iraq. The US invasion of Iraq weakened the military's alliance with the US Armed Forces, compelled the military to forsake the red line policies towards Iraqi Kurds it had been espousing, forced it to grind to a halt in an area where it had maintained a high profile since 1991, and last but not least, revived a propensity for clandestine activities within top brass.

2. The Military´s Role in Foreign Policy-Making in Turkey

The military has had a long history in the role of shaping all aspects of politics in Turkey. Following the 1980 *coup d'état*, the military imposed arbitrary laws and regulations on the country and also secured the army's omnipresence in the area of foreign policy.[4] Moreover, after 1984 as the PKK, (*Partiya Karkeran Kurdistan*) began to operate more effectively within and outside of Turkey, the military gradually assumed a greater role in curbing armed insurgence; this led to the legitimization of its position in the foreign policy-making process. Furthermore, the regionalization of the Kurdish problem after the 1990 Gulf Crisis led to the further consolidation of the military's position in this field and catapulted the military authorities into the prime position of power as far as Turkey's foreign policy-making process was concerned. Since the matters at stake were military in nature, the military naturally came to the forefront as the key player. The plight of Iraqi Kurds after they escaped from anticipated retribution and massed along the Turkish-Iraqi border in March 1991 dragged Turkey further into the crisis, thus perpetuating the military's decisive position. When the US-led coalition, which used Turkish military bases, launched Operation Provide Comfort (OPC) to provide security for Kurdish safe havens in Iraq, close cooperation between the Turkish

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[4] Uzgel, İlhan: "Between Praetorianism and Democracy: The Role of the Military in Turkish Foreign Policy", *The Turkish Yearbook of International Relations*, vol. 24 (2003), pp.177-211.

Armed Forces (TAF) and the Pentagon was essential. TAF's contribution to OPC became even more significant after the civilian authorities handed over their authority to prolong OPC to the National Security Council (NSCl), within which the military had a strong say. As the PKK began using its Northern Iraq bases as a spring board for its incursions into Turkey, TAF maintained various units there and frequently extended its military operations deep into Northern Iraq. Until the end of 1997, large scale cross-border operations — Operation Steel, Operation Hammer and Operation Dusk — were carried out to uproot the PKK in Northern Iraq. Thereafter, large chunks of territory in the area remained under TAF control.

The military assumed a pivotal role in the implementation of two strategies — the 2½ War Strategy and the Turkish Peripheral Strategy — both of which had a strong influence on the shaping of Turkey's foreign policy options by the second half of the 1990s.[5] The former stipulated new troop deployments to deal simultaneously with a two-pronged threat: the conventional one on the Greek and Syrian fronts, and the Kurdish insurgency at home. Formulated by the veteran diplomat Şükrü Elekdağ, this strategy shaped the mindset of many officials in the security establishment for the latter part of the decade.[6] The Turkish Peripheral Strategy, on the other hand, was articulated less formally, but, instead, was reflected in Turkey's growing relations with Israel, Jordan, Azerbaijan, Georgia and the Ukraine in security-related areas.[7] Both strategies, albeit to varying degrees, addressed Kurdish separatism and considered employing coercive diplomacy. Hence, they accorded a key role to the military. Its growing influence was also reflected in other unfolding regional crises, for example, with the Syrians in 1998, when the military took the initiative and appeared on the cast list as the lead actor.[8]

When the Welfare Party and True Path Party formed a coalition, the military effectively put pressure on the government on account of its Islamic inclinations and finally forced it to resign. In this process, the military cultivated ad hoc modalities with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, by-passing the government in a number of cases, and most notably imposing its own policy as regards Northern Iraq. Furthermore, against the background of fragmentation in domestic politics, military encroachment on cases under the Foreign Ministry's jurisdiction was increasingly considered legitimate.[9] For instance, in a briefing given to the diplomats at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Deputy CGS Çevik Bir, who was known as "the foreign minister of the military," was able to publicly blame Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller for not being active enough abroad.[10] In some cases, the military authorities declined to give the government sufficient information about cross-border operations.[11]

By early 1996, having forsaken the policy of critical dialogue, Ankara launched a policy of deterrence, putting heavy pressure on Damascus to end its support for the PKK. In January 1996 Ankara delivered an admonitory note to Damascus saying that continuing

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[5] Bengio, Ofra and Özcan, Gencer: "Old Grievances, New Fears: Arab Perceptions of Turkey and Its Alignment with Israel", *Middle Eastern Studies,* vol. 37, no. 2 (April 2001), pp. 51-92.

[6] Elekdağ, Şükrü: "2½ War Strategy", *Perceptions*, vol. 1, no. 1 (March-May 1996), pp. 33-57.

[7] Makovsky, Alan: "Israeli-Turkish Relations: A Turkish Periphery Strategy?", in Barkey, Henry J. (ed.) (1996): *Reluctant Neighbor: Turkey's Role in the Middle East*, Washington D.C., United States Institute of Peace Press, p.170; Bengio, Ofra (2004): *The Turkish-Israeli Relationship: Changing Ties of Middle Eastern Outsiders*, New York, Palgrave, p. 80-89.

[8] Yetkin, Murat (2004): *Kürt Kapanı: Şam'dan İmralı'ya Öcalan*, İstanbul, Remzi, pp. 92-95.

[9] See Uzgel, *op. cit.,* p.184-186

[10] "Çevik Bir'den Çiller'e Ağır Eleştiri", *Hürriyet*, 27 June 1997.

[11] Elekdağ, Şükrü: "Hesaplaşma", *Milliyet*, 19 May 1997; Güler, Mehmet: "Operasyonu Matbuattan Öğreniyoruz", *Hürriyet*, 23 May 1997; Özkök, Ertuğrul: "12 Saat Sonra Haber Verdik", *Hürriyet*, 21 May 1997; Özkök, Ertuğrul: "Ordu-Dışişleri Soğukluğu", *Hürriyet*, 9 June 1997.

Syrian support for the PKK would be considered a *casus belli*.[12] However, given the political instability caused by the December 1995 elections, putting pressure on Syria remained an almost solely military affair. After skirmishes with the PKK groups infiltrating Turkey across the Syrian border around Samandağı in November 1995, Turkish troops had already engaged in a hot pursuit operation and entered Syrian territory. Although an unexpected crisis which erupted in the Aegean over islets off the Turkish coast diverted attention away from this, the military committed itself to keeping up the pressure through troop movements along the border and gave blunt warnings throughout the summer of 1996.[13] Although the military deliberately refrained from blowing things out of proportion, the final outcome of the crisis over the Kardak islets in the Aegean, was attained by the application of a limited use of force, so enhancing the image of the military's dexterity at ending a diplomatic crisis.[14]

To deter Syria, Ankara gave further momentum to its alignment with Israel, and the military played a key role in the forging of intimate military cooperation with the Israeli Defense Forces. In March 1996, the military authorities declared that they would conclude a cooperation agreement on military training with the Israeli Defense Forces. The conclusion of yet another military agreement with Israel, the Defense Industry Cooperation Agreement, was announced on 28 August 1996. In the making of both these agreements, the initiative came from the military, and furthermore, in the case of the latter agreement, the CGS in person intervened to make sure that the agreement received the consent of the government led by the Welfare Party, an avowedly anti-Semitic party. Strategic dialogue forums for top security elites, joint air and naval military exercises, and large-scale military modernization projects between Turkey and Israel became key elements of Ankara's regional policy in the latter part of the decade.[15]

The way the problems with the Syrians were settled indicates the weight of the military in the foreign policy decision making. It is understood that Hüseyin Kıvrıkoğlu had prepared the groundwork for the plan when he was appointed as Army Commander in September 1997, and somehow deferred implementing his plans until he became CGS in September 1998. It is interesting to note that the measures that the Kıvrıkoğlu Plan advocated were not merely military ones.

> I concluded my duty as the Commander of the 1st Army on 30 August 1997 and was appointed as the Army Commander in Ankara. Then the responsibility to curb terrorism had already been transferred from the office of the CGS to the Army. At the time I made the following evaluation … There was something that should have been done against Syria. Syria has been waging a war against Turkey for 15 years at heavy cost to us yet without causing the least harm to itself. In return for the packing-needle with which Syria pricked Turkey, we should at least have needled Syria a bit. And we made a proposal at the NSC in 1998 that we needed to make a plan of action to deal with the issue from political, economic and military directions, and out of this synergy, we needed to put pressure on Syria. My speech did not receive any reaction in this meeting. Yet at the next meeting held in June, I raised the issue again. And then Honorable President Demirel took me up on the plan and immediately ordered that preparations should be started. We commenced preparations. What could be done from political perspectives? We decided on a number of measures such as calling Syria a terrorist state on every political platform and asking other states for cooperation against Syria, putting an economic embargo through terminating all sorts of imports from and exports to Syria, and worsening Syria's economy by reducing the price of the very goods that Syria was exporting. We were always discussing these issues

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[12] See Yetkin, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-43.

[13] "Sınırda Hareketlilik", *Milliyet*, 8 June 1996; "Suriye'ye Gözdağı", *Milliyet*, 12 June 1996; Çongar, Yasemin: "Suriye'ye Savaş Uyarısı", *Milliyet*, 22 June 1996.

[14] Aksu, Fuat (2008): *Türk Dış Politikasında Zorlayıcı Diplomasi*, İstanbul, Bağlam, pp.250-283.

[15] Özcan, Gencer and Bengio, Ofra: "Decade of the Military: The Case of the Alignment with Israel", *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, vol. 7, no. 1-2 (Spring 2001), pp. 90-109.

> with Atilla Ateş, then the commander of the 1st Army. In three months time, I would become CGS, and he would be the Commander of the Army.[16]

So the final showdown with the Syrians came in September 1998, after Hüseyin Kıvrıkoğlu became CGS and re-launched the so called "deterrent pressure policy" against Syria. To the surprise of many in Ankara, an unexpected prelude to the crisis was made by Army Commander General Atilla Ateş on 15 September 1998 when he delivered a blunt warning in a speech delivered at Samandağı located near the Syrian border. He openly called on Syria to either immediately cease hosting Abdullah Öcalan in Damascus or face the consequences. It is striking that during the climax of the crisis, the civilian side of the establishment, eclipsed by the military, strove to steal the role of the military. The military had already planned to put its own seal on the crisis during the impending NSC meeting at the end of the October, when President Süleyman Demirel deliberately came to the forefront to play the leading role by inserting an overt warning to Damascus in his opening speech in the Turkey's Grand National Assembly (TGNA) on 1 October 1998.[17] Due to the good offices of Egypt and Iran, Syria bowed to the pressure and swiftly deported Öcalan, having signed a Memorandum of Understanding on 20 October 1998.[18] Throughout the rest of the decade, the military retained and expanded its central place within the security establishment and its *de facto* authority over security and foreign policy issues. The military role therefore became more conspicuous and in some cases maintained an uncomfortable co-existence with that of the elected government in the making of Turkish foreign policy.[19] This configuration created various crises between Turkey and its Western allies. In particular, allegations as regards transgressions of human rights overshadowed Ankara's relations with the EU, and denunciations were mostly directed towards the military as being in charge of security in the country.

3. Loosing Its Prerogatives

The 1999 Helsinki Summit confirming Turkey's candidacy in December 1999 provided further impetus for change in Turkey's domestic politics. However, it has to be remembered that increasing awareness within Europe of Turkey's political problems was to a large extent an outcome of the transnationalization of Turkey's internal problems due to the formation of a large diaspora of Turkish citizens in European countries, a process which gained momentum after 1980.[20] The Europeanization of Turkey's problems had already been ripening during the nineties. In addition to Kurdish politicians, other dissidents in all the levels of Turkish political life learned how to mobilize various sectors of the European public alongside their own agenda. The Europeanization of Turkey's problems was dramatically reflected in the way Abdullah Öcalan, the leader of the PKK, tried to gain asylum in Europe in late 1998 and was apprehended in February 1999 in the Greek Embassy in Kenya after an odyssey across Europe.[21]

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[16] Mercan, Faruk: "Kıvrıkoğlu: Tanklarla Suriye'ye Girecektik", *Aksiyon*, 17 October 2005.

[17] See Yetkin, *op. cit.*, p. 94. See also Dündar, Can and Akar, Rıdvan: "Çankaya'daki Şam Zirvesinin Tutanakları", *Milliyet*, 7-9 November 2007.

[18] See Aksu, *op. cit.*, p. 257-261.

[19] See Uzgel, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

[20] Ulusoy, Kıvanç: "The Changing Challenge of Europeanization to Politics and Governance in Turkey", *International Political Science Review,* vol. 30, no. 4 (2009), pp.363-384.

[21] The unilateral truce proclaimed by the PKK after the apprehension of its leaders to some extent eased political tension and opened up some room to maneuver in for a variety of political actors.

The constitutional and legal amendments to Turkish law made under EU influence provided for the gradual elimination of prerogatives granted to the military and thereby consolidated the influence of the government. [22] Among the constitutional reforms passed in 2001, the amendment concerning the composition of the NSC was the most decisive. It increased the number of civilian members of the council, thus reducing its military members to a minority. [23] It also changed Article 118 of the constitution, so that the council's effect on the government was weakened and the council's advisory character underlined. Meeting with low profile resistance from the military, [24] the Seventh Democratization Package, which was adopted in August of 2003, aimed at further demilitarization of the council. The most significant amendment of the package was geared towards removing legal obstacles that prevented the appointment of a civilian to the influential office of the Secretary General of the NSC. Thus, in August of 2004, for the first time in the history of the NSC, it became possible for the government to appoint a career diplomat, Ambassador Yiğit Alpogan, as the Secretary General of the council. Not only did the reforms mean the loss of the most influential platform on which the military authorities could legitimately exert influence to shape Turkey's foreign policy, they also created a state of mind among the public geared towards claiming the advancement and consolidation of democratic reforms. In parallel to this change, public declarations and speeches made by the Chief of General Staff (CGS) were unwelcome in political circles, forcing military authorities to pursue a low profile and be less outspoken on foreign policy issues. Striking examples of this were witnessed on the eve of the US invasion of Iraq between January and March of 2003, and in debates about the Annan Plan for the Cyprus issue in the first half of 2004, when the CGS chose not to intervene.

The military was also hamstrung by other legal changes. In 2005, when the National Security Policy Document (NSPD) was revised, [25] the government appeared to have taken an active role in the making of the new document. [26] The document was short in comparison to its predecessors and did not include the preparation of "action plans" against certain countries. It is understood that the document was carefully worded so that Ankara would not resort to the threat of the use of force as a means of conducting foreign policy, thus implying a lesser role for the military. [27] After a five- year interval, when the NSPD was to be revised again in 2010, it seemed that the government had steered the reformulation process of the document. [28] President Gül emphasized that the document should be re-written in the light of the foreign policy principle of "zero problem with neighbours" [29] It is to be noted that these endeavors were part of a wider demilitarization of the political regime, and legal amendments further limiting the military's jurisdiction were placed high on the government's agenda. [30]

[22] For a concise account of these reforms, see Özbudun, Ergun and Yazıcı, Serap (2004): *Democratization Reforms in Turkey (1993-2004)*, İstanbul, TESEV, p.32-41.

[23] When Recep T. Erdoğan formed the second JDP government in March 2003, the number of deputy ministers without portfolio was increased so that the civilian members could have constituted a clear majority in the NSC. Demirdöğen, İsmet: "Yeni Hükümet MGK Ayarlı", *Radikal*, 12 March 2003.

[24] Küçükşahin, Şükrü: "Orgeneral Kılınç'ın Uyum Paketine 'Gizli' Damgalı İtirazı", *Hürriyet*, 19 May 2003; Şık, Barkın: "Sezer Veto Ederse Erdoğan Direnmesin", *Milliyet*, 2003.

[25] Bayramoğlu, Ali: "Milli Güvenlik Siyaset Belgesi Nedir?", *Yeni Şafak*, 29 April 2005.

[26] Yılmaz, Turan: "MGSB, Özkök Paşa'nın Dediği Gibi Değişsin", *Hürriyet,* 25 November 2004; Aydıntaşbaş, Aslı: "Kırmızı Kitapçık Açıklanmalı mı?", *Sabah*, 22 June 2005; "MGSB'de Yeni Baştan", *Radikal*, 13 October 2005.

[27] Zeyrek, Deniz: "Gerekirse Asker Yine 'Göreve", *Radikal*, 28 October 2005.

[28] "EMASYA'ya Gerek Yok MGSB ise Yenilenebilir", *Milliyet*, 3 February 2010.

[29] Aydıntaşbaş, Aslı: "Kırmızı Kitabı Hem Gördüm, Hem de Yazdım", *Milliyet*, 8 February 2010.

[30] Berberoğlu, Enis: "Sivil Silahsız Siyaset Belgesi", *Hürriyet*, 30 June 2007; "TSK Hesaplarına Fiili Denetim Geliyor", *Radikal*, 29 January 2010; "EMASYA'yı Ortadan Kaldıracağız", *Radikal*, 1 February 2010; Yılmaz,

The military's loss of ground in foreign policy-making also manifested itself in the fact that the concept of national security began to lose preeminence in state discourse. The military had introduced this concept into Turkish political and legal parlance following the 1960 coup, by using it for naming the council they formed to oversee politics, the NSC. After the 1980 coup, the concept was granted even wider usage by the military.[31] Later, in the following decades, it was geared towards securitizing ordinary political issues as a pretext towards hindering democratic alternatives.[32] However, after the 1990s, this concept was publicly questioned.[33] Yet, the most outspoken criticism came in August 2000 when Motherland Party leader Mesut Yılmaz openly questioned the common and frequent use of the concept by the military, calling it a stumbling block to the introduction of democratic reforms.[34] The military responded forcefully,[35] but since then the centrality of the concept in state discourse has been increasingly challenged.[36] Early in 2008, a suggestion regarding the redefinition of the concept came from within the security establishment. The ex-deputy-undersecretary of the National Intelligence Service, Cevat Öneş, proposed that a rigid national security concept should be replaced by a "democratic security concept." Although he did not specify what he meant by 'democratic security', he implied that the concept of national security should not be used as a pretext to hinder democratic alternatives in high security issues such as the Kurdish question.[37] By the same token, at the beginning of the 2000s, many governments began to refrain from using the language of force and coercion. Instead, they seemed to prefer to use a new rhetoric based on "zero problems with the neighbors" and a "good neighbor policy" which appeared to be more successful in decreasing security restrictions over so-called national causes.[38] In a similar way, military authorities changed their tune to harmonize with the governments' rapprochement with some of Turkey's neighbors, most notably Syria and Greece.[39]

4. Loss of Affiliations

The diversification of foreign and security policy-making was an important aspect of the EU-induced political transformation. Although the significance of the external pressure applied by the EU for democratization can not be over-exaggerated, the pressure coming from within played a decisive role in the reformation process. Pressure within Turkey had been

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Önder: "İç Hizmet Kanunu Değişmez Değil", *Milliyet*, 2 February 2010; "11 Soruda Yeni 'Terörle Mücadele'", *Radikal*, 19 February 2010.

[31] The concept was upgraded once again in September 1980 when the five generals who ousted the government named their junta the *National Security Board*. In the 1982 Constitution, the concept was used in five respective articles. Eren, Hasan and Zülfikar Hamza (eds.) (1985): *Anayasa Sözlüğü*, Ankara, Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, pp. 73-124.

[32] Çelik, Seydi (2008): *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Devlet ve Asker: Askeri Bürokrasinin Sistem İçindeki Yeri*, İstanbul, Salyangoz, pp. 288-292; Akgüner, Tayfun (1983): *1961 Anayasasına Göre Milli Güvenlik Kavramı*, Istanbul, İstanbul Üniversitesi, pp.144-145.

[33] Tanör, Bülent (1997): *Türkiye Demokratikleşme Perspektifleri*, İstanbul, TÜSİAD. For a detailed breakdown of the issues that the NSC had introduced into its agenda, see, Tanör, Bülent: "MGK'nın İlgi Alanları", *Milliyet*, 13 July 1998.

[34] "Tabuları Yıkarız", *Milliyet*, 5 August 2001.

[35] "Muhtıra Gibi", *Hürriyet*, 8 August 2001.

[36] Cizre, Ümit: "Demythologizing the National Security Concept: The Case of Turkey", *Middle East Journal,* vol. 57, no. 2 (2003), pp. 213–230.

[37] Öneş, Cevat: "Demokratik Güvenlik Konsepti", *Radikal*, 12 April 2008.

[38] See Uzgel, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

[39] In November 2004, the Chief of General Staff Hilmi Özkök declared that the military no longer regards Turkey's neighbors as foes. "Org. Hilmi Özkök: Komşularımız Tehdit Değil", *Zaman*, 12 November 2004.

accumulating in the post-1980 period as a result of the mobilization of different economic, social and political powers striving for further democratization. In this regard, it is plausible to use the analogy that the EU- induced political transformation opened the floodgates to the accumulated political demands that had previously been denied articulation. The groups that took advantage of political reforms remained steadfast in their support for the furtherance of the democratization process and overcame various challenges raised by the political establishment. The ongoing democratization process became, as a student of Turkish politics observed, "a bottom-up process rather than a top-down effect".[40] As interest groups increased their activities, they began to convey their arguments to European platforms through peer organizations.[41] As a result of this transformation, the official apparatus, relatively speaking, lost its prominence, and non-state actors became increasingly involved in formulating foreign and security policy decisions. A vast spectrum of civic organizations has now become involved in activities which formerly had been the province of the security sector, thus becoming agents of a de-securitization process towards more open policy-making in Turkey. Their impact became visible in debates on how to define national interest. These new actors put their weight behind those who encouraged revisions on crucial national issues, as was the case over Cyprus. The new political and legal institutions proved successful in formalizing networks leading to the internalization of European style interaction in Turkey. The extent of Europeanization in Turkish politics was demonstrated in overt public sensitivity on the question of Iraq. Inspired by a chain of demonstrations worldwide, challenging the legitimacy of the US decision to occupy Iraq, the Turkish public actively sought to influence the government on the eve of the parliament decision on this matter. The size of the demonstrations, in particular the one held in Ankara on the very day parliament was to vote on the government motion, took parliament by surprise and was believed to have exerted enormous impact on the MPs.[42]

Another related phenomenon became conspicuous: Turkey's foreign and security policy decisions became affected by economic considerations.[43] Big-business circles started to place demands on the state agenda, urging that their views be reflected in important foreign policy decisions. Notably two businessmen's organizations, TUSIAD (Turkish Association of Industry and Business) and TOBB (Turkish Union of Chambers and Bursaries), may have played significant roles. After the 1990s, TUSIAD advocated Turkey's integration into the international economic system and strove to gain Turkey's full membership to the EU. By using the slogan "less geopolitics, more economics," a TUSIAD report entitled *Towards a New Economic and Trade Diplomacy in Turkey* advocated a new strategy, giving precedence to economic interests in shaping Turkish foreign policy.[44] Politicians continually reminded military authorities of what sort of repercussions on the economy their interferences might provoke.[45] And at least some segments of the military began to display more restricted reaction in public and became more sensitive to the economic consequences their statements might cause.[46] After retiring from the Army CGS, Özkök complained that his maintenance of

[40] See Ulusoy, "The Changing Challenge …", *op. cit.*, p. 376.

[41] Cerit-Mazlum, Semra and Doğan, Erhan (eds.) (2006): *Sivil Toplum ve Dış Politika*, İstanbul, Bağlam.

[42] Kaliber, Alper: "Toplum da Artık Bir 'Aktör'", *Radikal*, 6 March 2003.

[43] Kirişçi, Kemal: "Turkey's Foreign Policy in Turbulent Times", *Challiot Paper*, vol. 92 (September 2006), pp.29-52.

[44] Öğütçü, Mehmet (2000): *Towards a New Economic and Trade Diplomacy in Turkey*, İstanbul, TUSIAD. See also Ogutcu, Mehmet and Saner, Raymond: "Fine-Tuning Turkey's Economic Diplomacy", *Eurasia Critic*, vol. 4 (July 2008), pp.41-47.

[45] Berberoğlu, Enis: "Paşam Borsa %12 Kaybetti", *Hürriyet*, 2 July 2007.

[46] Bila, Fikret: "Özkök'ten Müdahale Yanıtı: Çare İhtilal Değil, Komutanın Konuşması", *Milliyet*, 4 October 2007.

a low profile in politics in order "not to distort the country's economy and the balances prevailing in foreign affairs" had been misunderstood."[47]

As the big industrialists opted for Turkey's integration with the global economy, their views increasingly came into conflict with the military.[48] During the late 1990s, TUSIAD, as Karin Vorhoff pointed out, was "ready to accept European criticism of Turkey's record on democracy and on meeting other international standards; the reports TUSIAD issued and the seminars that [were] organized in the course of the last decade [were] directly related to this debate".[49] By the beginning of the 2000s, TUSIAD had begun to revise its views and to become critical of sensitive issues, such as the liberalization of the political regime, the democratization of the legal system and, most notably, the Cyprus question.[50] While the military, for instance, espoused the continuation of the *status quo* based on two separate and sovereign Turkish and Greek Cypriot states, business circles began to downplay the strategic considerations that the military espoused. In September 2001, when President Rauf Denktaş declined UN General Secretary Kofi Annan's call on both parties to resume talks, TUSIAD Chairman Tuncay Özilhan publicly criticized Ankara's Cyprus policy for lending unconditional support to Denktaş's uncompromising stance.[51] In a statement made in November 2001, Özilhan claimed that the association would propose solutions to issues such as Cyprus, which were "blocking the country's destiny."[52] In the early months of 2002, TUSIAD continued to criticize traditional Cyprus policy based on the *status quo* created after 1974.[53] Likewise, the media, which had come under the direct control of industrialist and financial circles, did not grant the military the support it had formerly received.[54] On the contrary, mainstream media published reports that caused adverse effects for the military's Cyprus policy.[55] In some cases, Rauf Denktaş was targeted by the daily papers that disclosed irregularities in affairs in which he had previoulsy been involved .[56]

In this regard, it is to be noted here that mainstream media kept itself aloof from such activities. In January 2004 it was revealed that some of the top brass had encouraged journalists to publish reports supporting their positions as regards Cyprus, or endeavored to influence media patrons to employ journalists to their liking or deliberated on measures to increase the circulation of certain daily newspaper's.[57] However, little by little mainstream

[47] Yetkin, Murat: "Özkök'ten 'Savunma': Beni 28 Şubatçılar Gibi Davranmamakla Suçladılar", *Radikal*, 25 December 2008.

[48] Öniş, Ziya and Türem, Umut: "Entrepreneurs, Democracy, and Citizenship in Turkey", *Comparative Politics*, vol. 34, no. 4 (July 2002), pp. 439-456.

[49] Vorhoff, Karin: "Businessmen and Their Organizations: Between Instrumental Solidarity, Cultural Diversity, and the State", in Yerasimos, Stefanos; Seufert, Günter and Vorhoff, Karin (eds.) (2000): *Civil Society in the Grip of Nationalism*, İstanbul, Orient-Institute and Institute Français d'Etudes Anatoliennes, p.155.

[50] Gürpınar, Bulut: "Türkiye Dış Politikasında Bir Aktör", in Cerit-Mazlum, Semra and Doğan, Erhan (eds.) (2006): *Sivil Toplum ve Dış Politika*, İstanbul, Bağlam, pp. 244-246.

[51] Fırat, Melek M.: "Helsinki Zirvesinden Günümüze AB-Türkiye İlişkileri Çerçevesinde Kıbrıs Gelişmeleri", *Ankara Avrupa Çalışmaları Dergisi*, vol. 4, no. 1 (Fall 2004), pp. 67-70.

[52] "TÜSİAD: Türkiye Denktaş'ın Uzlaşmaz Tutumunu Desteklemesin", 26 November 2001, at www.dunya.com/haberArsiv.asp?id=58364 ; "Kıbrıs Kavgası Kızıştı", *Radikal*, 28 November 2001.

[53] TUSIAD Press Release, "Kıbrıs Sorunu Avrupa Birliği Genişleme Süreci Bağlamında Ele Alınmalı", 4 May 2002.

[54] For cases in which the Turkish media gave support to the "official" Cyprus policy, see: Robins, Philip (2003): *Suits and Uniforms: Turkish Foreign Policy Since the Cold War*, London, Hurst and Company, p.83-84. For the changing attitude of the media, see: Gürpınar, "Türkiye Dış Politikasında Bir Aktör: TÜSİAD", p.244-246.

[55] See Kenan Evren's remarks that in 1974 TAF eventually occupied a larger chunk of territory than had initially been planned. "Veririz Diye Fazla Aldık", *Hürriyet*, 21 November 2002.

[56] Duran, Teoman: "Rauf Bey'in Çiftliği", *Sabah,* 30 May 2002.

[57] Opçin, Tuncay: "Kayıt Merakı", *Yeni Aktüel*, May 2008, pp.15-16.

media took a sharp turn and begun criticizing its intimacy with the military.[58] In defiance of the JDP government, the visit by the Army Commander Aytaç Yalman to the island of Cyprus was deliberately ignored by the media, although some segments of the military were expecting it would produce a public euphoria.[59] Instead, occasional reports causing annoyance to the military in particular, and to those who opposed the Annan Plan in general, appeared in daily newspapers with a large circulation. When *Hürriyet* published a report that secular citizens' political and social affiliations were being scrutinized and filed at a military headquarters close to Istanbul, this [60] led to a mini crisis whereby the CGS was compelled to open an investigation.[61] In other instances, mainstream media adopted a critical stance on the demarches made by the military. When in 2008 information on several juntas that had allegedly been formed in 2003-2004 were disclosed, mainstream media published many reports based on the leaked memorandums prepared by some segments within the CGS and gave critical coverage to those reports.[62] It was understood that the military had been upset at the changing attitude of the media. Minutes of a meeting held by disgruntled generals on 15-16 July 2003 reveal the way a segment of the top brass expostulated about the media's attitude: "What the media has done to the detriment of the TAF was not perpetrated even by the enemy. TAF have lost their moral and motivation to a serious extent. Now, who is made happy by this? Who is becoming sad?" [63] In November 2006, the CGS was reported to have prepared a memorandum to revise the list of accredited daily newspapers and also of journalists. It concluded that the accreditation practice that had been launched in 1997 should be maintained, and that those who weakened the credibility of the TAF should not be allowed to attend press briefings.[64] The list which made distinctions between "reliable" and "unreliable" journalists also provoked public reaction.[65] This change stands in a striking contrast to the way the media reacted in October 1998 during the Syrian crisis. In advance of this the media had blown things out of all proportion so that the Syrians supposed that TAF had completed their preparations to strike, and eventually bowed to such pressure.[66]

5. Loss at the Battle of Cyprus

The debate over Cyprus, an issue traditionally considered a national cause, seemed to have evolved into a "discursive battlefield" between the military and the government, from which the military eventually had to retreat.[67] In late 2002, soon after it came to power, the JDP government began to promote the Annan Plan and to question Ankara's established Cyprus policy based on the *status quo*. This change of policy immediately put the government and Rauf Denktaş, President of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, at logger heads. While the government ostracized Denktaş,[68] he, in return, declared that the Annan Plan should not be

[58] Özgürel, Avni: "Medya, MGK ve Özeleştiri", *Radikal*, 16 September 2003.

[59] See Özkök, "24…", *Hürriyet*, 24 January 2004.

[60] "İlginç İstihbarat", *Hürriyet*, 10 March 2004.

[61] Genelkurmay: Biz Dahil Herkes Hatalı", *Radikal*, 17 March 2004; "Eğitimi Zayıf Olan Subayların Hatası", *Hürriyet*, 17 March 2004; Şık, Barkın: "Genelkurmay'dan İki Binbaşıya Soruşturma", *Milliyet*, 18 March 2004.

[62] "Hiç İşiniz mi Yok Vaktiniz mi Çok?", *Radikal*, 8 April 2008.

[63] Mavioğlu, Ertuğrul: "Komutanlar: Hükümeti Değiştirme Şartlarını Bulmamız Lazım", *Radikal*, 8 August 2008.

[64] "İki Tür Gazeteci Vardır: TSK Karşıtları, TSK Yandaşları", *Nokta*, 8-14 March 2007.

[65] "Demokrasi İçin Üzüntü Verici", *Milliyet*, 9 March 2007.

[66] Dündar, Can ve Akar, Rıdvan: "Suriye'yi Türk Basını Korkutmuş", *Milliyet*, 9 November 2007.

[67] Kaliber, Alper: "Securing the Ground through Securitized 'Foreign' Policy: The Cyprus Case Revisited", *Security Dialogue,* vol. 36, no. 3 (September 2005), pp. 297-316.

[68] Demirtaş, Serkan: "AKP Denktaş'ı Dışlıyor", *Cumhuriyet*, 18 December 2002.

considered as a basis for further negotiation.[69] When the military, criticizing the Annan Plan, joined the duel at the NSC meeting of January 2003, Erdoğan stressed in defiance that "Cyprus has become an issue causing trouble for Turkey in all areas," reiterating that "the Annan Plan is an opportunity to continue negotiations and to reach a lasting solution".[70] Although this matter was eclipsed by the occupation of Iraq, throughout 2003 the Annan Plan kept stirring up debate between the military and the government. In late December 2003, a crisis broke out when the government announced that the military and the Foreign Ministry had reached an agreement over the plan. *Cumhuriyet* published a document prepared by the Foreign Ministry, "The Position of the Turkish Side", as well as another document outlining the military's objections, showing that it did not see eye to eye with the ministry over the plan.[71] Upon the ministry's denial of the documents, the newspaper published further details of the report prepared by the military, labeling the ministry's report as a document of "surrender".[72] However, at the final stage, contrary to some expectations, CGS Özkök refrained from taking an anti-government position, emphasizing that "the final decision lies in the hands of TGNA."[73] However, military opposition to the JDP government took several forms: rallying demonstrations in defiance of diplomatic overtures, issuing public denouncements of the government's overtures, top brass visits to the island, and the like.[74] General Tuncer Kılınç, the Secretary General of the NSC, submitted to Prime Minister Erdoğan in April 2003, a three- stage plan that proposed taking harsh measures to deter the EU from accepting Cyprus into the European Union. However, this was disregarded by the government.[75] In the debate on the Annan Plan the tension between some segments of the top brass and CGS Özkök resurfaced so that the latter felt it necessary to state that there was no disagreement within the military.[76]

However, the military failed to mobilize sufficient popular support to bring pressure on the JDP government to get the Annan Plan rejected. In the post- referendum period, the JDP government's occasional overtures to break the diplomatic stalemate in Cyprus caused public reactions prompted by military sources. Such a mini- crisis broke out in December 2006 when the government informed the EU that it could have suggested opening a Turkish seaport and Turkish Cypriot airport for Greek Cypriot navigation, CGS Yaşar Büyükanıt complained that the government had not consulted the military.[77] The government rejoined to the effect that the office of the CGS had been duly informed before they delivered the verbal note.[78] In repudiation of CGS Büyükanıt's remarks, Erdoğan also publicly cautioned the military: "And let us not tire each other. Otherwise, we disturb the economic markets. When markets are disturbed, money that would go into the pockets of my citizens gets less. Let us

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[69] "Denktaş Bildiğiniz Gibi", Radikal, 27 November 2002; "Denktaş Söz Düellosunda", *Radikal*, 3 January 2003.

[70] Aksoy, Ergun: "Erdoğan'dan MGK'ya Cevap", *Radikal*, 2 February 2003.

[71] Balbay, Mustafa: "Annan'a Rötuşlu Evet", *Cumhuriyet*, 29 December 2003.

[72] Balbay, Mustafa: "Askerden Çekince", *Cumhuriyet*, 5 January 2004; Balbay, Mustafa: "İşte Belgeler", *Cumhuriyet*, 7 January 2004.

[73] "Özkök: Son Söz Halkındır", *Radikal*, 14 April 2004.

[74] In January 2004, the commander of the Aegean Army, Hurşit Tolon, publicly blamed those who might suggest to "quit [Cyprus] and get rid [of problems]!" as traitors. Akyol, Taha: "Kıbrıs ve Asker", *Milliyet*, 21 January 2004.

[75] Şık, Barkın: "Savaş İlanı Gibi Öneri", *Milliyet*, 1 March 2005.

[76] "TSK'da Görüş Ayrılığı Yok", *Radikal*, 14 April 2004.

[77] "Liman Baskını", *Hürriyet*, 8 December 2006; "Hükümet Bize Sormadı Kararı TV'den Öğrendim", *Hürriyet*, 8 December 2006.

[78] Ergan, Uğur: "İki Müsteşar Gidip Anlattı", *Hürriyet*, 9 December 2006. It is interesting to note that the President's Office made an announcement that he had not been informed either, neither directly nor indirectly. Utku Çakırözer, "Ankara'da Derin Kriz", *Milliyet,* 10 December 2006.

not commit this injustice."[79] The JDP government proved successful in overcoming military opposition to the plan, thus retaining the support of civilians and the Turkish Cypriot government on the island.[80]

6. Loss of Ground in Northern Iraq

The decrease in military influence in foreign policy- making is well manifested in Northern Iraq. After the promulgation of the ILA (Iraq Liberation Act) in 1998, Iraqi Kurds gradually became the major local USA allies, thereby putting the strategic priorities of Turkey and the USA in the area in conflict with each other. US perceptions of Iraqi Kurds as partners in the implementation of the ILA aroused Turkey's concerns about the ramifications of a nascent Kurdish state. Within Turkey, criticism was increasingly directed towards Washington, and military circles became more outspoken in criticizing OPC operations on the grounds that the mission was geared towards supporting the survival of a Kurdish state.[81] The first signs of a new regional balance of power had appeared even before the US invasion. By August 2002, Erbil felt confident enough to wage verbal war against the TAF units deployed in the area; KDP leader Masoud Barzani warned Ankara that "they were ready to sacrifice themselves in turning these territories into a cemetery for the aggressors."[82] Developments on the eve of the invasion of Iraq deepened the gap between the US and the Turkish military authorities. During the negotiations about the details of would-be-military cooperation, US diplomats made it clear to their Turkish counterparts that Washington opposed the idea that the TAF should take part in the operation and maintain its control in some parts of Northern Iraq. However, at the end of tortuous negotiations, the US finally acquiesced with Turkish demands, though, in its opinion, these were excessive.[83]

The first crisis broke out on the eve of the invasion when TGNA did not give their approval to Washington's demands for military cooperation. The TGNA's decision of 1 March 2003, not to approve the government motion to allow US troops to land in Turkey, deeply disappointed the Bush administration.[84] Although loose cannons in the ruling JDP were responsible for the decision,[85] the Pentagon put the blame for parliament's disapproval on the military, believing that the military had failed to play the supportive role it was supposed to do in order to secure the motion. As the actual invasion began, Washington "sternly warned Ankara to desist from taking unilateral military action."[86] In the wake of the invasion, the closing down of Operation Northern Watch, substituted for OPC in 1997, meant loss of one of the levers used by the military to exert influence on Washington's Iraq policy. During the following weeks, Ankara received the first signals that the TAF was no longer welcome in Northern Iraq. On 23 April 2003, a unit of the Turkish Special Forces was

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[79] Karakuş, Abdullah: "Köşke mi Soracağız", *Milliyet*, 10 December 2006.
[80] See Fırat, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-70.
[81] For critical evaluations by the military authorities on the OPC, see: Çora, Nazmi (2007): *Tarihimizdeki Kara Leke: Çekiç Güç*, İstanbul, Toplumsal Dönüşüm; Çora, Nazmi (2007): *Çekiç Güç'ün Gizli Günlüğü*, İstanbul, Toplumsal Dönüşüm; Bilâ, Fikret (2007): *Komutanlar Cephesi*, İstanbul, Detay.
[82] "Barzani'den Küstah Tehdit", *Milliyet*, 22 August 2002.
[83] Bölükbaşı, Deniz (2008): *1 Mart Vakası: Irak Tezkeresi ve Sonrası*, İstanbul, Doğan, p.39.
[84] Kirisci, Kemal: "Between Europe and the Middle East: The Transformation of Turkish Policy", *Middle East Review of International Affairs (MERIA) Journal*, vol. 8, no. 1 (March 2004), p.7.
[85] Keskin, Barış and Kaarbo, Juliet: "When and How Parliaments Influence Foreign Policy: The Case of Turkey's Iraq Decision", *International Studies Perspectives,* vol. 11 (2010) , pp. 19-36.
[86] Park, Bill: "Between Europe, the United States and the Middle East: Turkey and European Security in the Wake of the Iraq Crisis", *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 5, no. 3 (2004), pp. 500-501.

detained by US paratroopers for a day, thus displaying Washington's reluctance to see the TAF moving around freely.[87] On 6 May 2003, US Deputy Defense Minister Paul Wolfowitz publicly put the blame on the TAF for not having displayed the required leadership to put pressure on the government to pass the motion.[88] It also heralded the end of free access to Northern Iraq for the TAF, which had acted without check in the area since 1991.[89] US authorities made several statements to the effect that Northern Iraq was no longer Ankara's nearby "overseas territory."[90] CGS Özkök also candidly confessed that Turkey had "lost its right to have a say in Iraq."[91] Even when Washington approached Ankara in August 2003 to ask for Turkish troops to be deployed in Iraq, it was made clear that Turkish soldiers would not be stationed in Northern Iraq.[92]

Before delving into the details of what happened after the invasion, it should be noted that the TAF's exclusion from Northern Iraq was attributable not simply to US opposition to Ankara's unilateral intervention. Unilateral Turkish intervention in Northern Iraq might have produced manifold political ramifications for the JDP government. In such a case, Ankara's first casualty would have been its relations with the EU, to which JDP governments had anchored their foreign policy since their coming to power in November 2002. Secondly, such an intervention might have run against the political will of the JDP, which aimed to demilitarize Turkey's Kurdish policy within and outside the country.[93] Lastly, a military intervention would inevitably have brought the CGS to the forefront in Ankara which might possibly have tipped the sensitive balance of domestic power towards the military. The two consecutive JDP governments that were established after the November 2002 elections were well aware of the fact that the military's assuming an even more influential role in Ankara's Iraq policy would make it more reluctant to acquiesce to reforms.

The tension among the soldiers on the ground reached its peak on 4 July, 2003, when US forces detained eleven Turkish soldiers in Sulaymaniyah for sixty hours.[94] It was alleged that the unit was involved in preparations to assassinate a local Kurdish political figure.[95] The Sulaymaniyah incident created an impact of unprecedented magnitude as far as Turkish public perception of the US was concerned.[96] The incident was of great symbolic value, indicating that access to Northern Iraq was denied to the TAF unless allowed by US authorities.[97] Having been deprived of its operational ground in the area, as CGS Büyükanıt was to point out in August 2008, the TAF was unable to carry out cross-border operations in Iraq during the three years which followed.[98] This tension brought about manifold impacts on the military's position as a foreign policy-making actor as Turkey had lost its position in an area

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[87] Kışlalı, Mehmet Ali: "Özel Kuvvet Savaşı", *Radikal*, 11 January 2006.

[88] Yetkin, Murat (2004): *Tezkere: Irak Krizinin Gerçek Öyküsü*, İstanbul, Remzi, pp. 209; 211.

[89] See Bilâ, "Komutanlar Cephesi...", *op. cit.*, pp. 154-156.

[90] Balbay, Mustafa (2006): *Irak Bataklığında Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri*, İstanbul, Cumhuriyet Kitapları, pp. 287-298.

[91] Özel, Soli: "ABD ile Dans", *Sabah*, 3 July 2003; "Org. Özkök: Irak'ta Söz Hakkımız Yok", *Sabah,* 10 November 2003.

[92] Yetkin, Murat: "Asker, ABD'yle Arayı Düzeltti", *Radikal*, 12 August 2003.

[93] Öniş, Ziya and Yilmaz, Şuhnaz: "Between Europeanization and Euro-Asianism: Foreign Policy Activism in Turkey during the AKP Era", *Turkish Studies*, vol. 10, no. 1 (2009), p.17.

[94] Ergin, Sedat: "Özel Tim'e ABD Baskını", *Hürriyet*, 5 July 2003.

[95] See Neşe Düzel's interview with Henry Barkey, "Türk Kuvvetleri Kerkük Valisine Suikast Yapacaktı", *Milliyet, 5* February 2007.

[96] "Türkiye'nin Başına Çuval Geçirildi", *Hürriyet*, 10 July 2003.

[97] Yetkin, Murat: "Süleymaniye'de Gerçekte Neler Oldu?", *Radikal*, 20 February 2007.

[98] For the text of CGS Yaşar Büyükanıt's farewell speech on 28 August 2008, at http://www.tsk.mil.tr.

where it had been able to exert influence since the mid eighties.[99] It rekindled a public debate in Turkey about the general direction of the country's foreign policy. Questions central in the debate were developments in Northern Iraq and the US support for Kurdish authority. Not only long-known anti-American opposition groups, but also military authorities began making bitter remarks regarding Turkey's age-old alliance with the US.[100]

The state of bilateral relations with Washington appeared to exacerbate the situation in Northern Iraq. Lack of action on the part of Ankara was depicted by an observer saying: "with the Kurdish grip on northern Iraq tightening, the Turks have been largely on the outside looking in, seemingly without a clearly defined policy."[101] After June 2004, despite intensified PKK attacks mostly staged from Northern Iraq, and increasing domestic calls for a cross-border operation, the area was denied to the TAF.[102] Doubts having been raised about the limits and effectiveness of a muscle-flexing policy towards Iraqi Kurds, this denial had a crushing effect on the credibility of the TAF's deterrent in Northern Iraq. Consolidation of the KRG proved to be a matter of contention between the two allies. While Iraqi Kurds were supported by the Americans in every possible way, Ankara was daunted by Washington's feeling that a unilateral intervention in Northern Iraq would have disastrous results.[103] Although prodded by the military to act immediately, the government procrastinated on the operation in Northern Iraq before finally coming to terms with the US.[104]

By the beginning of 2005, Ankara felt it necessary to revise its policy towards Northern Iraq and began to give signs of change. Several reasons are relevant to explain the change. First and foremost, the red-line policy espoused by the military proved to be unsustainable. After the ratification of the new constitution, the KRG became a legitimate body in Iraqi polity. Furthermore, the election results clearly indicated that Ankara's policy of support for the Turcomans in order to counterbalance the Kurds of Iraq had also failed.[105] More strikingly, despite initial opposition by the military, Ankara signaled a shift in its policy towards the Iraqi Kurds, and began cultivating good relations with the KRG.[106] CGS Özkök pointed out that "Turkey's policies should be adapted to the transformation" continuing after the elections. On another occasions, CGS Özkök underlined the fact that the leaders of the Iraqi Kurds were "no longer chieftains of their tribes but statesmen."[107] It was obvious that more co-operative diplomatic approaches on the part of Ankara towards KRG were to be reflected in "the domestic political retreat of the TGS [CGS]."[108] Although the military seemingly changed its policy after CGS Özkök retired in August 2006, and displayed a defiant stance under CGS Yaşar Büyükanıt, the government maintained its policy of rapprochement with the KRG. The government's divergence from its earlier policy of non-

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[99] Uzgel, İlhan: "Dış Politikada AKP Stratejik Konumdan Stratejik Modele", Uzgel, İlhan and Duru, Bülent (eds.) (2009): *AKP Kitabı: Bir Dönüşümün Bilançosu,* Ankara, Phoenix, p. 374.

[100] See Bila, "Komutanlar Cephesi...", *op. cit.*, p.298-299; Şafak, Erdal: "Karadeniz'e Asker Bakışı", *Sabah,* 30 August 2008.

[101] See Park, *op. cit.*, p. 500-501.

[102] Ergan, Uğur: "Erbil'deydiler ABD Vermedi", *Hürriyet*, 5 January 2007; "Türk Ordusu Irak'ta Kuvvet Kullanmasın," *Milliyet*, 4 June 2007; "Rice: Operasyon İstikrar Getirmez", *Milliyet*, 3 June 2007.

[103] Dörtkardeş, İhsan: "Karşı Karşıya Gelebiliriz", *Milliyet*, 8 April 2007; Gürsel, Kadri: "Büyükelçi Wilson'dan 'PKK Önceliğimiz Değil'", *Milliyet*, 2 June 2007; Barkey, Henry: "Sınır Ötesi Harekât Kimseye Yaramaz", *Radikal*, 3 June 2007.

[104] "Önce Türkiye Sonra Kuzey Irak", *Milliyet*, 13 June 2007; "Erdoğan'dan Asker Yorumculara Sert Tepki: Ülkenin Birliğine Kurşun Sıkıyorlar", *Milliyet*, 31 October 2007.

[105] Bila, Fikret: "Yeni Türkmen Politikası Oluştu", *Milliyet* 21 March 2005.

[106] Yetkin, Murat: "Ankara Tanıma Hazırlığında", *Radikal*, 26 November 2005. "MİT, Barzani İle Görüştü," *Radikal*, 25 November 2005; Yetkin, Murat: "Devlet Zirvesi Kaygılı," *Radikal*, 9 January 2006.

[107] "Irak Politikası Değişebilir", *Radikal,* 24 March 2005.

[108] See Park, *op. cit.*, p. 502.

recognition of the KRG became visible after the 2005 Elections.[109], Oğuz Çelikkol, Turkey's special envoy to Iraq, informed Masoud Barzani, when meeting him in February 2006, that although he was then meeting him as the chairman of KDP-Iraq, his government would approach him as the chairman of the KRG as soon as the new Iraqi constitution was approved.[110] Other Foreign Ministry sources confirmed that Turkey expected to recognize all governmental bodies and institutions by their names as specified in the Iraqi constitution.[111]

By the beginning of 2007, the policy of rapprochement with the KRG was aired by Prime Minister Erdoğan in public, when he said that the government was considering " taking steps to cultivate relations" with the KRG.[112] Publicly criticizing the JDP Government's policy of rapprochement with the KRG, the military tried to turn Northern Iraq into another discursive battlefield. The issue of official recognition for the KRG became matter of contention with the government.[113] Foreign Minister Abdullah Gül insisted that Ankara would keep talking to Iraqi groups, adding that "there are places where soldiers are supposed to talk and there are places where diplomats are supposed to do so". Gül went so far as to scorn the CGS, saying "soldiers speak with their firearms. Until then, it is [only] politicians who will do what is to be done."[114] The way civilian leaders responded to the military authorities' recriminatory remarks during debates on Northern Iraq well reflected the changing balance of power within the foreign policy establishment. In the Cyprus case, military authorities could neither frustrate rapprochement with the KRG nor gain the upper hand over the government in public debates. In these debates, statements made by the KRG authorities[115] and Washington[116] were discouraging to the military and indicated that a cross-border operation would be doomed. Throughout 2007, CGS Büyükanıt's critical remarks challenged the government's policy in Northern Iraq prompting responses, at times scornful, from the government. This stands as a striking example of change in Ankara. Instead of meeting criticism form the military with silence, civilian authorities became increasingly outspoken when they deemed it necessary to respond.

Two examples are worth mentioning: The rapprochement with the KRG seemed to gain new momentum at the beginning of 2007 when Prime Minister Erdoğan said that the government would talk to the Iraqi Kurdish leaders.[117] When CGS Büyükanıt, during his visit to Washington D.C., defiantly stated that, as a soldier, he would decline to talk to the Iraqi Kurdish leaders on the grounds that they were lending support to the PKK, Prime Minister Erdoğan quickly responded that these views were not part of the official policy.[118] Later, in an attempt to undermine the government's policy of rapprochement with the KRG, military sources leaked information to the press that CGS Büyükanıt would try to prove in the next NSC meeting that Iraqi Kurdish leaders had kept supporting the PKK.[119] The leak prompted a harsh reaction from Erdoğan: "First, the person who was involved in the leak has committed

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[109] Yetkin, Murat: "Yeni Irak-Kürt Siyaseti Şekilleniyor", *Radikal*, 3 November 2005.

[110] Demirtaş, Serkan: "Barzani İçin Resmi Tanıma", *Radikal*, 28 February 2006.

[111] Ergan, Uğur: "Barzani'ye Kürdistan mesajı", *Hürriyet*, 28 February 2006.

[112] Tınç, Ferai: "Kürt Hükümeti ile Yakınlaşma", *Hürriyet*, 15 February 2007.

[113] For a chronological breakdown of statements made by PM Erdoğan and CGS Büyükanıt on the issue of dialogue with the Kurdish leaders, see Karakuş, Abdullah: "Ben Bir Kabile Reisiyle Görüşmem", *Milliyet*, 8 June 2007.

[114] "Ankara'da Barzani Krizi mi Çıktı?", *Hürriyet*, 17 February 2007.

[115] "Türkiye'ye Karşı En Sert ve Açık Tehdit", *Hürriyet*, 8 April 2004.

[116] "Karşı Karşıya Gelebiliriz", *Milliyet* 8 March 2007.

[117] Tınç, Ferai: "Iraklı Kürtlere İlk Sıcak Mesaj", *Hürriyet*, 15 February 2007.

[118] Ergan, Uğur; Cindemir, Kasım and Ekşi, Özgür: "PKK Destekçisi Kürt Liderlerle Görüşmem", *Hürriyet*, 17 February 2007.

[119] Bila, Fikret: "Kanıtlar MGK'ya", *Milliyet*, 23 February 2007.

an act of treason. Second, those who published it are equal partners in this act." Warning that "nobody should drag the government away from the table", Erdoğan reiterated that it would remain committed to a solution "on the table". [120] Foreign Minister Gül took a moderate position: "Don't negotiate with them! Don't talk to them! What will you do, then? People talk even to their enemies."[121] On the following day the NSC, following the government's policy, announced that in order to overcome the instability and tension in Northern Iraq, Turkey should intensify its political and diplomatic endeavors.[122] In June 2007, when CGS Büyükanıt urged the government to prepare a motion to let Turkish Armed Forces carry out a cross-border operation, Erdoğan reminded CGS Büyükanıt that terrorists were active in Turkey: "There are 500 terrorists in Northern Iraq. In the mountains of Turkey, there are 5000 terrorists. Well. Did we finish them all off? Have we reached the stage of dealing with the 500 in Northern Iraq? Let's first sort out those that shelter within Turkey."[123] It is interesting to note that on the eve of the 22 July 2007 elections, Northern Iraq became an issue for the contending parties in the election campaigns.[124]

Despite military antagonism, the JDP initially established party-to-party contacts with the KRG authorities. After the 22 July 2007 elections in Turkey, visits at various levels were frequently reciprocated. Idris Nami Şahin, Secretary General of the JDP, met Sefin Dizai of the KDP in September, 2007.[125] Since PKK activities were intensifying, on 17 October 2007 the TGNA almost unanimously authorized the government to deploy troops abroad. After PKK attacks on the post of Dağlıca on the Turkish-Iraqi border on 21 October 2007 which claimed twenty lives, political pressure on the government to carry out a cross-border operation in Northern Iraq further increased. Yet, cross-border operations began only after PM Erdoğan reached an agreement in Washington on 5 November, 2007 on bilateral cooperation against the PKK in Northern Iraq.[126] As part of the deal, US began to exchange real-time intelligence, and airspace and ground space in Northern Iraq was opened up to the TAF.[127] In two subsequent air force operations carried out after the deal, the PKK camps in Northern Iraq were bombed by TAF fighters on 16 and 22 Decembers 2007 respectively.[128] It was noted that both operations were carried out in "effective cooperation with the US."[129] In a press briefing on 16 December 2007, CGS Büyükanıt singled out the *sine qua non* condition for the accomplishment of the operation: "Last night Americans opened up airspace over Northern Iraq. By opening up the airspace, US thus gave consent for the operation."[130] On 26 December, 2007, the TAF delivered another strike upon receiving real-time intelligence from Heron UAVs and US intelligence sources.[131] Furthermore, the first large-scale cross-border operation, *Operation Sun*, which involved large numbers of troops on the ground, came about in February of 2008, after an interval of six years.[132]

[120] "Sızan Haberler İhanettir", *Hürriyet*, 23 February 2007.

[121] "Gül İnsanlar Düşmanıyla Konuşuyor", *Milliyet*, 23 February 2007.

[122] Ergan, Uğur: "MGK Görüşme Kapısını Açtı", *Hürriyet*, 24 February 2007.

[123] "Önce Türkiye Sonra Kuzey Irak", *Milliyet*, 13 June 2007.

[124] Hasan, Aydın: "Öncelik Artık AB Değil, Kuzey Irak", *Milliyet*, 2 July 2007.

[125] Durukan, Namık: "AKP Barzani ile Temasta", *Milliyet*, 11 September 2009.

[126] "Anında İstihbarat Anında Vur Anlaşması", *Hürriyet*, 5 November 2007; Zeyrek, Deniz: "Operasyona Yeşil Işık", *Radikal*, 6 November 2007; "Süreç, Operasyon Sürecidir", *Hürriyet*, 6 November 2007.

[127] "Canlı İstihbarat", *Hürriyet*, 6 November 2007.

[128] "16 Jetle 35 Dakika", *Milliyet*, 23 December 2007.

[129] Yetkin, Murat: "ABD Yolu Açınca, Türkiye Vurdu", *Radikal*, 17 December 2007; Köylü, Hilal: "ABD'den Hem İstihbarat Hem Lojistik Destek", *Radikal*, 17 December 2007; Şafak, Erdal: "Operasyonun Arka Planı", *Sabah*, 24 February 2008.

[130] "PKK Kampı Değil, BBG Evi", *Radikal*, 17 December 2007.

[131] "PKK'lılar Heron'a Yakalandı", *Milliyet* 27 December 2007.

[132] Çakırözer, Utku: "Operasyon Başladı Taliban'a Davet Gitti", *Milliyet*, 23 February 2008.

After the 5 November 2007 agreement with Washington, to the surprise of many, the military agreed to the JDP government's overtures to the KRG, and the government has increasingly come to have full control over Turkey's policy towards Iraq. This phenomenon was clearly reflected in the statement made in the aftermath of the NSC meeting held on 24 April, 2008. Abandoning Turkey's traditional policy of non-recognition for the Kurds of Iraq, the NSC confirmed that it is in Turkey's interest to maintain consultations with all Iraqi groups and formations".[133] After the green light given by the NSC, high level contacts with the KRG authorities gained unprecedented momentum.[134] TAF authorities came to praise overtly the significance of technical assistance and of the real-time intelligence provided by the US. However, such statements also noted that Turkish military activity has been subject to American consent since 2007.[135]

Rapprochement went on unabated throughout 2009. CGS İlker Başbuğ displayed a more conformist attitude towards the government and refrained from interfering in government policies towards the KRG. Other institutions within the security establishment also acted in visible harmony with the government.[136] When President Abdullah Gül paid an official visit to Baghdad in March, the first of its kind for 33 years, he used the term "Kurdistan" in a gesture of recognition for the KRG.[137] In October 2009, Turkey's rapprochement with the KRG reached its peak when Foreign Minister Ahmet Davudoğlu visited Erbil[138].

7. Loss of Internal Cohesion

Loss of cohesion within the military was another phenomenon that undermined the military's position in foreign policy making. The specter of factionalism within the TAF started to loom large again at the end of the nineties. During the past decade it had become obvious that the military had been paying the utmost attention to keeping lower-level activities within the army in check.[139] This became salient at the turn of the new millennium, and, in addition the aforementioned debate on Cyprus, the debate on Iraq catalyzed the tug-of-war within the army and brought it to the surface. Friction among the contending segments became conspicuous in the summer of 2002, when Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit and GNA Speaker Ömer İzgi, in a clear violation of the military's established traditions with regard to succession, tried to extend outgoing CGS Kıvrıkoğlu's term of office for another year.[140] They tried to legitimize their attempt under the pretext that CGS Kıvrıkoğlu had more

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[133]*Milli Güvenlik Kurulu Generel Sekreterligi,* at
http://www.mgk.gov.tr/Turkce/basinbildiri2008/24nisan2008.htm.
[134] "Kürt Yönetimiyle Temas Kuruldu", *Radikal*, 29 March 2008.
[135] "Genelkurmay Başkanı Orgeneral İlker Başbuğ'un Basın Toplantısı", *Türk Silahli Kuvvetleri,* Vaşington-ABD, (4 June 2009), at
http://www.tsk.tr/10_ARSIV/10_1_Basin_Yayin_Faaliyetleri/10_1_7_Konusmalar/2009/org_ilkerbasbug_vasington_konusma_04062009.html.
[136] Yetkin, Murat: "Ankara Çözüm Hesaplarına PKK'yı Katmaya Karar Verdi", *Radikal*, 12 May 2009. In order to see the change of mind in the security establishment, the articles published by Cevat Öneş, ex-deputy undersecretary of the National Intelligence Organization are noteworthy: "Kavşakta Liderlik Yapmak", *Radikal*, 27 April 2009 and Çağdaş Demokrasilerde İşbirliği", *Radikal*, 28 April 2009.
[137] Yetkin, Murat: "Ve Gül Adını Koydu", *Radikal*, 24 March 2009.
[138] "Barzani: Asra Bedel Bir Yıl", *Radikal*, 29 October 2010.
[139] See Michaud-Emin, *op. cit.*, , pp.25-42.
[140] Ergin, Sedat: "Sivil Darbe mi; Askeri Tasfiye mi?", *Hürriyet*, 7 December 2003.

experience to handle the approaching Iraq crisis.[141] The plan proved futile, being disapproved of by the leaders of the other coalition parties, Mesut Yılmaz and Devlet Bahçeli, yet outgoing CGS Kıvrıkoğlu succeeded in appointing his aides to key posts, so that incoming CGS Özkök had to work with a staff hand-picked by his predecessor.[142] The November 2002 elections which gave the newly founded JDP a clear majority in the parliament exacerbated the military's recalcitrance towards cooperating with the government. However, military opposition displayed a greater number of differences than previous cases, e.g. the 28 February Process, which ended the Welfare Party- True Path Party Coalition government in 1997. This time the military's stance appeared to be far from cohesive. The first public outburst of discontent among the lower ranks of the army, reported by the daily newspaper *Cumhuriyet* on 23 May 2003, gave a stern rebuke from the "disgruntled young officers" to both the government, and to their CGS Özkök for not being tough enough towards the JDP government. The message was a clear reminder of the existence of internal divisions within the military.[143]

The debate with the government spilled over into military headquarters. Statements made by anonymous military authorities charged CGS Hilmi Özkök with being too submissive to and remaining in line with the government on the issue. Reactions indicated that there was a group of officers who disagreed with their seniors officials on a national cause, and that the internal cohesion of the army was at stake.[144] Following similar incidents, the office of the CGS took some precautions by severely restraining those who were authorized to make statements on behalf of the TAF, and the Deputy CGS started holding regular press briefings.[145] Reports leaked by "disgruntled young officers" were dismissed by the office of the CGS.[146] In doing so, the office of the CGS also aimed to discourage these "disgruntled young officers" from making public statements "defying the chief of staff."[147] However, as was the case in some strong public demarches, the CGS tried to appease the young officers. For instance, contrary to comments that the military was flexing its muscles again,[148] CGS Özkök's comprehensive speech on 20 April 2005 seemed to be aimed at soothing junior officers. Later on, it was understood that a number of juntas had been formed by top generals who disagreed with CGS Özkök, as well as detailed plans to force the government to resign, using the "betrayal in Cyprus" as a pretext.[149]

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[141] Ergin, Sedat: "Ordu ile Oynamak", *Hürriyet*, 9 December 2003.

[142] Bilâ, Fikret (2003): *Sivil Darbe Girişimi ve Ankara'da Irak Savaşları*, Ankara, Ümit, pp.152-159; See Yetkin, "Tezkere ...", *op. cit.,* p.70-71.

[143] See Yetkin, "Tezkere ...", *op. cit.*, p.213; For a recent elaboration made by Özkök, see: "Genel İstek Üzerine, Ergenekon ve Darbe Girişimleri", *Radikal*, 6 April 2008.

[144] Yetkin, Murat: "Cyprus Summit, the Government and the Office of Chief of Staff", *Turkish Daily News*, 9 January 2004.

[145] As an observer noted, "the press briefing by the Office of the Chief of General Staff was actually aimed at dismissing reports appearing in the media that the military was uncomfortable with the government policy on Cyprus. In other words, it wanted to correct a false report and say that the opinions leaked to *Cumhuriyet* were not true. It wanted to send the message that on Iraq and Cyprus the government and the military were united." Birand, Mehmet Ali: "If Our Military Really Wants EU Membership...", *Turkish Daily News*, 20 January 2004.

[146] The following reports exemplify this attitude. Yetkin, Murat: "Genelkurmay Sağlam Durdukça", *Radikal,* 28 February 2004; "Özkök: TSK'nın Her Konuda Tavır Koyması Beklenmemeli", *Radikal,* 13 April 2004.

[147] "The Army of an EU Country", *Turkish Daily News*, 14 April 2004.

[148] "Strong Messages from Top Commander", *Turkish Daily News,* 21 April 2005; Özel, Soli: "Meal", *Sabah*, 21 April 2005; Bayramoğlu, Ali: "Hilmi Özkök'ün Konuşması: Usül", *Yeni Şafak*, 21 April 2005.

[149] "Kıbrıs'tan Gelen Sarıkız" and "Tek Komutanlı Darbe Girişimi: Ayışığı", *Nokta*, (29 March- 4 April 2007) pp.10-57; Berkan, İsmet: "Ergenekon'un Yakın Tarihi, (2)" *Radikal*, 5 April 2008; "Ergenekon'un Yakın Tarihi (3)", *Radikal*, 6 April 2008.

Preparations by some segments of the military to intervene in politics reached a peak in 2003-2004. A groundbreaking view was aired on October of 2003 in a conference held by the War Academy when the Secretary General of the NSC, General Tuncer Kılınç, severely criticized the EU for its aloofness towards Turkey's security concerns and called for an overall reorientation of foreign policy, taking into consideration the positions of Iran and Russia.[150] In the same period, the foreign policy decisions of the JDP government were increasingly denounced by anonymous military sources. In consideration of the unrest long simmering within the army, it was claimed that deterioration in Turco-American relations on the eve of the occupation of Iraq had led some segments of the military to prepare plans for a coup. Avni Özgürel declared that the military hastened to conclude plans to undermine the JDP government on the grounds that Washington would remain indifferent to a military coup against a government that had failed to deliver what it promised on the eve of the occupation.[151] The plans disclosed in 2008 contained extensive deliberations on Turkey's bilateral relations with the US and on developments in Iraq and complained about the US support given to the government.[152] After his retirement, CGS Özkök would later confirm that there were attempts to destabilize the government. He rejected allegations that he had not disclosed the presence of juntas and had avoiding prosecuting those who were involved. He stressed his opinion that "people who perform the duties that we perform, should move cautiously."[153]

Reflecting the debate within the TAF, another unprecedented event took place in February 2007. While CGS Büyükanıt was paying an official visit to Washington, the text of Russian President Vladimir Putin's speech at the Munich Security Conference was put on the CGS's website.[154] In this speech, delivered at an international conference on security, Putin blamed US policy for inciting other countries to seek nuclear arms in order to defend themselves against an "almost uncontained use of military force."[155] The inclusion of this text obviously aimed at undermining Büyükanıt's position in the eyes of the Pentagon, and the quick removal of the speech from the site suggested that its insertion had not been fully

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[150] Kınalı, Mustafa and Arslan, Levent: "AB Dışında, Rusya ve İran'la Yeni Arayışa Girilmeli", *Hürriyet*, 8 March 2002. Having long been known for his anti-EU stance, Kılınç would become even more outspoken against the US after his retirement. He went so far as to suggest that, in order to be free from western hegemony and colonialism, Turkey should leave NATO one way or another. In June 2007, in a staggering wording Tuncer Kılınç proposed a new direction for Turkish foreign and security policy. "Now, the will of a hegemonic power is there striving to shape the world according to its own mind and consulting with nobody. They invade countries on flimsy pretexts. In order not to let such things happen, Turkey needs to distance itself from the US' shadow and its influence. Yet Turkey is moving under the control of this power. Should it distance itself from the USA, it will have the opportunity to stand on its two feet… The world is on the threshold of a new cold war and this time Turkey should not be the forward post of the West. It should cultivate good relations with both sides. Let us not forget that what lies underneath the troubles that we have experienced with Russia throughout history is the fact that Turkey had always been bludgeoned by Europe, by the USA [against Russia]. Turkey has neglected to play the Russian card against the USA. We should come out of NATO as well. Because its patron is the USA, too". Yalnız, Murat: "Batı'nın Karakolu Olmayalım", *Yeni Aktüel*, (28 June - 4 July 2007), pp. 45-48. This represents a pattern similar to the way some other generals who after their retirement start espousing revisionist foreign policy for Turkey. In July of 2006, Şener Eruygur gave a stern warning that the USA's interests and Turkey's national policy no longer overlapped: "We can no longer be strategic partners. The USA's problem is to keep energy regions under its control, whereas our priority is to maintain our independence." Eruygur, M. Şener: "ABD ile Stratejik Ortak Olamayız", *Milliyet*, 24 July 2006

[151] Özgürel, Avni: "Hesaplaşmada Son Perde", *Radikal*, 27 January 2010.

[152] Mavioğlu, Ertuğrul: "Komutanlar: Hükümeti Değiştirme Şartlarını Bulmamız Lazım", *Radikal*, 8 August 2008.

[153] Bila, Fikret: "TV'den Gol Kurtarmak Kolay", *Milliyet*, 7 August 2009.

[154] "Putin'in Münih Konuşması Genelkurmay'ın Sitesinde", *Hürriyet*, 15 February 2007.

[155] Yetkin, Murat: "Rusya Putin'le Sahneye Döndü", *Radikal*, 11 February 2007.

authorized.[156] Similar events displayed the extent of disagreements and divergences over foreign policy issues within the top brass. An observer close to military circles described the state of the TAF during the first half of the 2010s as "the air of disorder" prevailing within the army. [157] Retrospectively speaking, it is safe to say that between 2003-2004 the office of the CGS spent a considerable amount of time in controlling loose cannons among the top brass and in derailing their plans to destabilize the government.[158] In coping with these continual attempts, in some cases apparently led by his own top brass, CGS Özkök was preoccupied with the restoration of TAF's internal cohesion. In this respect, it is plausible to assume that the priority of the office of the CGS at this time was to check centrifugal forces within the military rather than to control or formulate government policies.

8. Conclusion

Change in domestic power configurations that came into existence in the early 2000s created distinct political circumstances in which the military had to relinquish its grip on the foreign policy-making process in Turkey. The military's retreat was reflected by four concomitant developments. First and foremost, the democratization reforms that gained momentum after 2001 aimed at the demilitarization of foreign and security policy-making processes. The embodiment of the demilitarization was the introduction of civilians into the NSC and its General Secretariat organization. Furthermore, national security, as a concept invented and introduced into the country's political jargon by the military, was also removed from apparent monopoly by the military as part of the demilitarization process. In the face of the rise in non-governmental organizations seeking to play an active role in foreign policy-making, the weight of the military steadily declined after the end of the 1990s. Increasing US influence in Iraq gradually limited the military's operational power which it had freely implemented in the area throughout the 1990s. From an operational point of view, the military lost its ability to intervene in contingencies in Northern Iraq after Turkey's military activities were circumscribed there. Having failed to make Iraqi Kurds recognize its prerogatives, the military lost its position as a key player in the area. The loss of operational ground there marked the end of the military's overwhelming influence on the making of policy in Iraq, deemed extremely important by Ankara. At the discursive level, the TAF seemed to have lost the battle of words with those who challenged established policy lines. On a number of occasions, the military could not mobilize public opinion to voice agreement with its policy preferences. Thus, it became increasingly difficult for the military authorities to put political pressure on the government. The military had lost the battle for the hearts and minds of the general public on such issues, most notably regarding the Cyprus question. Mainstream media, which increasingly came under the direct control of industrialist circles, did not grant the military the support it had been used to receive and, from 2002 onwards in particular, put their weight behind the JDP governments. Apparently the military lost its monopoly over defining the concept of national security as a result of legal-institutional changes as well as of demands raised by societal actors that were becoming more outspoken. Lastly, these

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[156] Yetkin, Murat: "Putin, Genelkurmay'ın Gündemine Nasıl Girdi?" *Radikal*, 17 February 2007. For related claims, see Neşe Düzel's interview with Yasemin Çongar, "Rusya'nın Etki Alanına Girmiş Askerler Var", *Radikal,* 21 May 2007.

[157] Kışlalı, Mehmet Ali: "Başbuğ'dan İkili Görev," *Radikal,* 6 September 2008.

[158] When he testified to the public prosecutor of the plans, ex CGS Özkök accepted that despite having been informed of the plans, he could not prosecute those who were involved as he failed to prove the accusations against them. Şardan, Tolga: "Bilgim Vardı, Ama Delil Yoktu", *Milliyet*, 28 July 2009; "Tanık Özkök Anlatıyor: Şener Eruygur'a Darbe Girişimini Sordum", *Radikal*, 6 August 2009.

developments galvanized a paradigmatic debate on Turkey's alignments that spilled over into military circles. Among the so-called "disgruntled young officers," the debate was reflected in their growing resentment of their superiors for being too submissive to government demands or to pressures from Washington. This resentment was manifested in unauthorized statements by anonymous "military authorities" and frequent leakages of classified documents to the press — obviously geared towards putting the office of the CGS at a disadvantage. Endeavors by the military authorities to keep the command structure intact made them to turn inwards and preoccupy themselves only with restoring the internal cohesion of the army. Thus, rather than putting pressure on the government concerning foreign and security policy issues, the problem of disunity gradually became the major preoccupation for the office of the CGS. Therefore, it is also possible to argue that the ramifications of such loose internal cohesion within the army may discourage the office of the CGS from taking an assertive stance on foreign affairs in the foreseeable future. Hence, despite the gloomy estimates that "many Turks will once again look to the military not only for stability within the country but also as the *de facto* opposition to the government,"[159] many in Turkey today are looking in other directions for answers to these issues.

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[159] Jenkins, Gareth: "Continuity and Change: Prospects for Civil–Military Relations in Turkey", *International Affairs,* Vol. 83, No. 2 (2007), p. 354.

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THE RISE OF IDENTITY POLITICS IN TURKEY

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Abstract:

In this article I use identity politics as the survey of how the various group identities affect political processes in Turkey. The methodological survey of identity politics in this chapter has two facets: First, how Turkey deals with the identity issue, given its tens of different ethnic and religious groups; and second how identity groups (ethnic and religious) articulate their political ideas. In this article, it is argued that a passive analysis of identity groups is not methodologically correct. Rather, the causal link between those groups and politics has to be identified and carefully analysed. A dynamic analysis, on which the various groups are treated as interest-seeking agents set against the state, is logical also in view of the new state-society formula of the post-Cold War era.

Keywords: Identity politics, Turkey, identity groups, political ideas.

Resumen:

Las políticas de identidad en este artículo se enfocan sobre el efecto según el cual las diversas identidades de grupo operan en los procesos políticos de Turquía. El análisis metodológico de las políticas de identidad en este capítulo tiene dos dimensiones: primero, cómo Turquía trata el tema de la identidad, dada la existencia de decenas de diferentes grupos étnicos y religiosos, y segundo cómo los grupos de identidad (étnicos y religiosos) articulan sus ideas políticas. En este capítulo, se argumenta que un análisis pasivo de los grupos de identidad no resulta metodológicamente correcto. Más bien se ha de identificar primero el nexo causal entre estos grupos y la política para así analizarlo. Un análisis dinámico, en el cual varios grupos son tratados como agentes en busca de su propio interés frente al estado, resulta lógico también en vista de la nueva fórmula de estado-sociedad propia de la era de pos-guerra fría.

Palabras clave: Políticas identitarias, Turquía, grupos de identidad, ideas políticas.

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1. Introduction

It is somehow difficult to analyse the relationship between identity and politics in Turkey, a post-imperial society, taking into consideration that this country launched a severe nation-building process after the creation of the Republic in 1923. In the course of this, the political elites did not refrain from carrying out various grand agendas – including population exchange, domestic exodus, wealth levy and conscription of wealth – to homogenize the population. For example, more than one million Anatolian Greeks left Turkey as a result of the Turco-Greek Agreement in 1923. Article 11 of the Treaty of Lausanne addressed population exchange between Turkey and Greece.[2] The major strategy of the Turkish Republic was to create a homogenous Turkish nation. Thus not only non-Muslim groups but also larger Muslim groups such as Kurds were subjected to such nation-building agendas in 1934. The government's sophisticated settlement law (1934 *İskan Kanunu*) aimed at 'the assimilation of non-Turkish elements into Turkish culture' by designating three kinds of settlement zone: 'those where the Turkish-culture population had to be increased; those where the groups to be assimilated could be resettled; and those that, for various reasons, had to be evacuated.'[3] All ethnic groups, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, were subjected to such nation-building agendas. For example, in the 60s, the exiling of tribal and high-profile Kurds to Western Turkey was a formal policy.[4] About three million people were displaced even as late as the 90s.[5]

As one would expect, such an ambitious agenda of creating a homogenous nation from the remnants of Ottoman Anatolia stimulated major social reactions, mainly from the larger non-Turkish groups such as the Kurds. The official nation-building agenda was thus not successful with regard to the Kurds, and less so with regard to other identity groups such as Armenians, who are now a small population group. For the various religious and ethnic groups, the coercive policies detracted from the social legitimacy of the new regime. This put the Republican nation-building agenda in a difficult position. For this reason, it is accurately remarked that Republican Turkey inserted itself into an atmosphere highly charged by identity politics with a mission to homogenize the diffuse Anatolian population as one with a dominant Turkish identity. The resultant official definition of national identity, Erik-Jan Zürcher argues, is a legacy of the early Republican period, and is the root cause of Turkey's major problems today.[6]

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[2] Sarikoyunce Değerli, Esra: "Atatürk Dönemi Türk-Yunan Siyasi İlişkileri", *Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, no. 15 (August, 2006), p. 243.
[3] Van Bruinessen, Martin: "Race, culture, nation and identity politics in Turkey: some comments", Presented at the Mica Ertegün Annual Turkish Studies Workshop on Continuity and Change: *Shifting State Ideologies from Late Ottoman to Early Republican Turkey, 1890-1930*, Department of Near Eastern Studies, Princeton University, 24-26 April 1997, p. 6.
[4] Güneş, Cengiz: "Kurdish Politics in Turkey: A Quest for Identity", *International Journal of Kurdish Studies*, vol. 27, no. 1/2 (2007), p. 20.
[5] Imset, Ismet G.: "The PKK Terrorist or Freedom Fighters?", *The International Journal of Kurdish Studies,* vol. 10, no. 1/2 (1996), p. 47.
[6] Jan Zürcher, Erik: "Race, culture, nation and identity politics in Turkey", paper presented at Mica Ertegün Annual Turkish Studies Workshop on Continuity and Change: *Shifting State Ideologies from Late Ottoman to Early Republican Turkey, 1890-1930*, Department of Near Eastern Studies, Princeton University, 24-26 April 1997.

2. Identity Politics: State and Interest-Seeking Groups

'Identity politics' in this article's usage is the survey of how the various group identities affect political processes in Turkey. The methodological survey of identity politics has two facets: i) how Turkey deals with the identity issue, given its tens of different ethnic and religious groups; and ii) how identity groups (ethnic and religious) articulate their political ideas. A passive analysis of identity groups is not methodologically correct. Rather, the causal link between those groups and politics has to be identified and carefully analysed. A dynamic analysis, on which the various groups are treated as interest-seeking agent set against the state, is logical also in view of the new state-society formula of the post-Cold War era. Attahiru Jega glosses the new formula thus:

> The myth of the strong, authoritarian state lording it over civil society has been shattered, and identities that were previously suppressed by the state, and perceived as politically irrelevant by several scholars, are now being reasserted and are becoming politically significant.[7]

Thus, despite its measure of perspicuity, the traditional 'oppressive state/oppressed minority group' model needs refinement, for identity politics has transformed certain ethnic and religious groups into interest-seeking agent types. As Richard A. Joseph reminds, identity politics is now a 'mutually reinforcing interplay between identities and the pursuit of material benefits within the arena of competitive politics'.[8] Ibrahim Kaya, following the same logic, asserts that:

> New social movements based on cultural identities are far from representing the demands of groups for recognition. Rather, these movements aim at establishing hegemony by controlling the intellectual life of society by cultural means.[9]

This article takes the in-between perceptive, and does not conceive recognition and hegemony as opposite concepts. Instead, it perceives political action as a necessarily hegemony-seeking process, despite the absence of such an ambition among actors.

The study of identity politics in the Turkish case affirms this necessity, particularly in the light of post-1999 developments, in the interplay between the state and the various groups. It is a fact that Turkey's dealings with the demands of these various groups, religious or ethnic, is hampered by structural deficits. Compared with the typical developed states, Turkey's position is less well placed to satisfy its various groups (Islamist, Kurds, Assyrian Orthodox, etc.) demands. It therefore remains valid to study the state elites retention of their reservations about reformist agendas, such as the recognition of Kurdish as an official vernacular, or the permission to the Greek Orthodox Church to establish a seminary.

However, this axis, the state reluctant to recognize minority rights, is no longer the only dynamic that shapes identity politics in Turkey. There is now an emerging societal one:

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[7] Jega, Attahiru (2000): *Identity Transformation and Identity Politics under Structural Adjustment in Nigeria,* Stockholm, Elanders Gotab, p. 12.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 15.
[9] Kaya, İbrahim: "Identity Politics: The Struggle for Recognition or Hegemony?", *East European Politics and Societies,* vol. 21, no. 4 (1997), p. 704.

the will of the various ethnic and religious groups, which is equipped with political and economic instruments. Today, mayors who are members of the Democratic Society Party (the Kurdish party) govern many major cities in the south-eastern parts of Turkey; Islamic religious groups such as the Fethullah Gülen movement, run major newspapers such as Zaman, a daily paper with a circulation of at least 800,000. This obliges attention to ethnic and religious groups' capacity to project their identity-based concerns into mainstream Turkish politics. More precisely: account has to be taken of the fact that identity politics in Turkey is now shaped according to two contending axes: that of the reluctant state and of the aspirant ethnic and religious groups.

3. The Periodisation of Identity Politics

The rise of the second axis, that of the interest-seeking agents of the various ethnic and religious groups, traces back to the late 90s. This makes necessary a periodisation of Turkish history as it was demarcated by identity politics. On this premise, it is historically correct to view the Republican period of Turkish history as containing two parts. The first part is the period that begins with the creation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 and ends in 1999. The second part is the period that began in 1999 and continues to evolve.

The traditional 'oppressive state/oppressed minority groups' model was dominant during the first period. The several sporadic cases notwithstanding, it was mainly the state's will and priorities that shaped identity politics at this time. Lacking the necessary domestic instruments and a supportive international conjecture, ultimate submission to the state was the only option for all ethnic and religious minorities. However, the logic of identity politics shifted gradually in the second period, especially after 1999, when ethnic and religious groups gained unprecedented leverage for articulating and defending their concerns.

The methodological explanation for demarcating this periodisation at the year 1999 is not mysterious:

1. This was the year when Turkey was recognized as a candidate for membership of the European Union, and the beginning of major reforms in Turkey.[10] The European Union, having begun to exercise its legal capacity to oversee Turkey's reformation performances, requested that Turkey reorganise its political structure, including its state-society relations. Thus, the major aspects of identity politics, such as the Kurdish problem, the Christian groups and secularism-linked issues, become truly internationalised, losing their former purely domestic natures. The 1999 Helsinki Summit, which declared Turkey's European Union candidature, symbolised Turkey's entrance into the post-Cold War international community. As expected, the rise of a European component in Turkish politics had an enormous impact on identity politics. The new opportunity-structure in which the Islamic and Kurdish agents emerged as interest-seeking actors should be seen as the product of the European dimension. The European Union membership process provided the needed (to quote Meyer and Minkoff) 'factors exogenous' of Turkish identity politics.[11] In other words, the European Union

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[10] Sarıgil, Zeki: "Europeanization as Institutional Change: The case of the Turkish Military", *Mediterranean Politics,* vol. 12, no. 1 (March 2007), p. 40.
[11] Meyer, David S. and Minkoff, Debra C.: "Conceptualizing Political Opportunity", *Social Forces,* vol. 82, no. 4 (June 2004), p. 1633.

membership process, by providing the favourable political conditions needed by ethnic and religious actors, completed the nexus between identity politics and its ideal environment.[12]

2. The year 1999 should be seen as marking the end of the Cold War period for Turkey. Unlike many Western states, the Cold War did not end for Turkey in 1989, as this state's elites continued to view the international system with Cold War lenses well into the 90s. Two major factors account for this: First, unlike many other states, no radical elite-change took place in Turkey at this time. The same group of political elites that had dominated Turkey during the Cold War remained in place during the post-1989 decade. The purge of Turkey's Cold War elites took place after 2000. Secondly, internal political instability kept Turkey apart from the international system. Between 1989-1999, nine different governments were established, and a military intervention troubled the political system in 1997. Naturally, political instability kept Turkey obsessed with its domestic problems.

3. Peripheral political actors, mainly Islamic ones, rose to prominence. The Justice and Development Party (AKP), founded by former Islamists who now declare themselves conservative democrats, won the 2002 elections, and they remain in power today. The AKP contributed to the transformation of identity politics in two major ways: (i) The AKP, whose origin is somehow religious, proposed a new type of modus vivendi between the state and Islam. In so doing, it has become a leading agent of identity politics; (ii) The Islamists, through the agency of the AKP, experienced a major denationalisation process in the assumption of the new position on the Kurdish issue. The Islamic groups of the past had a nationalist discourse on the Kurdish issue. In their former narrative, the PKK was labelled as the upshot of a larger Western conspiracy. Erbakan for example argued that the Poised Hammer was settled in Northern Iraq to protect the PKK. To him, certain Christian missioners were also in cooperation with the PKK, as the latter sent the Kurdish kids to them for Christianization.[13] Rather than analyzing the socioeconomic roots of the problem, the issue was narrated as a product of certain foreign conspiracies. Also the Islamists, like nationalists, denied any Kurdish demand for cultural rights for being detrimental to national unity. Having faced the serious outcomes of the highly militarized Kemalist regime in 1997, the Islamic elites changed their views on the Kurdish issue. The logic of the change was simple: First, The Islamists are persuaded that the Kurdish problem, which continues for more than two decades in which thousands of people were killed and billions of dollars were spent, became a source of legitimacy to the authoritarian rule in Turkey. Accordingly, the status quo regenerates itself politically, ideology and financially through the war with the Kurds. It was also a peerless opportunity for the army to involve routinely into the politics. Yet, the tension created by the problem was an effective instrument in the hands of the status quo in manipulating the public. Thus, the Islamic elites concluded that a political agenda, other than the military, is needed to stop the symbiotic relationship between the establishment and the Kurdish problem. Second, the Islamic actors also realized that the Kurds, as an oppressed group, were their natural ally and their political support should be gained. Thus a reformist agenda on the Kurdish issue was useful not only to prevent the establishment the utilization of the Kurdish issue as a pretext of authoritarianism but also to gain the Kurd's support.

The outcome was that after 1999, identity-politics is no longer directed by pure state priorities. Since then, religious and ethnic agents have emerged as interest-seeking actors and new partners in Turkish identity politics. Although the state and the state elites retain dominance, identity-politics has transformed into a kind of bargaining model in which various

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[12] Munson, Ziad: "Islamic Mobilization: Social Movement Theory and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood", *The Sociological Quarterly,* vol. 42, no. 4 (2001), p. 494.
[13] *Vakit,* 24 November 2007.

elites compete in accordance with their capacities. The former hierarchal universe of identity politics, in which the state had the ultimate authority to define the borders of the various identities and groups, has dissipated to the point that bargaining with identity groups has become a necessity. Thus, 'recognition' is the key difference between the pre- and post-1989 periods of identity politics in Turkey. The necessity of 'recognition' was certainly not welcomed. Rather, the state feels that it was forced upon it by domestic and international pressure. Be that as it may, the state has given up its control of identity politics, and accepted its role as 'another agent' in it. The image of the governor of Diyarbakır's, a Kurdish city, watching a Kurdish theatre performance with the city's mayor, a Kurdish Democratic Society Party member, symbolises this transformation.[14]

4. Explaining the Late Return

At this point, it is useful to analyse why and how Turkey was late in permitting the rise of the legitimate agent of identity politics. Pertinent to this analysis is an examination of how and why the state elites retain their reservations about liberalising the identity market. Richard Maansbach and Edward Rhodes propose three factors to explain the 'capacity and inclination of states to tolerate multiple identities'.[15] The first factor is historical timing: 'States whose institutional capacity developed ahead of national identity appear to have had less difficulty accommodating identity politics peacefully.'[16] The second factor is regime type: '… the capacity of states to cope non-violently with identity politics is liberal democracy'.[17] The third factor is institutional legitimacy: '…the degree to which the state's internal legitimacy is based on some appeal other than nationalism – for example, is based on claims to represent a particular class or religion'[18].

Once Turkey is analyzed with these three factors as the terms of reference, it becomes obvious that Turkey has genuine systemic excuses on each factor. The Turkish Republic was created in 1923, and was forced to create its nation simultaneously. Thus, Turkey was relatively weak in terms of institutional capacity. The early Republican elite had the task of institutional consolidation along with nation building. The lack of institutional capacity increased the fears of the early Republican elites. In terms of the second, (the 'regime') factor, Turkey has never had a liberal polity. Instead, various types of authoritarian regime have always dominated the country.[19] Finally, the Republican project declared nationalism almost the most important claimant to legitimacy. The founding fathers of the Republic were hostile to both religion and class. In the program of the Republican People's Party (CHP), the Kemalist party that ruled Turkey between 1923 and 1950, 'nation' was defined without a class reference. In other words, the Republican order was classless. According to the program, the populace [halkçılar] had no class or community affiliations.[20]

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[14] *Radikal,* 27 February 2010.

[15] Maansbach, Richard and Rhodes, Edward: "The National State and Identity Politics: State Institutionalization and Markers of National Identity", *Geopolitics,* vol. 12 (2007), p. 439.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 440.

[17] *Ibid.*, *Idem.*

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 441.

[19] Dodd, C. H.: "The Development of Turkish Democracy", *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies,* vol. 19, no. 1 (1992), p. 28.

[20] Toprak, Zafer: "Türkiye'de Sol Faşizm ya da Otoriter Modernizm 1923-1946", Speech delivered at the Ottoman Bank Archive and Research Center, 27 May 2006, p. 6.

To conclude: Turkey lacked for a long period of time the political and institutional capacity to develop an identity politics. Along with the ideological bias of the ruling elite, their political and institutional weaknesses made difficult to accommodate an identity politics.

5. Agents and Agendas: The Patterns of Adaptation

In line with the foregoing analysis of periodisation, a short analysis of some ethnic and religious groups will shed light on the general dynamics of Turkish identity politics, particularly in the post-1999 period. It is hardly possible to summarise how all the various sub-national groups have risen as interest-seeking actors in the identity-politics market, given that Turkey embraces many different ethnic and religious groups. Thus, a selective reading based on representative cases: Islamic groups, Kurds and Armenians are presented below.

6. Islamic Groups: The Champions of the State-System

The Islamist WP finished the 1995 parliamentary elections as the largest party with 21 percent. Necmettin Erbakan, the leader of WP, became Prime Minister in 1996 in coalition with True Path Party, a centre-right party. As expected, the Erbakan-led coalition government quickly incited the sensitivity of secular groups. Soon, Turkish politics fell into chaotic disarray. Despite the Erbakan government was relatively successful in economy; it gradually lost the control over civil and military bureaucracy. The army became publicly an opposition power. The bureaucratic opposition was accompanied by a strong media campaign against the government. An unprecedented political chaos dominated the Turkish politics. In 1997, Turkey was on the eve of a military intervention. The daily public warnings to Erbakan-led government by the Turkish army became a normal part of politics. Finally, the military increased the harshness and forced the government to resign in 1997 after a famous National Security Council meeting on 28 February. On 18 June 2007, Erbakan resigned; but it did not stop the army activism. In the same year, the National Security Policy Document was amended and Islamic threat was declared as the number one threat replacing the former Kurdish separatism. Although the parliament was not dissolved, the WP was closed down by the Constitutional Court for being anti-secular and its leadership cadre including Erbakan was banned from politics. The other coalition partner the Truth Path Party was divided due to the strong military pressure and a new government was formed to cohabitate with the de facto military rule till 1999. As "the military entrenched itself deeper in the political system while ingeniously maintaining a façade of democracy, including multiparty politics, on-time local elections"[21], the 28 February was a different military intervention. Instead of direct rule, the army preferred a rule through civilian associates such as the media, the bureaucracy, the army backed government and even the courts, which was thus named as the post-modern coup.[22]

The two-year period was truly a traumatic period for Islamists as the targets of the army-led campaign. To avert the Islamic threat, the army-led coalition realized numberless plans from banning headscarf to hindering the university education for the graduates of Imam Hatip schools. Trade firms known for their Islamist owners were punished and deprived from state originated financial opportunities. The public sphere due to repressive conditions

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[21] Çandar, Cengiz: "Redefining Turkey's Political Center", *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 10, no. 4 (1999), p. 130.
[22] Özel, Soli: "After Tsunami", *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 10, no. 4 (1999), p. 86.

gradually became intolerant to Islamists as the military led campaign attempted to reorganize the Turkish politics in toto to purge the Islamic threat.

To summarize under separate titles, the 28 February process was unique for the Islamists for several reasons: To begin with, it was the first direct military intervention targeting the Islamic groups. In the past, Islamic groups faced serious problems during the military rules. However, the WP-led government was directly targeted in 1997. Yet, the whole process aimed to purge the Islamic threat. Again, the WP was the only party that was closed down during the intervention. Second, as a post-modern intervention, it did not happen as a classical coup; instead it continued for relatively long time which traumatized the process for masses. Sophisticated media campaigns against the Islamists including the religious orders and movements created a shock effect for large masses. The intervention did not come as a sudden and short shock, instead it continued for some time. Third, not only Islamic elites, large masses of Islamic groups faced serious interventions even in their daily lives, which also traumatized the process. Ordinary Islamic person faced direct constraints of the military intervention: Headscarf ban at the universities, police hunting ultra-religious people dressed according to their tariqat traditions in various districts even in Istanbul, official boycotts of trade firms owned by Islamic groups, the closure of many religious dormitories and seminaries.

The 28 February process forced the Islamic elites to adopt a new strategy to avert the militant secular attack. Witnessing their humiliating weakness, the Islamic elites realized that a new strategy was needed to overcome the current troubles they face. The process itself was taken as a proof to show how the former strategies were futile. The Islamists, lacking needed networks in different fields such as economy, discovered that they were completely naked against the sophisticated secular bloc. Yet, the 28 February process made the divisions among the Islamic elites more visible. A new generation came to the fore who also criticized the traditional leaders such as Erbakan for failing in understanding the global changes and causing the defeat in 1997.

In consequence, in the post-1997 period, the Islamists developed a new strategy which has two major pillars: First, the former narrative which always questioned the legitimacy of globalism, market economy, media and even democracy was left behind. Instead, creating new instrumental capacity in all fields became the major purpose. They developed a new strategy which emphasized becoming active in various fields such as market and media in which they used to have reservations before. They always kept in mind that the lack of such instrumental capacity led to their defeat in 1997. Second, they studied carefully how and why the secular establishment is positioned vis-a-vis the Kurdish issue, the Cyprus issue, globalization, the EU membership. They realized that they had paradoxically defended the same theses of the secular establishment even against their own interest. They discovered that certain major processes such as globalization or Turkey's membership to the EU, despite some troubles, had the potential of creating remarkable opportunity spaces for them and simultaneously had the potential of weakening the secular establishment. It was the pragmatic tactic of Islamic elites that forced them to enjoy EU-originated opportunities to stop the militant secular attack.[23] As Turkey was given the status of candidate country in 1999, the complex European *acquis communnautaire* quickly began to show its transformative effects into politics. Simultaneously, the Islamic elites discovered how the EU pressure into Turkey created important opportunity spaces for them by forcing the Turkish state to make radical

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[23] Bacik, Gokhan: "The Transformation of the Muslim Self and the Development of a New Discourse on Europe: The Turkish Case", *International Review of Sociology*, vol. 13, no. 1 (2001), p. 29.

reforms to enhance democratic rule. They were also fully aware of the lack of a domestic dynamic that could substitute the EU. Indeed, their reading was correct as it was the EU originated dynamics that later caused major reforms in Turkish politics including the reorganization of civil-military relations.[24] Compared with domestic dynamics, the EU originated dynamics have a more transformative effect.[25]

7. The Kurds: Party People vs. Partisan[26]

Turkey's Kurdistan Labor Party (PKK) launched its insurgency in 1984. The PKK's roots struck in the 60s and the 70s, when "the secularization of the Kurdish identity within the broader leftist movement in Turkey" took place.[27] In the 60s, the Kurdish elites began to appropriate a leftist, mainly socialist, discourse. The incompetence of the traditional Kurdish leaders should be noted as a facilitator of the rise of the left among the Kurds. Since the traditional landowner elites were in a sense co-opted to block reformist Kurdish activism, the demand for a new class of elites paved the way for the rise of leftist ideologies.[28] In consequence, the former tribal and religious leaders were gradually replaced by the "new modern intellectuals."[29]

The traditional religious (like the Naqshbandiyyah order) and the tribal elites used to sketch the dominant lines of the cultural pattern of the Kurdish provinces. However, the inability of the traditional leaders, who had close religious ties, to champion the Kurdish cause against the state paved the way for the new, modern Kurdish elites who were attuned to secular ideas like socialism. Meanwhile, the exile of many Kurdish tribal and other high-profile Kurds in Western Turkey, after the 1960 coup d'état, strengthened the modern elites leverage.[30] Gradually, leftist ideologies became dominant, particularly among the young Kurds. It was not a coincidence that the Turkish Labour Party (TİP) and its Marxist program quickly became a leading institution for Kurds. Symbolizing its cooperation with the Kurds, the TİP announced its recognition of the Kurds of Turkey at the 1970 party congress.

Another important event was the Doğu Mitingleri (East Meetings) organized in major Kurdish cities between 1968 and 1969. As part of these meetings, the Kurds appeared on the streets to express their demands. This led to the creation of the Revolutionary Cultural Centers of the East (DDKO) in 1969. These centers took a mainly socialist perspective of the Kurd's problems. They were active until 1971, when they were closed down by the military regime. Abdullah Öcalan, the founder of the PKK, took part in DDKO activities. These activities, which "blended with Marxism and Kurdish nationalism" influenced Öcalan and

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[24] Michaud-Emin, L.: "The Restructuring of the Military High Command in the Seventh Harmonization Package and its Ramifications for Civil-Military Relations in Turkey", *Turkish Studies*, vol. 8, no. (2008), pp. 25-42.
[25] Smith, Thomas W.: "Civic Nationalism and Ethnocultural Justice in Turkey", *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 27 (2005), p. 450.
[26] In writing this part, I have largely depended on another study. See: Bacik, Gokhan and Balamir Coşkun, Bezen: "The PKK Problem: Explaining Turkey's Failure to Develop a Political Solution', paper in progress 2010.
[27] Yavuz. Hakan: "Five stages of the construction of Kurdish nationalism in Turkey", *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, vol. 7, no. 3 (2001), p. 2.
[28] Hanish, Shak: "Book Review: David Romano's The Kurdish Nationalist Movement Opportunities, Mobilization and Identity", *Domes,* vol. 16, nº. 1 (Spring, 2007), p. 170.
[29] See Yavuz, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
[30] Güneş, Cengiz:"Kurdish Politics in Turkey: A Quest for Identity," *International Journal of Kurdish Studies,* vol. 27, no. 1/2 (2007), p. 20.

many young Kurds.[31] Kurdish activism of the 60s had meanwhile significantly stimulated Kurdish intellectual activity. Several Kurdish periodicals, and journalists such as İleri Yurt, Dicle Fırat, Deng, Reya, Roja and Newe, were published. A Kurdish grammar book appeared in 1965, and the famous Kurdish epic, Mem u Zin, was translated into Turkish in 1968.[32]

Deeply influenced by the left-leaning atmosphere of its time, the PKK was founded in November 1978 as a clandestine organization advocating the liberation of Kurdistan from Turkey. The social basis of the PKK, like that of other leftist Kurdish groups, was the people of the lower strata of society. Unlike the traditional Kurdish elites who were linked to the large landowning families, the PKK was the product of Kurds who came from poor families, among them Öcalan. Its intellectual basis was a Marxist-Leninist one. Like other Kurdish groups, PKK members approached the problems of Kurds with a class-based analysis. Thus, PKK's first and major criticism was directed at the traditional/feudal Kurdish system. Unlike many other Kurdish groups, the PKK defended the idea of separation. In the 1977 party program, the PKK claimed that Kurdistan, divided into four regions by four separate colonist countries (Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria), should be independent and united. In all its earlier documents, the PKK had called for an independent state for Kurds.[33]

However, the separatist nature of the PKK subsided gradually after 1999, for two reasons: First, the leader of the PKK, Öcalan, was arrested and imprisoned in 1999, which transformed the PKK in a 'process of implicit bargaining' that began between the state and the PKK.[34] Secondly, the Turkish state adopted a more moderate agenda on the Kurdish issue, recognising that non-military instruments are also vital in dealing with it. In August 2009, the AKP government declared a new Kurdish initiative, one that aims to solve the problem by political means, of which indirect negotiation with the Kurdish rebels is one. Dramatically, a number of PKK members returned to Turkey, and there was no move to arrest them. The government's initiative includes several major projects, all of them capable of being political tactics: the bringing home of thousands of Kurds who had left Turkey for Iraq for reason of the struggle between the PKK and the Turkish authorities; the establishment of Kurdish teaching university programs; the restoring of the Kurdish names of villages and cities; the reduction of military patrols in the Kurdish region; amnesty for middle and low-level PKK fighters; the liberalization of media laws to encourage Kurdish-language broadcasts; the establishing of Kurdish as an elective course in secondary and high schools; the recognition of the freedom to use Kurdish election-campaign materials and to deliver Kurdish mosque sermons; the purchasing of Kurdish books for public libraries; and the employment of Kurdish-speaking religious leaders and policemen in the Kurdish region.[35] The army has backed the AKP's Kurdish initiative by keeping an affirmative silence. It has even signed the National Security Council Declarations, which justifies the government's Kurdish initiative. The state has given out strong signals of having become more open to political solution. The army endorsed it by its silence, and did not refrain from approving it through the National Security Council declarations which called for non-military solutions to the Kurdish problem.

The transformation of the state's approach to the Kurdish issue has created certain problems for the Kurdish movement. To begin with, the internal separation of the Kurdish movement as party people (those who are active under the umbrella of the Kurdish Peace and

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[31] See Yavuz, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[32] See Güneş, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

[33] Marcus, Aliza (2007): *Blood and Belief: The PKK and the Kurdish Fight for Independence,* New York and London, New York University Press, p. 28.

[34] Gunter, Michael M.: "The Continuing Kurdish problem in Turkey after Öcalan's capture", *Third World Quarterly,* vol. 21, no. 5 (2000), p. 857.

[35] *Zaman*, August 27, 2009.

Democracy Party) and as 'partisans' (PKK fighters) has created a tension within the Kurdish movement. For the partisans, the party people are corrupt political elites who had abused the Kurdish masses for a long period of time in a painstaking struggle. A partisan spends time in the mountains, whereas party people enjoy the luxury of their offices in parliament or local government. For party people, the partisan is a devoted man, but one who fails to recognise the realities of the political milieu. More critical is the party people new political discourse, which has the potential to diverge from that of the partisan. Thus, it has become a major agenda of the PKK to obstruct the development of a completely independent Kurdish political movement.

From the very beginning, the PKK has striven to keep all relevant institutions under its strict control, and forbidden the rise of any autonomous Kurdish organization. First, the organizational schema that supports the Öcalan cult does not permit even moderately critical ideas. Öcalan's authority over the PKK is unquestionable. Marcus has called this the "Öcalan's cult of personality." Öcalan himself does not shy away from ordering the killing of one or another of the PKK's higher-level leaders if that protects his consolidated position. According to Marcus, "between 1983 and 1985, he ordered or encouraged the murder of at least 11 high-level former or current PKK members."[36] And, as Cline notes, "His charisma and willingness to ruthlessly suppress any internal leadership challenges led to his undisputed command of the group."[37] Thus, as Özcan argues, "a Soviet-like bureaucracy that was most loyal to the leadership" became the main ruling mechanism within the PKK.[38] To avoid losing their control of it, unofficial PKK members (dubbed "the commissars") always accompany the Kurdish politicians who address the people.[39] The political elites are rigorously checked out by these PKK members. Also, it should be noted that the Kurdish politicians have been relatively disinclined to autonomous political behaviour, mainly for fear of losing local Kurdish support. Another factor of this is the paradoxical transfer of traditional patterns of leadership from Kurdish culture to the PKK. Despite its discursive criticism of "feudal" Kurdish patterns, the PKK is, particularly in its chain of command, a typical Kurdish organization in which the authority of the higher-placed over the lower-placed is conceded as a sacred fact. Yaşar Kaya, a former member of the DEP, once said; "Öcalan is not a god; the Kurds should feel free to criticize anyone."[40] However, it is a rare case, as the Kurdish movement has largely been a loyal one, repeating the conformist patterns of the Kurdish traditional movement. In short, the Kurdish political elites have not shown the courage to challenge the Kurdish status quo. Even moderate Kurdish politicians such as Ahmet Türk, the head of the banned DTP, and Osman Baydemir, the Mayor of Diyarbakır, have never directly criticized the PKK. Indeed, the moderate Ahmet Türk publicly confirmed that Öcalan's "advice" determines their behaviours. The impotence of the Kurdish politicians has been criticized by other Kurdish groups in Iraqi Kurdistan. During a visit, the Iraqi Kurds publicly criticized the Turkish Kurds for their ultra-submissive behaviours.[41]

8. The Armenians: The Politics of Exception

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[36] See Marcus, *op. cit.*, p. 210.
[37] Cline,Lawrence E.: "From Ocalan to Al Qaida: The Continuing Terrorist Threat in Turkey", *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, vol. 27 (2004), p. 327.
[38] See Özcan, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
[39] *Taraf,* December 28, 2009.
[40] *Milliyet,* December 28, 2009.
[41] *Radikal,* December 23, 2009.

The Treaty of Lausanne recognised only one minority group in Turkey: non-Muslims (gayr-i müslimler).[42] Paradoxically, the population exchange with Greece and further nation-building policies Islamised Anatolia to an unprecedented level. It will not be an exaggeration to argue that Kemalist Turkey outstripped the Ottomans at Islamizing the Anatolian people. As much as 99 percent of the Republic is now Islamised. According to the 1927 census, the number of Armenians in Turkey was around 140,000.[43] However, non-official sources suggest that that number was not less than 300,000.[44] Thus, the Islamisation of the land was the major parameter of Armenians' adaptation to the post-Ottoman order.

The second factor was the political articulation of the so-called Armenian Massacre. Ironically, Republican Turkey has declared the defence of the Ottomans on this matter an official duty. The young Republic developed an anti-Ottoman historiography to legitimize itself, but was selective when it came to this Armenian issue. As expected, tension over this item of history put the Armenians into a troubled context. The debate on it was instrumentalised by the Anatolian Armenians and the Diaspora Armenians. Sarkis Seropyan, owner of the Armenian newspaper Agos, figuratively described this tense position as "awaiting the quake".[45]

During the late 70s, a surge of Armenian (mainly ASALA) terrorist attacks on Turkish diplomats abroad put the domestic Armenians under great pressure. These attacks persuaded the Armenian community to prefer a highly isolated communal life centred in Istanbul as a major self-defence strategy. In other words, the sustained focus on the so-called Armenian Massacre gradually forced the Anatolian Armenians into an isolated community life. Politically, for long years, the Armenian community supported secular parties such as the Republican People's Party. This was a strategy to prevent the rise of Islamist and nationalist parties. Also, the Armenians never sought a high profile in the ongoing debate of the alleged massacre, choosing instead to avoid prioritising this sensitive issue. Silence was their strategy, here.

The major development that changed the traditional setting of the Anatolian Armenians was Turkey's new policy towards Armenia in the late 2000s. The government first permitted direct flights to Yerevan from Istanbul. (Meanwhile, the number of Armenian workers, most of whom are in Turkey illegally, has reached almost 70,000.)[46] The rationale of this shift in Turkey was simple: Direct contact with Armenia was expected to tame the Armenian Diaspora, which is troublesome in the US and Europe. The Turkish political elites thought that improving relations with Armenia may help them counterbalance the influence abroad of this Diaspora.

In 2008, the Turkish President Abdullah Gül visited Armenia to watch the football match between Turkey and Armenia. Armenian President Sarkisian visited Turkey for the return match. This high-level direct contact, the football diplomacy, was indeed a historic development. Both countries then began a complex diplomatic process to negotiate a wide agenda, which included the opening of the Turkish-Armenian border. In 2009, both countries signed a protocol that envisages a medium-term solution of bilateral problems, among them the opening of the border between Turkey and Armenia. Indeed, this rapprochement between

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[42] See Oran, *op. cit.*

[43] Demirel, Muammer: "Türkiye'de Kalan Ermeni Nüfus", *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi,* vol. 62 (July, 2005), p. 34.

[44] *Radikal,* 23 May 2005.

[45] *Sabah,* 16 September 2010.

[46] *Radikal,* 25 December 2009.

two states eased the political atmosphere for the Armenians in Turkey. The Armenian community welcomed the developments. As expected, Turkey's new approach to Armenia, designed mainly by the AKP government, has updated the Armenians' political orientation. The Armenian community, which had aligned with the secular CHP in the past, has now made the AKP its new political address. Left-leaning intellectuals with a tradition of connection with in the Armenian community also played a role in this transformation.[47]

However, it was the shocking assassination of Hrant Dink, a leading Armenian intellectual that changed the structure of the general settings that contain the Armenian-linked issues. Hrant Dink, who wrote for Agos, was killed in 2007. The strong public reaction to the event, including that of the large Turkish masses, was unexpected. The Turkish public strongly denounced the murder of a popular Armenian intellectual. Thousands of Turks bearing 'we are all Armenians' placards appeared at Dink's funeral. The political and social atmosphere created by the funeral unexpectedly paved the way for a new political setting. It can be noted that the murder of Dink became a landmark in the modern history of Turkish-Armenian relations. Political representatives from Yerevan were also present at the funeral. Crowded meetings also protested Dink's murder. The atmosphere that Dink's murder created reminded of the complex historical bonds between the Turks and Armenians, despite the traumatic events in the early 20th century.

Despite their reduced number, the Armenians in Turkey now have unparalleled political and symbolic significance in the power configurations of Turkish politics. To begin with, the Armenian issue gives the AKP government a corridor along which it is comparatively easy to propagate a reformist agenda. Secondly, in the rise of the AKP as a reformist party that promotes pro-Armenian reforms in Turkey, the Armenian connection is symbolically and strategically critical, given the AKP's controversial relationship with religion in the past. Thirdly, the AKP's comparatively liberal agenda regarding the Armenian community helps it maintain a co-operative contact with the Marxist/leftist intellectuals, which is a politically very strategic contact.

9. Conclusion

Identity politics in post-1999 Turkey has two competing axes: the state and various interest-seeking groups. The various religious and ethnic groups find now a suitable political market in which they can imprint their interests on the official decision making process. The liberalisation of the public sphere, due mainly to Turkey's European Union candidature, strengthened the various sub-national identities. In a post-imperial society, such liberalisation is not limited to the Islamic groups or the Armenians. Many other important identities, such as the Alewi, the Roma and Eastern-rite Christians, have also agendas. The government has launched several initiatives (açılım) with regard the Alewi and the Roma, in order to focus on their problems. Indeed, the rise of identity politics in Turkey has produced a centrifugal force that requires the structural transformation of the idea of Turkishness. So far, Turkey has presented itself as a Muslim-Sunni-Turkish-secular nation. With the rise of non-state agents such Islamic groups, Kurds and Armenians, identity politics poses new challenges to one or several parts of this traditional formula. Armenians are not Muslim, Alewis are not Sunni, Kurds are not Turks, and some Islamic groups are not satisfactorily secular. Thus, the critical question is whether Turkey can fabricate a new political profile that can include all the sub-

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[47] Mahçupyan, Etyen: "Ermeni Oyları AKP ve Baskın Oran'a", *ANKA Agency*, 12 July 2008.

national identities. Such an ambitious agenda requires the articulation of a more civic definition of citizenship, which, ironically, suggests an updated Ottomanisation of Turkey.

TRANSNATIONAL ADVOCAY NETWORKS IN PERSPECTIVE: DEMOCRATIZATION, HUMAN RIGHTS AND NGOS IN TURKEY[1]

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Abstract:

In a global world, foreign/international and domestic/national nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) work together on many issues including democratization and human rights. This cooperation is not welcomed by all circles, and even evaluated through conspiracy theories. In the face of such suspicion, the purpose of this study is to examine the cooperation between the foreign and domestic NGOs that work in the realm of democratization and human rights in Turkey. The theoretical framework is provided by the literature on "transnational advocacy networks". Archival research and semi-structured in-depth interviews with the representatives of both foreign and national NGOs are employed as the two main methodological approaches. The findings show that these NGOs share resources such as power, information, experience and money in order to overcome the limitations of their environments.

Keywords: Foreign/international NGOs, domestic/national NGOs, democratization and human rights, "transnational advocacy networks".

Resumen:

En un mundo global, las organizaciones no gubernamentales (ONGs) tanto extranjeras como las propias del ámbito doméstico, cooperan juntas en muchos asuntos, incluidas la democratización y los derechos humanos. Esta cooperación no es bienvenida en muchos círculos, hasta el punto de juzgársela desde teorías de la conspiración. Frente tal suspicacia, el propósito de tal estudio es el de examinar la cooperación entre las ONGs extranjeras y domésticas que trabajan en el ámbito de la democratización y los derechos humanos en Turquía. El marco teórico proviene de la literatura sobre "redes de apoyo transnacional". La investigación en archivos y entrevistas en profundidad semi-estructuradas con los representantes tanto de ONGs extranjeras como nacionales son empleadas como los dos principales acercamientos metodológicos. Los resultados demuestran que tales ONGs comparten recursos tales como poder, información, experiencia y dinero para superar las limitaciones de los ambientes en los que operan.

Palabras clave: ONGs extranjeras y domésticas, democratización y derechos humanos, "redes de apoyo transnacional".

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1. Introduction

According to Freedom House's *Freedom in the World 2008* report, 72 states (around 38 percent) out of 193 independent states are ruled by non-democratic regimes. One result of the lack of democracy is widespread violation of human rights. In the absence of democratic accountability and the rule of law, the governments can get away with gross human rights abuses.[3] Thus, democratization and improvement of human rights is of paramount importance.

Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) take an active part in the struggle for democratization and improving human rights all over the world. They educate people about their democratic rights, scrutinize the actions of governments, and inform the world about human rights violations. In a global world, domestic NGOs derive strength from their cooperation with foreign/international nongovernmental organizations (F/INGOs). Thanks to their connections with F/INGOs, domestic NGOs have access to resources such as money, knowledge and power. Thus, the cooperation between domestic NGOs and F/INGOs is very important for the consolidation of democracy and improving human rights.

However, this is not an easy relationship. The domestic NGOs derive not only strength, but they also draw suspicion from the state and the public opinion due to their connections with F/INGOs. For example, in the recent past, some of the F/INGOs were accused of trying to subvert the regime in Russia by the Putin Government.[4]

Similar accusations were directed towards some F/INGOs in Turkey, which were seen as either directly linked to foreign governments with the purposes of espionage or believed to be the agents of imperialism in general.[5] Their activities were seen as an infiltration to the culture of the host country with the purpose of weakening its resistance towards exploitation. Furthermore, the domestic NGOs that are associating with the F/INGOs are seen by the same circles as bribed and sometimes even labeled as "traitors."

This study attempts to understand this phenomenon through the lense of a social science literature that combines the fields of international relations and comparative politics. More specifically, this study uses the theory of "transnational advocacy networks" to answer such questions as "What is the nature of the relationship between a F/INGO and a domestic/ national NGO?"; "How do these NGOs establish relationships?"; "What are they sharing? Money, knowledge, power?"; "How do these relationships serve the goals of both parties?" We think that the clarification of these issues is important because of the suspicions towards that cooperation in many countries. In this context, the purpose of this study is to analyze the nature of this cooperation within the realm of democratization and human rights in Turkey.

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[3] Puddington, A. (2008): "Freedom in Retreat: Is the Tide Turning? Findings of Freedom in the World 2008", *Freedom House,* at http://www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/fiw08launch/FIW08Overview.pdf.

[4] Volk, Y. S. (2006): *Russia's NGO Law: An Attack on Freedom and Civil Society*, Accessed from http://www.heritage.org/Research/RussiaandEurasia/wm1090.cfm.

[5] Hablemitoğlu, N. (2001): *Alman Vakıfları ve Bergama Dosyası*, İstanbul, Toplumsal Dönüşüm Yayınları; Mütevellioğlu, N. (2006): "Türkiye'de Yönetim Dışı Örgütlerin Demokratikleşmeye Etkisi," *Mülkiye Dergisi*, vol. 30, no. 253, pp. 59-77; Yıldırım, M. (2004): *Sivil Örümceğin Ağında*, İstanbul: Toplumsal Dönüşüm Yayınları.

2. Methodology

The methods used in this study are archival analysis and in-depth, semi-structured interviews with the representatives of both domestic NGOs and F/INGOs. The archival analysis is done by examining the documents published by the NGOs and those presented on the NGO web sites. We limited ourselves to the F/INGOs and domestic NGOs that have activities in the field of democratization and human rights in Turkey.

We confined our research to four F/INGOs in this field and six domestic NGOs that are cooperating with those four F/INGOs. The foreign NGOs that we study are the **Open Society Institute** of the United States **(OSI)**, **Amnesty International (AI)**, **Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAF)** and **Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FEF)** of Germany. We determined the chosen domestic NGOs on the basis of the feedback that we received from the F/INGOs. The domestic NGOs that we chose as cases are **Liberal Düşünce Topluluğu** (*LDT, Association for Liberal Thinking*), **Türk Demokrasi Vakfı** (*TDV, Turkish Democracy Foundation*), **Sosyal Demokrasi Dernegi** (*SDD, Social Democracy Association*), **İnsan Hakları Derneği** (*IHD, Human Rights Association),* **Mazlumder** (*Organization for Human Rights and Solidarity for Oppressed People*), and **İnsan Hakları Gündemi Derneği** (*IHG, Human Rights Agenda Association*). In selecting these NGOs, we paid attention to be fair towards the main ideologies within the democratic system, namely, liberalism, conservatism, and social democracy. It is possible to make a twofold distinction among these NGOs in terms of the nature of the work that they are doing. While some of these NGOs work at a normative level, i.e. aiming at the introduction and consolidation of democracy and human rights, some others operate at a practical level trying to document, prevent, and minimize the violation of human rights principles. Thus, while LDT, TDV and SDD work at the normative level, IHD, Mazlumder, and IHG operate at the practical level. Similarly, among the F/INGOs, while AI works at the practical level, OSI, KAF and FEF work primarily at the normative level.

3. A Theoretical Framework: Transnational Advocay Networks

3. 1. The Boomerang Pattern: Transnational Advocay Networks[6]

A good theory on transnational relations can be found in the work of Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, entitled *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*, (1998). The concept of network forms the core of this theory. Accordingly, the literature on transnational relations, e.g. Rosenau, 1969; Keohane & Nye, 1970; Burton, 1972; Morse, 1976; and Mansbach, Ferguson and Lampert, 1976; Risse-Kappen et. al. 1995, Tarrow 2001; Colas 2002, brings together such various sorts of transnational actors as multinational corporations, the Catholic Church, international scientific organizations, and activist groups. Keck and Sikkink[7] argue that all these forms of transnational relations can be analyzed in

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[6] This literature review part is a shorter version of Bican Şahin, "Conspiracy or Social Change: A Literature Review on Transnational NGO Networks," *Hacettepe University Journal of Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences*, vol.24, no.2 (2006), pp. 257-271.

[7] Keck, M. and K. Sikkink (1998): *Activists Beyond Borders Advocacy Networks in International Politics,* Ithaca, Cornell University Press, pp.29-30.

terms of networks, which can be defined as "… forms of organization characterized by voluntary, reciprocal and horizontal patterns of communication and exchange."[8]

Thus, these transnational networks are categorized in three different groups based on their aims: 1- transnational networks that are motivated by *instrumental goals* such as transnational corporations and banks, 2- transnational networks that are motivated by *shared causal ideas*, such as the groups of scientists, and 3- transnational networks that are motivated by *shared principled ideas or values* (transnational advocacy networks).

To the extent that the last form of transnational networks is motivated not by material gains and/or professionalism, but rather by shared ideas and values, they form a distinct category. Many times, they are not satisfied with policy change in their field of action but seek to reshape the institutional and ideational bases of international interactions.[9] In Keck and Sikkink's words, "[a]dvocacy captures what is unique about these transnational networks -they are organized to promote causes, principled ideas and norms, and often involve individuals advocating policy changes that cannot be easily linked to their 'interests'."

Transnational advocacy networks can be defined expansively or restrictively.[10] When they are defined expansively, they include all relevant actors, who contribute to create some sort of social change in an issue area. In this sense, international and domestic NGOs, local social movements, research and advocacy organizations, foundations, the media, churches, trade unions, consumer organizations, intellectuals, parts of regional and international intergovernmental organizations, parts of the executive and/or parliamentary branches of governments are all among the major actors that form an advocacy network.[11]

When transnational advocacy networks are defined restrictively, the members of a transnational advocacy network are limited to domestic NGOs and F/INGOs.

The most valuable commodity that the NGOs in an advocacy network share is information. They not only share information related to their relevant fields of action, but they also create "frames" through which they interpret that information, and shape the perceptions that pertain to their issue areas.[12] A second resource that the actors in an advocacy network share is funds. In response to the services they provide, the NGOs are funded by foundations in a network. However, services may also be provided to other NGOs in the same advocacy and sometimes other advocacy networks. Finally, personnel exchange is not something uncommon in advocacy networks.[13] Thus connections are important for both sides. This is important for the resource-poor Third World actors because it provides access, knowledge, leverage and many times money. For the actors from the developed world, this cooperation provides them with information and also with the legitimacy in the society of the targeted state.[14]

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[8] Keck, M. and K. Sikkink: "Transnational Advocacy Networks in International and Regional Politics," *International Social Science Journal*, no. 159 (1999), pp. 89-101.

[9] Keck, M. and K. Sikkink, "Activists Beyond Borders…", *op. cit.*, p. 2

[10] Khagram, S. et al. (2002): "From Santiago to Seattle: Transnational Advocacy Groups Restructuring World Politics," in *Restructuring World Politics Transnational Social Movements, Networks, and Norms,* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 3-23.

[11] Keck, M. and K. Sikkink, "Transnational Advocacy Networks…", *op. cit.*, pp. 91-92.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 92

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 92

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 93

As indicated at the outset, connections between F/INGOs and domestic NGOs are not always welcomed. While F/INGOs from the developed world work in an environment that is friendly, for the most part, towards international cooperation, domestic NGOs from the developing world work in an environment that is not always F/INGO-friendly.[15] As Keck and Sikkink put it, "linkages with northern networks require high levels of trust, because arguments justifying intervention on ethical grounds often sound too much like the 'civilizing' discourse of colonial powers, and can work against the goals they espouse by producing a nationalist backlash." [16]

Transnational advocacy networks are most likely to emerge when channels between domestic groups and their governments for resolving conflicts do not exist, or where they exist, they are ineffective in doing that. Thus, such a state of affairs sets into motion what Keck and Sikkink call the 'boomerang' pattern of influence (see Appendix 2). [17]

In their efforts to tame the power of the state, international advocacy networks employ several tactics. Keck and Sikkink categorize those tactics into four groups [18]:

(a) *information politics*, or the ability to move politically usable information quickly and credibly to where it will have the most impact;

(b) *symbolic politics*, or the ability to call upon symbols, actions or stories that make sense of a situation or claim for an audience that is frequently far away . . .;

(c) *leverage politics*, or the ability to call upon powerful actors to affect a situation where weaker members of a network are unlikely to have influence; and

(d) *accountability politics*, or the effort to oblige more powerful actors to act on vaguer policies or principles they formally endorsed.

As indicated above, sharing politically-relevant information is the most precious commodity of these networks. Due to their location, domestic NGOs know first-hand about the violations of rights. Getting this information quickly and spreading it credibilily across the international arena occurs through the linkages that domestic NGOs establish with F/INGOs. F/INGOs may help the process of the dissemination of politically relevant information either directly or indirectly. In the case of indirect contribution, they provide opportunities for domestic NGOs to herald their news[19].

Domestic NGOs and F/INGOs in a network not only share politically usable information, but also frame it in a way that it will make sense to the targeted audience. The information that is presented to the international world is not presented just for the sake of letting the world know about what is going on, but also in order to initiate action to correct

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[15] *Ibid.*, p. 94.

[16] Keck, M. and K. Sikkink, "Transnational Advocacy Networks…", *op. cit.*, p. 94.

[17] *Ibid.*, p.93.

[18] Keck, M. and K. Sikkink, "Activists Beyond Borders…", *op. cit.*, p.16; Keck, M. and K. Sikkink, "Transnational Advocacy Networks…", *op. cit.*, p. 95.

[19] Martens, K.: "Bypassing Obstacles to Access: How NGOs are Taken Piggy-Back to the UN" *Human Rights Review,* vol. 5, no. 3 (April-June 2004), pp. 80-91.

some injustice. Therefore, persuasion is important. One way of effective persuasion is to use symbols and stories. According to Keck and Sikkink[20] many times, not just a single event but juxtaposition of several important events persuades people for action. For example, the juxtaposition of the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile, Vietnam War and Watergate scandal was influential in creating human rights movements in the US.

Another influential strategy in boomerang pattern of influence is *leverage politics*. In this strategy, a weaker actor, say a domestic NGO, uses its linkages to F/INGOs, in order to make a powerful actor, e.g. the USA, EU or the UN, pressure a target state. The aim is to change the behavior of a target state. A good example is provided by what Hawkins[21] has to say about the role of the US Congress against the Pinochet dictatorship.

Accordingly, thanks to the information about human rights abuses in Chile that was provided by the international human rights network, the US Congress sanctioned Chile. These sanctions usually take the form of the suspension of military and financial aid, of the sales of weapons, and of bilateral diplomatic relations.

Finally, *accountability politics* involves the endeavors on the part of the international advocacy networks to pressure the target state to keep its promises regarding the international norms such as human rights and democracy. As Keck and Sikkink [22] suggest, sometimes governments subscribe to international norms just for the sake of diverting attention. However, once they accept these standards even at the level of discourse, transnational advocacy networks can use this opportunity to show the disparity between the discourse and the practice and embarrass the target state in the international arena.

Using these four strategies, either separately or in combination with one another, international advocacy networks try to influence the behavior of the states that do not comply with international norms in the fields such as human rights and democracy. However, in order to achieve the expected results there are some conditions. These conditions can be divided into two groups: (a) issue-related conditions, and (b) actor-related conditions.

As Keck and Sikkink[23] indicate, there are two issue areas around which transnational advocacy networks emerge most effectively.

These are "(1) those involving bodily harm to vulnerable individuals, especially when there is a short and clear causal chain (or story) about who bears responsibility; (2) issues involving *legal* equality of opportunity."[24] In this sense, it is easier to form an effective advocacy network when the subject of the right abuse is torture or disappearance than some other rights abuses such as property rights violations. Furthermore, when the victim of the right abuse is perceived vulnerable and/or innocent, then, the likelihood of having a successful campaign increases. For example, it is easier to campaign around torture of a political prisoner than around torture of a common criminal. Secondly, when there are open-violations of legal equality of opportunity, then, a successful advocacy network is likely to emerge. The

[20] Keck, M. and K. Sikkink, "Activists Beyond Borders…", *op. cit.*, p. 22.
[21] Hawkins, D. (2002): "Human Rights Norms and Networks in Chile," in *Restructuring World Politics Transnational Social Movements, Networks, and Norms*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, p.65.
[22] Keck, M. and K. Sikkink, "Activists Beyond Borders…", *op. cit.*, p. 24.
[23] Keck, M. and K. Sikkink, "Transnational Advocacy Networks…", *op. cit.* , pp. 98-99.
[24] *Ibid.*, p.98.

best example of this phenomenon is provided by the campaign that was waged against the apartheid in South Africa that was lacking the most basic aspects of equality or opportunity.[25]

With regards to actor-related conditions, the first thing that can be said is that "…networks are more effective where they are strong and dense. Network strength and density involve the total number and size of organizations in the network, and the regularity of their exchanges."[26] The second thing that can be said about actors is related not with actors that are in the network but with the actors who are the targets of those networks.

As briefly mentioned above, in order to have any impact on a target state, that state must have accepted international norms, at least at the discourse level. This provides the members of a network with a moral leverage to criticize the state. Secondly, the target state must be caring about its international image. A state that does not care about the opinion of the outside world does not have much incentive for promoting human rights when it is criticized in the international arena. Third, before an international network emerges, there must be some level of freedom in a state so that individuals can organize and communicate with others. Keck and Sikkink imply that a very strong state which does not leave any room for the flourishing of a civil society makes it very hard for an international advocacy network to emerge. Finally, if the target state itself is too powerful, or due to its geographical location, economic power, or natural resources, it is very important for powerful states, then, it is hard for the boomerang pattern of influence to have the expected result.[27]

4. Findings

Although Turkey's experience with democracy and human rights dates back to the late Ottoman Empire period, from the days of the Tanzimat Proclamation in 1839, which initiated the idea of individual rights and freedoms, and the 1876 Constitution that created a Parliament and established the constitutional monarchy, neither democracy nor human rights have since been solidified in Turkey.[28]

In the Republican history (from 1923 on), starting from 1946, Turkey has been experiencing a multi-party democratic system. During that time, the country has experienced three coup d'etats and one "post-modern intervention" in 1997. Most recently, on the 27th of April, 2007, a statement placed on the website of the General Staff is considered as an electronic (e)-intervention.

Especially with regards to Turkey's EU accession endeavor, the country has been going through major reforms. Between 1995 and 2007, there were numerous reforms aiming at deepening democracy and improving human rights. Özbudun provides a detailed account of constitutional changes in the last two decades.[29] After the general evaluation of the reform efforts, including changes in the 1982 constitution, his conclusion is that there are significant

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[25] *Ibid.*, p. 99.
[26] Keck, M. and K. Sikkink, "Activists Beyond Borders…", *op. cit.*, p. 206.
[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 206-208.
[28] Ortaylı, İ. (1979): *Türkiye İdare Tarihi*, Ankara, TODAİE, pp.267-270; 279-287.
[29] Özbudun, E.: "Democratization reforms in Turkey, 1993-2004," *Turkish Studies*, vol. 8, no. 2 (2007), pp. 179-196.

improvements in the overall conditions but there is still much room for development,[30] and swift implementation of the enacted laws is also crucial.

The rest of this section presents the findings of our study in a thematic format. For all the important questions or group of questions that are linked to an important area of finding, we preferred to present the responses in a subsection. Together, these subsections constitute a detailed account of the nature of interaction and cooperation between domestic NGOs and F/INGOs working on human rights and democratization issues in Turkey.

4.1. Cooperation between Networks

One of the objectives of this study is to understand the factors which affect the establishment, maintenance, and termination of cooperation between national and international NGOs, which work in the field of human rights and democratization. The literature suggests that existence of a common ideology, a common-goal, the exchange of monetary and non-monetary resources may all be important factors in explaining cooperative behavior between NGOs. In this section, we list the findings of our study regarding why national and international NGOs cooperate, how they establish and maintain their joint efforts, and under which conditions they terminate their partnerships.

4.1.1. Establishment of Cooperation: Benefits and Costs

There is no absolute uniformity in the answers of the NGO representatives regarding the factors that determine the birth, life and death of cooperative efforts between NGOs. While some cooperations are established based on a common ideological viewpoint; for many others, a common goal is enough, and organizations ideological similarity is somehow of secondary value. It can be argued, however, that a common ideology or a common goal for cooperation is not that different, since most of the time, organizations subscribing to similar ideologies come up with similar goals. For example, it would not be surprising for a national and an international NGO with liberal ideologies to come up with the goal of a "minimal state", independently from each other. The more interesting type of cooperation here is the one that takes place among NGOs with different ideological perspectives. When NGOs with different ideological views come together, it is due to the common goals. However, this kind of cooperation emerges more often between the domestic NGOs and F/INGOs that work at the practical level of our twofold distinction. That is to say, human rights organizations that are operating on the field to prevent human rights violations cooperate more often with one another. In fact, the most concrete evidence of this phenomenon in Turkey is the foundation of IHOP (*İnsan Hakları Ortak Platformu*, The Human Rights Common Platform) that brings both domestic NGOs with different ideologies and F/INGOs together for not a one time, but continuous cooperation.[31] On the other hand, ideological differences among NGOs, which work predominantly at the normative level, limit the establishment of partnerships in this field.

Another factor that determines the establishment of cooperation between national and international NGOs is the length, depth and breadth of the relationship between these

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[30] *Ibid.*, p.195.
[31] IHOP includes several human rights organizations with different ideological backgrounds. This common platform of human rights is made up of leftist (*İnsan Hakları Derneği, Human Rights Association*), conservative (*Mazlumder, Organization for Human Rights and Solidarity for Oppressed People*) and broadly liberal (*İnsan Hakları Gündemi Derneği, Human Rights Agenda Association)* members, as well as Amnesty International.

organizations. When two NGOs cooperate only to share information (i.e. Doing "information politics"), a common ideology between the two is not that important. A common goal may be a good enough bond during the information-sharing activity. A common ideology becomes more important when relations between NGOs gain more depth and breadth. In other words, when the relationship is a relatively short-term, project-based cooperation, presence of a common goal may overshadow the presence or absence of a common ideology. In such cases, unless the gap between two ideologies is too wide, cooperation in order to reach a common goal is possible.

Most cooperation efforts between domestic NGOs and F/INGOs are project-based, but some others are longer-term, contract-based relationships, such as the relation between the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and its domestic partners. Their contracts usually cover a year or so, and they have been continuously renewed almost for the last twenty years. When the relationship is a long-term, contract-based relationship however, a common ideology or a world-view that bonds two NGOs closely is a much more important factor.

Sometimes, common goals are dictated by the public outrage at some shocking events. A major example is the traffic accident in the town of Susurluk on 3 November 1996, which involved a parliamentarian from the then governing True Path Party, a high ranking police officer and a wanted criminal all in the same car, that exposed the level of corruption within the state. Another high-profile example is the 17 August 1999 earthquake, which claimed about 17.000 lives according to official records, which displayed the unpreparedness and incapability of the national government in responding to a disaster at this scale and the corruption of local governments in issuing construction permits. Both of these events created mobilization on the part of the civil society, albeit for a short duration.

Exchange of monetary and non-monetary resources is also an important factor that shapes the initiation and maintenance of cooperation between NGOs. Domestic NGOs in Turkey often lack a sound financial management system that is supported by membership dues and donations. Members of the domestic NGOs in Turkey in general do not pay membership dues regularly, and donations are sporadic at best. That is why exchange of monetary resources is one of the most-needed outcomes of cooperation between national and international NGOs. In addition, while donating money to NGOs furthering democratization and human rights causes can be beneficial to the public image of large corporations in some other countries, this is hardly the case in Turkey. On the contrary, firms would rather refrain from making such donations, or make them anonymously at best.

A major point to emphasize is that, domestic NGOs and F/INGOs are both seekers of funding themselves. In other words, F/INGOs are intermediaries of funding, rather than the actual source of it. Some foreign NGOs are funded by their governments. The German foundations, for example, are funded by the German Ministry of Development. Foreign funding in general and foreign governments' funding of international NGOs in particular creates suspicions with regard to their intentions in Turkey.[32] The Open Society Institute's funding by the Soros Foundation attracts similar fears and suspicions. Therefore, some domestic NGOs categorically reject financial and any other kinds of relations with these

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[32] Ateş, D. and A. Uysal: "Merkez Dışı Ülkelerdeki Ulusötesi Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları: Dış Politika, Finansman ve Meşruiyet," *Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, no. 16 (2006), pp. 63-86, pp.64;72;75; Yıldırım, İ. (2004): *Demokrasi, Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları ve Yönetişim*, Ankara, Seçkin Yayınları, pp. 250, 263-266; Mütevellioğlu, *op. cit.*, pp.61, 67-68.

F/INGOs. However, some others argue that they, as long as they agree on the goals, can cooperate with F/INGOs that are under suspicion by the general public.

Non-monetary resource exchange is also common. For example, domestic NGOs use the social network ties of F/INGOs as they need speakers for their panels. The partners also share information, past experiences in other countries, and expertise. In a way, F/INGOs share their expertise and act as 'teachers of "professionalism" vis-à-vis the domestic NGOs. They become a role-model for national NGOs regarding professional conduct of their businesses in areas such as, grant applications, proposal writing, organization of various events, financial management, and using strategic planning tools.

Finally, some national NGOs gain legitimacy in the international arena by the help of their relationships with F/INGOs. This is especially true for the human rights organizations that operate at the practical level. For example, domestic NGOs gain power in the international area by being visible in international meetings through their partnerships, and they gain legitimacy nationally when they are partners with well-known international human rights organizations. The presence of cooperation with F/INGOs also makes the state institutions think twice before taking action against domestic human rights organizations. Such an increase in legitimacy, recognition and power also compel domestic NGOs to conduct their affairs more meticulously.

4.1.2. Maintenance of Cooperation

Once some kind of common ground such as a common ideology, goal or resource exchange is found, and a collaborative relationship is established between domestic NGOs and F/INGOs, organizations divert their attention to the maintenance of cooperation. Domestic and foreign/international NGOs have slightly different priorities when they act cooperatively.

The domestic NGOs value their independence most vis-à-vis F/INGOs in these relationships. The perception of equality between the partners is a key element in maintaining these relationships. Therefore, any perception of pressure in determining the areas and nature of the joint activity -for example, in the selection of conference speakers or any other experts- or any suspicion of a manipulative behavior from the other partner is most unwelcome. Transparency of the relationship is also a critical factor, especially when the prejudices against some of the international NGOs in Turkey, such as the Open Society Institute or the German NGOs, are taken into consideration. Domestic NGOs need to concentrate on getting concrete results from their cooperative efforts and keep their relationship with the F/INGOs as transparent as possible, in order to overcome the psychological barriers of prejudice.

4.1.3. Ending Cooperation

There are several factors which cause the termination of cooperation between NGOs. First, and obviously, if the common goal is achieved, cooperation is no longer necessary and parties naturally end their cooperative efforts. Second, if one of the partners shows poor performance, after a series of warnings to recover its performance, the other party can put an end to the cooperation. The misuse of funds and non-monetary resources is a third reason to discontinue cooperation.

In addition to the circumstances under which cooperation ends; the processes by which cooperation between NGOs is terminated are important. Most of the relationships between domestic NGOs and F/INGOs are project-based; therefore, there is some kind of

legally-binding contract that puts into writing the rules of the cooperation and mutual expectations. Still, in case of any kind of breach of the contract, NGOs do not usually go to the courts to enforce the contract. Instead, they prefer not to work with the underperforming NGO directly or indirectly again.

4.2. Internalizing Values

When the NGO representatives were asked about the extent to which the Turkish government or society have internalized the values of democracy and human rights, their answers were quite heterogeneous. Many stated that things have been changing for the better for the last few years, exemplified by the enactment of the new Law of Associations in 2004[33], which is a step forward for NGOs. Some others argued that these values are internalized to a great extent, since they have been in circulation for quite a while, since the late Ottoman Empire period. Still others contended that the government pays only lip service to these values, in the expectation of moving along in the process of European Union membership. For example, human rights organizations agree that torture is practiced much less frequently than it used to be, but they argue that the unwillingness to try the torturers at courts and sentence them shows the half-heartedness of the government on this matter. The members of this rather pessimist group argue that the limited reforms are not internalized by the members of the society, the media and the government, and they can easily be reversed if things go wrong in the European Union negotiation process.

Many interviewees agreed with the hypothesis derived from the literature that 'internalizing the values of human rights and democratization even at the level of discourse enable NGOs to push that state for actual compliance'. In this respect, it is not misleading to state that domestic NGOs and F/INGOs in Turkey are employing "accountability politics" as a tactic in their struggle against the state.

4.3. Impact of International Relations on Cooperation

Some domestic NGO and F/INGO representatives think that international developments such as Turkey's European Union membership perspective or its relations with the United States

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[33] The law that governs associations was recently changed in Turkey. The new "Law of Associations", law number 5253, was enacted by the Turkish Parliament on November 4, 2004. Article 1 declares that the activities of foreign associations, and foundations and associations the center of which is outside Turkey, will be governed according to the rules established by this law.

Article 5 of the law, which is about international activities, states that associations may have international activities on their own or in collaboration with other parties in order to achieve the objectives stated in their charters. The same article maintains that foreign associations can function in Turkey alone or in collaboration with other parties, open representative or branch offices, establish an association, or join the activities of the already established organizations with the permission of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which will be briefed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the subject.

Article 10 gives permission to the associations for giving or receiving financial assistance to or from other associations, political parties, trade unions, and professional associations with similar objectives, in order to achieve their objectives stated in their charters.

Article 21, which regulates foreign assistance to associations, states that associations can receive financial or ocular assistance from foreign nationals, organizations and institutions, granted that they give prior declaration of this assistance to the civilian administration. Any financial assistance has to be going through the banking system.

Article 25 regulates the forming of platforms by several associations. Article 32 lists the details of the penalties, in case, rules such as using the banking system in financial transfers, or obtaining the permission of the government for any associational activities are violated.

do not have a significant impact on cooperation. Most of the NGO representatives, whom we interviewed, however, believe that Turkey's pursuit of the European Union membership or the existence and rulings of the European Court of Human Rights are making their life easier, with new possibilities and topics of cooperation emerging continuously. They believe that the European Union perspective also helped to improve the culture of discussion in Turkey. This finding reinforces İhsan Dağı's argument, which states that since 1980s, various human rights and democratization issues in Turkey are regarded as "legitimate areas of international concern," [34] thus legitimizing the cooperation between domestic NGOs and F/INGOs in this field. In this process, Turkey's European Union membership perspective has been very crucial**.** Dağı contends that while the main nexus of the European-Turkish relations were economic matters in the 1960s and 1970s, beginning with the 1980s, international pressures for improving democracy and human rights became the main prerequisites for the normalization of the political and economic relations between Turkey and the European Community, reactivation of the association agreement, and the release of the blocked financial aid. Turkey's application for full membership to the EU in 1987 further moved the country into the sphere of European influence and increased its vulnerability against political pressures.[35] Some pessimist viewers of the European Union integration process, on the other hand, maintain that the reform process related to European Union membership hopes is an easily reversible trend, if things between Turkey and the Union do not proceed as intended.

4.4. Strategies Used by the Cooperating NGOs

The subject of common strategies used by domestic NGOs and F/INGOs can be understood at two different levels: At macro level, common strategies can be seen as having a strategic plan, common, or at least, similar mission and vision statements for the long-run as the sources of coordinated action. At micro level, strategies are the methods used for maximizing the effectiveness and efficiency of joint action. Organizing press releases, or urgent action campaigns together are examples of these micro-level, short-term strategic partnership behavior between NGOs.

Macro level strategic planning is used intensively by some F/INGOs such as the Amnesty International. However, most of the domestic NGOs do not plan strategically as of yet. They can be defined as being 'reactive' to a series of fast-changing daily agendas, rather than planning ahead and being 'proactive'. Strategic planning and coordinated action are urgent needs for domestic NGOs. Emerging NGO platforms/coalitions in the human rights area, such as IHOP (Human Rights Common Platform) and STGM (*Sivil Toplum Gelistirme Merkezi*, Civil Society Development Center) can be venues for coordination and planning for the future. A division of labor seems to be emerging for determining both long-term and short-term strategies. F/INGOs' role is to come up with some models which were used successfully somewhere else. Domestic NGOs' role is to customize these previously-tested models and adjust them to the local needs and conditions of the specific country or region in question.

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[34] Dağı, A. İ. (2001a): "Human Rights, Democratization and the European Community in Turkish Politics: The Özal Years, 1983-1987", *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 37, no. 1 (2001a), p. 17.
[35] *Ibid., Idem*.

4.5. Legal & Social Suspicions, Prejudices and/or Setbacks against Cooperation

With regard to the existence of legal and social prejudices, suspicions and/or setbacks against cooperation between domestic NGOs and F/INGOs, the cup is half full, or half empty, depending on one's perspective. On the one hand, domestic NGOs maintain that the legal problems are largely solved with the new Law of Associations that was enacted in 2004 (mentioned above in detail), and they feel that the prejudices against and/or efforts to prevent cooperation has gone down in recent years. One exception to the decreasing level of legal problems for cooperation is the mismatch between the tax systems of different countries that causes inconveniences for domestic NGOs.

On the other hand, domestic NGOs also accept that there are people, including some of their members, who approach certain F/INGOs with suspicion. Such distrust comes from the not uncommon perception that these F/INGOs use issues such as human rights and democratization as a political tool to weaken the state in question, and continue exploiting it. Accordingly, some representatives of the domestic NGOs cooperating with these F/INGOs can even be labeled as 'traitors' or 'secret agents' of some other countries. NGOs working at the practical level of human rights area seem to be the subject of suspicion and prejudice more often than those working at the normative level. Some human rights NGO executives were even killed or wounded.

These suspicions are fed by popular books, the allegedly biased media coverage and people's lack of detailed information about the cooperative efforts between domestic NGOs and F/INGOs. As an example of these suspicions, some interviewees specifically named the Open Society Institute as an organization they would neither contact, nor get assistance from, under any circumstances. Another example is the suspicion against the German foundations, which peaked a couple of years ago, in 2002, shortly after the assassination of the author of a popular book (Mr. Necip Hablemitoğlu) that documented the alleged subversive activities of these foundations in Turkey.

The main argument the domestic NGOs are making in order to overcome these suspicions and prejudices is that proper use of foreign monetary and non-monetary assistance is much more important than the identity of the donor. In other words, they maintain that the outcome(s) of the cooperation is more important than the source of funding; and as long as the outcome is in the fund-receiving society's benefit, it does not matter who gives the money.

The domestic NGOs' representatives also believe that providing more and detailed information to the public about their cooperation with F/INGOs may act as an antidote for prejudices. Another popular counterargument to the suspicions that domestic NGOs use is that the Turkish government agencies are getting much more monetary assistance, especially from the European Union institutions, than the domestic NGOs do.

5. Conclusion: The Boomerang Effect

The first thing that needs to be emphasized in this conclusion is that this study is limited to the examination of the emergence and interaction of the advocacy networks. This study does not aim at measuring the results of this interaction. In other words, we do not focus on the whole of the boomerang influence pattern which is illustrated by Figure 1 in the Appendix, but only on its section which involves the interaction between domestic and foreign/international

NGOs. We take the influence of domestic NGOs on their own states through the foreign/international NGOs which is shown on the upper part of the figure as given and do not examine it in this study.

Basically, the 'boomerang effect' explains the process of domestic actors, including domestic NGOs, deriving strength from the solidarity that they establish with the F/INGOs. An excellent example of the boomerang effect is the international human rights reports being much more effective on the Turkish government, although the content of these reports often largely come from similar reports of the domestic human rights organizations. In other words, internal dynamics are effective to the extent that they can trigger external dynamics/ pressures.

The boomerang effect can be observed more strongly and more often during the cooperation of NGOs that are active at the practical level than those active at the normative level. There are two explanations for this finding, based on the literature about transnational advocacy networks. One factor that may explain the occurrence of the boomerang effect at the practical level of human rights area more vividly than the normative level is that, human rights networks are on average denser and stronger at the practical level than those found at the normative level in Turkey. In addition, widely agreed-upon and concrete basic and universal principles of human rights enable the networked NGOs to overcome ideological differences between them. However, ideological differences among the NGOs that are working at the normative level create obstacles in front of cooperation. These NGOs attribute different meanings to concepts such as democracy and human rights, which in turn disable them from establishing a dense and strong network.

Second, sanctions against the human rights violations in Turkey happen quicker, they are more concrete (e.g. a European Court of Human Rights ruling), and stronger (e.g. a heavy monetary fine) than those at the normative level. In other words, if the European Court of Human Rights finds a country guilty of violating some kind of human rights, the country has a lot to loose in terms of material compensation and/or the credibility of its acceptance of the principles of universal human rights. The sanctions against the state's rhetoric or actions against further democratization and improvement of human rights norms, on the other hand, are less swift, and relatively long-term. This is to say that the boomerang effect in regard to a human rights violations (e.g. protests of other states through their consulates or international organizations) has a stronger impact faster, as opposed to the boomerang effect concerning a problem in further democratization (e.g. any kind of slow-down or setback in Turkey's accession process with the European Union), which may be also a strong sanction, but is effective in a much longer period.

Appendix 1

Table 1: Basic Information about F/INGOs

NGO TITLE	YEAR OF ESTABLISHMENT	BASE COUNTRY	ACTIVITY	FIRST YEAR OF ACTIVITY IN TURKEY	COOPERATING DOMESTIC NGOS*	AREAS OF COOPERATION
Friedrich Ebert Stiftung	1925	Germany	More than 120 Countries Worldwide	1988 (İstanbul) 1996 (Ankara)	SODEV (Sosyal Demokrasi Vakfı, Social Democracy Foundation), TÜSES (Türkiye Sosyal, Ekonomik, Siyasal Araştırmalar Vakfı, Social, Economic and Political Research Foundation of Turkey), DDD (Demokratik Değişim Derneği, Democratic Change Association),	Promotion of social democracy, preparation of solutions to important common public policy problems

					TESEV (Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı, Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation), SDD (Sosyal Demokrasi Derneği, Social Democracy Association)	
Konrad Adenauer Stiftung	1956	Germany	More than 120 Countries Worldwide	Long-time partnerships, beginning in 1987	TDV (Türk Demokrasi Vakfı, Turkish Democracy Foundation), TGC (Türkiye Gazeteciler Cemiyeti, Turkish Jounalists Association), TÖSYÖV (Türkiye Küçük ve Orta Ölçekli İşletmeler, Serbest Meslek Mensupları ve Yöneticileri Vakfı, Turkish Small and Medium Size Economic Enterprise Owners, Self-Employed and Executives Foundation), TBB (Türkiye Belediyeler Birliği, Municipalities Association of Turkey)	Democratization, Strengthening local governments, Promoting economic development via small and medium size economic enterprises, Government reform
Amnesty International	1961	N.A., it is a worldwide movement	More than 150 Countries Worldwide	2002	I-HOP (The Joint Platform for Human Rights), İnsan Hakları Derneği (Human Rights Association), İnsan Hakları Vakfı (Human Rights Foundation), Mazlumder (Organization for Human Rights and Solidarity for Opressed People), İnsan Hakları Gündemi Dernegi (Human Rights Agenda Association), Other issue-based partners such as women's or children's associations	Promotion of human rights internationally, freedom of conscience and expression, and freedom from discrimination
Open Society Institute	1993	United States	Almost 60 Countries Worldwide	2001	Liberal Düşünce Derneği (Association for Liberal Thinking), Helsinki Citizens' Association, KAGIDER (Kadın Girişimciler Derneği, Association of Woman Entrepreneurs), Tarih Vakfı (The Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey), TESEV (Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı, Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation), etc.	Promoting open society, supporting reforms in legal, social and economic areas such as education, media, public health, human rights, women rights, etc.

* Relevant partners in the area of democratization and human rights; thus the list is not all-inclusive.
Source: NGO websites and data gathered from interviews with NGO representatives.

Table 2: Basic Information about Domestic NGOs

NGO TITLE	YEAR OF ESTABLISHMENT	AREAS OF ACTIVITY	NUMBER OF BRANCHES & MEMBERS	COOPERATING F/INGOS*	COOPERATING DOMESTIC NGOS*	AREAS OF COOPERATION
Mazlumder (Organization for Human Rights and Solidarity for Opressed People)	1991	Promoting human rights	21 Branches	Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Denmark Human Rights Institute, Netherlands Helsinki Citizens' Association	IHD, Human Rights Foundation (TIHV), IHOP	Promotion of human rights
Insan Hakları Derneği (IHD, Human Rights Association)	1986	Promoting human rights	34 Branches, 15,000 members	Amnesty International, FIDH (International Federation of Human Rights), Euro-Med, Doctors/ Lawyers Beyond Borders (Sınır Tanımayan Doktorlar/ Avukatlar)	Many national NGOs depending on the subject of cooperation	Promotion of human rights
Insan Hakları Gündemi Dernegi, (Human Rights Agenda Association)	2003	Promoting human rights	25 members, but it is not a member-based organization.	Amnesty International, Open Society Foundation, National Endowment for Democracy, European Union Organizations	Helsinki Citizens' Association, Mazlumder, IHD, TIHV	Promotion of human rights
Liberal Düşünce Topluluğu (LDT, Association for Liberal Thinking)	1994	Promoting human rights along with liberal thinking	LDT is an intellectual movement	Frederich Neumann Foundation, Open Society Institute, Amnesty International, European Union Commission Delegation in Turkey, many international organizations with a liberal worldview	Many national NGOs depending on the subject of cooperation	Promotion of democracy, liberal thinking

| Sosyal Demokrasi Derneği (Social Democracy Association) | 1998 | Promotion of social democracy | 12 Branches, 2,000- 2,500 members | Friedrich Ebert Foundation | Cooperation plans with SODEV (Sosyal Demokrasi Vakfı, Social Democracy Foundation), TÜSES (Türkiye Sosyal, Ekonomik, Siyasal Araştırmalar Vakfı, Social, Economic and Political Research Foundation of Turkey), DDD (Demokratik Değişim Derneği, Democratic Change Association | Promotion of social democracy |
| Türk Demokrasi Vakfı (Turkish Democracy Foundation) | 1987 | Democracy, Human Rights | N.A. since it is a foundation, not an association | Konrad Adenauer Foundation, National Endowment for Democracy, National Democratic Institute, International Republican Institute, European Union Commission Delegation in Turkey | Many national NGOs depending on the subject of cooperation | Promotion of democracy and human rights, |

* Relevant partners in the areas of democratization and human rights; thus the list is not all-inclusive.
Source: NGO websites and data gathered from interviews with NGO representatives.

Appendix 2: Figure 1, Boomerang Pattern
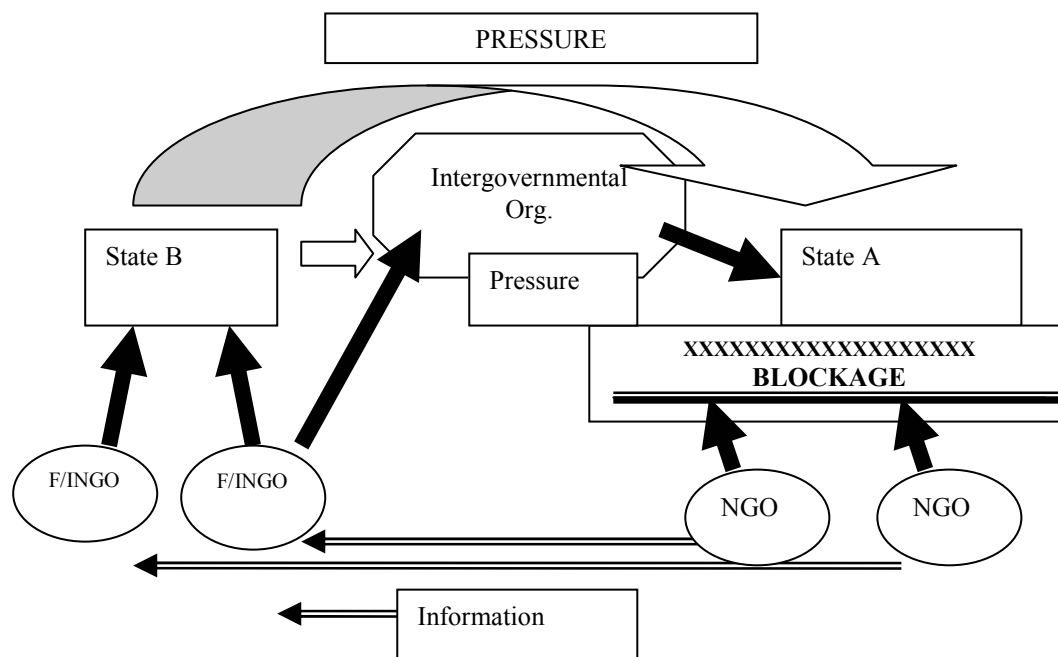
Source: Taken and redrawn with a slight revision from Keck and Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*, *op. cit.*, p. 13

FROM "STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP" TO "MODEL PARTNERSHIP": AKP, TURKISH – US RELATIONS AND THE PROSPECTS UNDER OBAMA

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Abstract:

This article aims at analyzing Turkish-US relations from a strategic perspective. It underlines firstly, the elements of continuation in US foreign policy under the Presidents Clinton, Bush Jr. and Obama. Secondly it looks at the "change" in Turkish foreign policy under the AKP since 2002. It sees the Iraqi War as a turning point in the demise of the strategic partnership. The developments in its aftermath can be considered as a path to the formation of what would be named by Obama as a "Model Partnership". It contends that the prevailing determinants of relations stem in the US case from security concerns, while for the AKP it serves its policy of omnibalancing. The article questions the content of the "Model Partnership", as well as the risks facing the sustainability and context of Turkish-US relations, which have traditionally been a cornerstone of Turkish foreign policy, amidst Turkey's domestic debates, regional dynamics and the challenges facing Obama administration.

Keywords: US, Turkey, AKP, Obama, Turkish foreign policy, Turkish-American Relations, Strategic Partnership, Model, Partnership, omnibalancing.

Resumen:

Este artículo analiza las relaciones Turquía-EEUU desde una perspectiva estratégica. Destaca primero, los elementos de continuidad en la política exterior de los EEUU bajo los presidentes Clinton, Bush hijo y Obama. A continuación considera el "cambio" en la política exterior turca bajo el AKP desde el 2002. Ve la guerra de Irak como un punto de inflexión en el fin de la asociación estratégica, mientras que los desarrollos ulteriores representarían la vía hacia la formación de lo que Obama denominaría como una "Asociación Modelo". Se sostiene que los factores más determinantes de la relación proceden por parte de los EEUU de una preocupación por asuntos de seguridad, mientras que para el AKP, sirven a su política de "equilibrio múltiple". El artículo cuestiona el contenido de la "Asociación Modelo", así como los riesgos a que se enfrentan la sostenibilidad y el contexto de las relaciones Turquía-EEUU, que han sido tradicionalmente una pieza básica de la política exterior turca, en medio de los debates domésticos de Turquía, las dinámicas regionales y los desafíos a la Administración Obama.

Palabras clave: EEUU, Turquía, AKP, Obama, política exterior turca, relaciones turco-americanas, asociación estratégica, asociación modelo, equilibrio múltiple.

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1. Introduction

When on 20 January 2009 Barrack H. Obama swore as the 44th President of the United States of America, *Obamaphoria* that has been sweeping the streets of the globe, perhaps more than it was sweeping the streets of US, has already reached to a level of Utopia –*Obamatopia* for some. It was perhaps best represented by the headline of the Croatian newspaper *Slobodna Dalmacija* that called the 'new America' of Obama as *Obamerika*.[2] Behind the lexicon lied the hopes of the world beyond the United States that was full of expectations from an Obama Presidency. After two terms of George W. Bush Presidency, which was for many characterized by war, unilateralism, a self-righteous attitude and even arrogance, and marked by the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, and an evangelical rhetoric; an undeniable amount of people was quite positive of the "change" Obama asked American people to believe. There was hope for the return of a responsible and respectful US to the international arena that was aware of the need for, and willing to apply, self constraint.

Obama has represented an opportunity for the US and the rest of the world to make it up. The identity of the new President, his roots, his semi-Muslim family, the diversity that he has been brought up with, his continuous emphasis on the change he promised to bring was like a long awaited fresh breathe that the international society was waiting for. The situation was the same in Turkey. Obama was a heartily welcomed opportunity for many pundits from all ends of the political spectrum. On the date of 4 November 2008 when Obama was elected the Turkish newspapers were 'hailing the chief' with much enthusiasm and saluting him as the embodiment of the "American dream".[3] Cengiz Çandar, a journalist with a long record of tracking US-Turkish relations said before the elections that "from whichever angle you approach the matter Obama's election would be good"[4], was avowing after Obama's election victory as "the victory night of humanity".[5] In his article in *Zaman*, the prominent pro-government daily, with close ties to the Gülen movement which enjoys close links to the ruling Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi – AKP* in Turkish), Hüseyin Gülerce was writing that "thanks to Obama the world is renewing the credit it has given to America". Gülerce was also expressing the expectation that "the black man in the White House may turn the face of America and the world to white".[6] On the pages of mainstream *Hürriyet*, the newspaper with the largest circulation figures in the country, Cüneyt Ülsever was enthusiastically congratulating the American people for "giving a lesson to all of us with their decision [to elect Obama]"[7] while the influential chief editor of the said newspaper, Ertuğrul Özkök, was praising America as "the land of dreamers who are also capable of making the dream come true".[8] Soli Özel of *Sabah* called the election of Obama as a "hope for the possibility, not only America, but the entire world to be a better place".[9] As such, Obama represented genuine hope to mend the tarnished Turkish – American relations. All the euphoria that was reflected on the pages of the Turkish, and for that matter

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[2] For the Obama lexicon surrounding the election campaign and beyond see, "Barackisms: From Obamaphoria to Bamelot", *The Daily Telegraph*, 7 November 2008.

[3] "Amerikan Rüyası: Bir siyah milyonların oyuyla Başkan seçildi" [American Dream: A Blackman has been choosen the President receiving the votes of millions], *Radikal*, 6 November 2008, Aslan, Ali H.: "Amerika 'değişimi' seçti" [America choose change], *Zaman*, 6 November 2008,

[4] Çandar, Cengiz: "Ya Obama, ya Irkçı Mucize" [Either Obama, or racist miracle], *Referans*, 4 November 2008.

[5] Çandar, Cengiz: "Yes, we can: İnsanlığın zafer gecesi!" [Yes, we can: Humanities night of victory] *Radikal*, 6 November 2008.

[6] Gülerce, Hüseyin: "Obama: Kader noktasında bir siyah başkan" [Obama: A Black President at a critical juncture], *Zaman*, 6 November 2008.

[7] Ülsever, Cüneyt: "Amerikan Seçimleri (III)" [American Elections [III], *Hürriyet*, 6 November 2008

[8] Özkök, Ertuğrul: "Bir Kürtü seçer miydiniz" [Would you have voted for a Kurd], *Hürriyet*, 6 November 2008.

[9] Özel, Soli: "Siyah derili Başkan" [Black skinned President], *Sabah*, 6 November 2008.

international press, seems to be all the more justified when one thinks of Obama's own words in his pre-presidential book *The Audacity of Hope*. After all, in the chapter outlining the contours of his foreign policy approach Obama has been referring to "legitimate aspirations of other peoples" or expressing that *at least some* US policies has served to nothing but undermining the credibility of America and "…made for a more dangerous world".[10] This was an undeniable difference in tone compared to the rhetoric of Bush years marked with the self-righteousness, reaching to the level of arrogance at times, characterizing the messages of Washington. What is more, Obama also seemed to have a strong understanding of the fundamental change that the world politics has gone after 9/11. In other words, as far as the foreign policy of the United States was concerned he seemed not to be trapped in the parameters and arguments of the Clinton years.[11] He was underlining that the optimism about "…once the Cold War ended that Big Macs and the Internet would lead to the end of historical conflicts," was wrong and, there should be a realization, "…that in the short term, at least, democratization might lay bare, rather than alleviate, ethnic hatreds and religious divisions –and that the wonders of globalization might also facilitate economic volatility, the spread of pandemics, and terrorism".[12]

As such, Obama has given hope to the world that he not only was going to change the atmospherics of the Bush years but bring about a thorough understanding of the challenges of our time and genuine multilateralism. It seemed that he was also straightforward. When talking about what US foreign policy should look like he was referring to Wilson, Roosevelt and Truman, all of whom were leaders who have emerged as order builders through ideals or multilateral mechanisms. He wrote: "Without a well-articulated strategy that the public supports and the world understands, America will lack the legitimacy – and ultimately the power – it needs…. We need a revised foreign policy framework that matches the boldness and scope of Truman's post-World War II policies, one that addresses both the challenges and the opportunities of a new millennium, one that guides our use of force and expresses our deepest ideals and commitments". He continued, "I don't presume to have this grand strategy in my hip pocket".[13] Whether or not he has it now as the President of what still is the strongest nation on earth in almost all aspects of military might, political influence and, despite all, economic size, is a question whose answer is important for all humanity as well as for the Turkish- American relations *per se*. There are also other questions that are more directly linked to the fate of the said relations which are central to the subject of this paper, like: when it comes to issues pertaining to foreign policy decision-making, especially on priorities and interests determining the outcomes of such a decision-making process, is there really a difference between the Presidents of the US, especially that of Clinton, Bush and Obama? How much really has changed in Turkish-American relations since Barack Obama has assumed the Presidency? What is the JDP governments' understanding of Turkish foreign policy and the positioning of the relations with the US within its context? What are the elements of continuity and change, as well as divergence and convergence, in the bilateral relations of the two countries? Perhaps most importantly, what are the prospects and risks lying ahead? These are the questions on which the rest of this study will focus.

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[10] Obama, Barack H., (2008): "The World Beyond Our Borders" in *The Audacity of Hope: Thoughts on Reclaiming the American Dream*, New York, Vintage Books, p. 331.
[11] After summing up briefly, at the time widely shared, expectations on what American foreign policy was expected to look like, Obama concludes the paragraph with a clear expression of the change 9/11 brought. Obama, *Op. cit.,* pp. 342 – 343.
[12] *Ibid.,* p. 330.
[13] *Ibid.* pp. 357 – 358.

2. Obama: "the Change" in US Foreign Policy

Unlike George W. Bush, Barack Obama's presidency was born amidst what was arguably one of the most heated debates on US foreign policy since the war in Vietnam. Unlike Obama, Bush Jr. had been fortunate enough to inherit a presidential agenda that was not infested all over with an array of foreign policy urgencies. Despite the controversies surrounding his Presidency at home, including a process that could have ended in his impeachment, Bill Clinton was a popular US President abroad. Even though it was criticized as "soft-headed multilateralism"[14] by its critics from the neo-conservative circles, Clinton's overall policy of consensus building with the international institutions and multilateral mechanisms was generally appreciated by the international public opinion. His decisions of using force in the Balkans in 1995 and, back again in 1999, Haiti in 1994, Sudan and Afghanistan in 1998 and even in Somalia in 1993, were not much contested by the international public opinion, if not welcomed. His promotion of peace in the Middle East, Northern Ireland and in the former Yugoslavia as well as his handling at the time of the North Korean nuclear ambitions through a negotiated settlement, seemingly convincing Pyongyang to postpone its nuclear arms program, was over all appreciated by the international society. He also reached crucial disarmament agreements with former states of the Soviet Union; Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan on their ex-Soviet nuclear arsenals. He was after all the President who restored US diplomatic relations with Vietnam in 1995 and visited the country in the year 2000.[15] As he left the office, despite the impeachment episode tainting his presidency, Clinton became the second most popular American president with a 66 percent approval rating.[16]

Bush Jr., as he was running for the presidency against Vice-President Al Gore, didn't show much enthusiasm to debate foreign policy issues. That can be said to be in part because of the above mentioned Clinton score as well as his self-admitted inexperience in foreign policy issues. During the race between Gore and Bush Jr., issues of foreign policy seemed not to be Bush's selling point.[17]

However in his major campaign speech on foreign policy there were clues of how he would approach international affairs. On a bilateral level, there was no doubt as to the countries Bush gave prominence: China and Russia. It can be said that, during this period US foreign policy priorities were dominated mainly by issues of globalization and worries on containment - this time focused not on territory but of nuclear capabilities.[18] However, it seemed, both the issues concerning globalization and nuclear proliferation were more or less

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[14] Kagan, Robert and Kristol, William: "A Distictly American Internationalism", *The Weekly Standard,* vol.5, no. 11 (November, 29, 1999), p. 7.

[15] For an assessment of Bill Clinton's foreign policy see Sale, Richard (2009): *Clinton's Secret Wars: The Evolution of a Commander in Chief*, New York, Thomas Dunne Books.

[16] Saad, Lydia, "Bush Presidency Closes with 34% Approval, 61% Disapproval", *Gallup* (January 14, 2009), at http://www.gallup.com/poll/113770/Bush-Presidency-Closes-34-Approval-61-Disapproval.aspx.
"Franklin D. Roosevelt had the highest rating with 72 % approval as he has passed away ", Job Performance Ratings for President Roosevelt; Start:08/04/1937 End:12/01/1944", *Roper Center Public Opinion Archives*, at http://webapps.ropercenter.uconn.edu/CFIDE/roper/presidential /webroot/ presidential _rating_ detail.cfm?allRate= True&presidentName=Roosevelt.

[17] Concerning foreign policy Bush reportedly said of himself; "I'm smart enough to know what I don't know." Woodruf, Judy and Morton, Bruce: "Bush Lacks Gore's Foreign Policy Expertise", *CNN.com,* 24 June 1999 at http://edition.cnn.com/ALLPOLITICS/stories/1999/06/24/president.2000/foreign.policy/.

[18] In his speech Bush referred to China directly 21 times in 14 paragraphs and Russia 20 times in 11 paragraphs. In contrast Pakistan was cited once, Europe was brought up five times –Eurasia 6- and Turkey was not mentioned at all. Bush, George W., "A Distinctly American Internationalism", Reagan Library, California, 19 November 1999 at http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/bush/wspeech.htm.

going in line with the interests of the United States. One can confidently comment that as he took office there were no pressing, "clear and present danger" intensity issues before President Bush that actually allowed him the luxury of addressing foreign policy issues with broad tautologies like"the world we live in is still a world of terror and missiles and madmen. And we're challenged by aging weapons and failing intelligence,"[19] without having to worry much about the toll it may take.

On the other hand Obama inherited a very different legacy. Issues of foreign policy were at the top of the agenda during the presidential campaign of 2008. At least, mainly because of the looming effect of the war in Iraq,[20] there was somehow unprecedented focus on the question of whether or not foreign policy would be a major defining factor on election victory.[21] What is more, apart from the direct effects of foreign policy, which was a subject Republican candidate John Mc Cain seemed stronger in relation to Obama according to the polls carried out in the US,[22] on the outcome of elections, in an unparalleled manner, the world public opinion was interested in the outcome of the Presidential race and had a personal preference for Obama.[23] At the time it was almost truism to say that, "the next president face[d] a bewildering array of foreign policy challenges".[24]

However, the main question remains, what was the real difference in the expressed perception on the priorities of US foreign policy between Obama and Bush? In search for an answer to that question, one has to be able to compare the approach of Bush Jr. with that of Obama when it comes to their respective understanding of the US foreign policy priorities, and principles guiding them. For doing that we may compare and contrast two texts. In Bush's case the Reagan Library Speech that was quoted earlier may provide an adequate text. For Obama, reflecting the *zeitgeist* mentioned earlier, there is a relative abundance of material three of which will be referred to: his speech on foreign policy delivered at Chicago's DePaul University in October 2007, his article that appeared in the *Foreign Affairs* magazine as part of the Campaign 2008 series in July/August 2007 issue and excerpts from his book *The Audacity of Hope*.

Wrapped up within the black *vs.* white, good *vs.* evil rhetoric, that will later become characteristic of the Bush Jr. years, Bush underlines his priorities as: Providing for security of

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[19] Woodruf and Morton, *op. cit.*

[20] Iraq was topping the "Most important issues" list of the voters with 42% and 43% in the categories of National Adults and Registered Voters respectively in a Gallup Poll. "Election 2008 Topics and Trends", *Gallup.com* at http://www.gallup.com/poll/17785/Election-2008.aspx#7.

[21] This was more the case before the housing crisis followed by global financial crisis hit the American voters. For an illuminating discussion on the topic see, "The Impact of Foreign Policy in the 2008 Election" [Rush Transcript; Federal News Service], January 31, 2008, at
http://www.cfr.org/publication/15396/impact_of_foreign_policy_in_the_2008_election_rush_transcript_federal_news_service.html.

[22] "Election 2008 Topics…", *op. cit*, at http://www.gallup.com/poll/17785/Election-2008.aspx. Even Hillary Clinton, then to become Obama's Secretary of State, was *warning* the American public on Obama's inexperience as they were running for the Democratic ticket saying "We have seen the tragic result of having a president who had neither the experience nor the wisdom to manage our foreign policy and safeguard our national security," Helman, Scot: "Clinton: Be wary of Obama on foreign affairs", *Boston Globe*, February 26, 2008. However, this remark, and many other polemics regarding foreign policy that took place during inter and intra candidate debates, can also be seen as yet another evidence of the prominence of foreign policy during the campaign.

[23] That ratio was "at least 2 to 1" in favor of Obama in the "key Middle East countries", including Turkey where 22% of the respondents said they would have voted for Obama is just 8% for McCain. Fakhreddin, Hihad: "Obama Favored in Key Muslim Countries, *Gallup.com*, October 21, 2008, at http://www.gallup.com/poll/111235/Obama-Favored-Key-Muslim-Countries.aspx.

[24] "The Impact of Foreign…", *op. cit.*

the US citizens and homeland; fight against terrorism; non-proliferation; securing nuclear arsenal to stop the risk of smuggling of nuclear material and weapons, nuclear disarmament especially *of* Russia; modernization and reorganization of American military; fight against weapons of mass destruction (WMD); respect for cultural and political diversity in, and even for regime preferences of, foreign countries! He continuously underlined the exceptional "purpose", "destiny" and position of the US as "a peaceful power" and idealizes what he contends as 'American' values and ideals (democracy, political freedom, free markets, free trade). He warns against "isolationism" and "protectionism" that forms the basis of a "temptation" of "withdrawal" and calls for determination to show "leadership" and not get "drifted" away by the events. Bush argues that the U.S should seek ways of prolonging its dominant position as this will be done by expanding the sphere of "democratic peace" hence, categorically benign. He calls for being ready to flux the military muscle when necessary as well as underlining the importance of public diplomacy efforts. Bush also talks about multilateral institutions and emphasizes the importance of developing alliances while actively supporting the existing ones -especially North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) but also bilateral ones. When it comes to diplomacy, Bush says, he is for the continuation of the peace process in the Middle East.[25]

During his 2008 campaign Obama's approach can't be said to be much different from pre-presidency George W. Bush.[26] There was fierce criticism of Bush policies, especially in Iraq, to be sure and almost no mention of China. However, apart from issues of terrorism which has a natural dominance for the obvious reasons, similar subjects like the need for American leadership, prioritization of the security of the US citizens and homeland; a readiness to use military force when necessary; nuclear proliferation; smuggling of nuclear material and weapons; WMDs; modernization, "revitalization" of American military; nuclear disarmament –though with the much more assertive target of seeking a "world in which there are no nuclear weapons". He also underlines the exceptional position of the US amongst the historical major world powers as "a light of justice" that is "called to provide visionary leadership". He also warns against isolationism and underlines the opportunity to extend the duration of US's dominant status in the power hierarchy of the international system. Obama also declares public diplomacy to be an effective and necessary tool and pledges to restore US's image. However, understandably, his main concern is the Islamic world, not Russia. He commits himself to the renewal of existing alliances, first and foremost NATO – and building new ones – and also to the continuation of the Middle East peace process. He also underlines the need for upholding the American values of justice, free trade, democracy, decency. Obama does underline respect for the cultures and political preferences of "the world beyond [United States'] borders" and promises for a world where the US will do everything to secure that the peoples of other nations will make these preferences "free of fear".[27]

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[25] Bush, "A Strictly American…", *op. cit.*

[26] For the texts analyzed here see; Obama; "The World…", *op. cit.*, Obama, Barack: "Renewing American Leadership", *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 86, no 4, (July /August 2007), pp. 2 – 16. Obama, Barack:"Barack Obama's Foreign Policy Speech", Council of Foreign Relations, *Essential Documents*, October 2, 2007 at http://www.cfr.org/%20publication/14356.

[27] It should be noted that the idea of "American exceptionalism", that is, "United States as a special case "outside" the normal patterns and laws of history" is the source of a deeply rooted rhetorical theme in the US domestic –intra-continental- and foreign politics. Tyrrel, Ian: "American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History", *The American Historical Review*, vol. 96, no. 4 (Oct., 1991), pp. 1031-1055. (Emphasis in the original.) It is almost always –though not openly mentioned- a very strong theme referred to in political discussions. It is clearly traceable along the discourses of both Presidents Bush and Obama. See also Lipset, Seymour Martin (1996): *American Exceptionalism: A double Edged Sword*, New York, W. W. Norton & Company, pp. 31 – 32. Together with the understanding of "Manifest Destiny" that the US, as dictated by

There are of course certain differences between the two Presidents. Most importantly that Obama is not a rejectionist of dialogue. Obama is "willing to talk to all nations, friend and foe", and shows an un-Bush sympathy for environmental issues. There is an undeniable variation in the list of referred countries, and also Obama puts heavy emphasis on issues of Iraq, Al-Qaeda and terrorism. This should be regarded as normal and reflective of the legacies that both Presidents inherit -Bush from Clinton and Obama from Bush. The differences, as much as they exist, between the Bush and Obama approaches seem to be of style rather than of content. Preferences on mechanisms are ordered differently but, the desired outcomes are quiet similar - even in tone at times.

Actually, as Zinn's argues Bush clearly was not "a dramatic departure" in terms of foreign policy.[28] Obama's public diplomacy strategies, as well as his tone and preferred style of establishing dialogue with other countries might be regarded as different. Nevertheless as of the time of writing there is no clear cut evidence that he does represent a "dramatic departure" in content and strategic aims neither from Bush nor from Clinton. Moreover one of his close aides resembled Obama to George H. W. Bush, the father. Meant obviously as a compliment this 'back to the future'comment, even though it might be positive for the US for the advancement of "American interest" obviously does not necessarily mean a structural positive development for other countries in the system. In that form, an Obama "touch" would not ease the distress on foreign policies of other nations for any categorical reason or lift international tensions by taking third party interests into considerations.[29] Indeed, as Stephen M. Walt says, "Obama has little choice but to be "cold-blooded" about advancing US interests", given the situation of the American and world economy and "two ruinous wars, and an America whose international image had been tarnished". Charles Kupchan labels him as a "consummate pragmatist".[30] When relied upon, none of these comments, all coming from veteran observers of American foreign policy are in themselves harbingers of a foreign policy that is coercion free or excludes unilateralism. Taking into account in retrospect what has been said and done by earlier Presidents – most recent of which is Bush's initial foreign policy framework as displayed in the Reagan Library speech and the events following 9/11 and Bush foreign policy- it is hard not to be as "cynical" as Gideon Rose, when he commented that "you can't really trust the vast majority of things that politicians say during

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"providence", should expand, first to the West of the North American continent, but which then transformed into an idea that the US had a destiny to consecrate other countries with American values, more or less along the lines exemplified in both Bush and -although with a difference of tone- Obama. For the idea of "manifest destiny" see, Merk, Frederick (1996): *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History: A Reinterpretation*, Boston, Harvard University Press; Mead, Walter Russell (1987): *Mortal Splendor, American Empire in Transition*, Boston, Hughton Mifflin Co., and Also, Zinn, Howard: "The Myth of American Exceptionalism", Myths About America Lecture, MIT, March 14, 2005, at http://mitworld.mit.edu/video/258, and Luce, Henry R.: "The American Century", *Diplomatic History*, vol. 23, no. 2 (1999), pp. 159 – 171 (exact copy, originally published in *Life* February 17, 1941).

[28] Zinn, "The Myth of…" For through discussions of the subject and its reflections on foreign policy see Mead, *op. cit.*

[29] That is a comparison done by the White House Chief of Staff Rahm Emanuel. Emanuel said, " If you had to put him in a category, he' s probably more realpolitik, like Bush 41…He knows that personal relationships are important, but you' ve got to be cold-blooded about the self-interests of your nation. " Baker, Peter: " Obama Puts His Mark on Foreign Policy Issues" , *The New York Times*, April 23, 2010. For a more comprehensive discussion on that debate see " George H. W. Obama?" , *Foreign Policy*, April 14, 2010 at
http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/04/14/george_hw_obama?page=0,0.

[30] "George H. W….", *op.cit.*

the campaign, or rather those things that they say don't necessarily bear any relation to the actual policies they would put in place".[31]

We have to mention here that the tendencies of continuity in US foreign policy are much stronger today than elements of change -as was the case in the past two decades if not longer. One could have tracked the notion of unilateralism even in the Clinton administrations' approach to foreign policy crisis. In its National Security Strategy document of 1999, Clinton, the paradoxically 'hailed and damned' champion of multilateralism, has underlined his readiness for unilateral action on four different places.[32] Multilateralism was referred to as a pragmatic approach, an instrumentally reasonable way of handling the issues, because it "offer[ed] a comparative advantage [as] it [was] more cost effective than unilateral" action.[33] Obama too does refer to unilateral action as a "starting premise".[34] When speaking about multilateralism, he seems to base it's preferableness to the sense that it makes on pragmatic terms rather than a principled concern on legitimacy.[35] In the light of the words of Obama, and actions and declarations in the case of Clinton and Bush Jr., there is ample reason to comment that there is much element of continuity and commonality in the approaches of all three presidents when it comes to their perceptions of the dynamics of the international system, the position of the US in the world, the purpose of US and its foreign policy. The differences between the Presidents seem to be conveniently understandable and almost reducible to the structure of the system and nature, context and conditions of the specific incidents. In that form it is perfectly possible to make sense of all variations on pragmatic terms, rather than in targets and aims of US foreign policy under this or that President. This is not to say the Presidents' approaches are identical, free of a personal touch that affects the decision on priorities or choices on ways and means.[36] However, it clearly means that neither Obama, nor his personality is in itself reason enough for a fundamental "change" of goals and aims for the US foreign policy.

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[31] "The Impact of…", *op. cit.* Rose points out two reasons for that phenomenon both of which seem to be as relevant for Bush as it is for Obama and perhaps for any other decision-maker for that matter. First the actual decisions are not made by the leaders alone and at the campaigning stage you really do not know who exactly will be the members of a team addressing a certain foreign policy issue. Second, definitely no one knows with certainty what would be the actual issues and crises and in what kind of a strategic context they would take place.

[32] "A National Security Strategy for A New Century", *National Security Council*, Washington D.C., (1999).

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

[34] Obama, *The Audacity…*, p. 364.

[35] *Ibid.* , pp. 364 -367. It should also be noted that, as mentioned, Obama received a lot of criticism for risking a soft and inexperienced approach to foreign policy and security matters. Under the circumstances one can think that Obama had little choice during his campaign but prove he could be as tough as anybody. This issue still seems to loom on his presidency. However it is also important to be reminded that he also criticizes "liberal objectives" as "they hardly constitute a coherent national security policy," drawing a clear line on where he stands. *Ibid.*, p. 359.

[36] Comforting for academicians we can even say that these differences bring about a possibility for differentiation between the theoretical schools that provide the best explanation for a President's or an administration's foreign policy, too. Nevertheless differences on the theoretically most powerful and explanatory approach doesn't indicate and account for a categorical difference in the goals and aims.

3. AKP: "Turkey´s Transformers" and Foreign Policy

In their *Foreign Affairs* essay on Turkey, Morton Abramowitz and Henri Barkey define AKP as "Turkey's Transformers".[37] They elucidate the matter commenting, "In recent years, Turkey has earned kudos from the international community for its economic dynamism, its energetic and confident diplomacy, and its attempts to confront some of its deepest foreign policy problems, such as in Northern Iraq and Cyprus."

Aside from the crude ideological distinction that Abramowitz and Barkey draw it is indeed hard to deny their comment on the activism that Turkish foreign policy showed under the AKP. It has been widely argued that Turkish foreign policy since 1930s has showed three basic elements of continuity. These elements of continuity are sometimes referred to as basic principles that Turkish foreign policy is run by. Feeding each other these are:

- A pre-occupation with security deriving from its geostrategic position -at the level of a "paranoia"[38] that is dubbed by some as the "*Sevres Phobia*" emanating from the way that its predecessor Ottoman Empire has demised.

- An unquestioned western orientation with roots in the philosophy of the Kemalist revolution and later reinforced with the explicit Soviet threat to its territorial integrity following World War II, -that is also criticized heavily by the left during the Cold War and later by political Islamists, especially vocally after the demise of the Soviet Union, and labeled as one dimensional.

- A positioning as a status-quo power, as a result of which, critiques say Turkey was condemned to pursuing reactive strategies against developments concerning its foreign policy.[39]

It is contended that, "the foreign policy of every single state is an integral part of its peculiar system of government and reflects its special circumstances".[40] Turkey is no exception to the

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[37] Abramowitz, Morton and Barkey, Henri J., "Turkey's Transformers: The AKP Sees Big", *Foreign Affairs*, vol 88, no. 6, (November/ December 2009), pp. 118 – 128. In their essay, drawing a rather overly generalized and simplified picture of the debate completely ignoring the nuances that are very important on the process and outcome of the current debates in Turkey, they comment that; "There are two camps. The first, and largest, group, which includes center-right politicians, liberals, and the religious, fully supports the AKP…. The other camp is primarily composed of staunch secularists, the military and civilian bureaucratic elites, and various types of nationalists." *Ibid.*, pp. 118 – 119.

[38] Fuller, Graham E. (2010): *Yeni Türkiye Cumhuriyeti [The New Turkish Republic]*, Istanbul, Timaş, p.43.

[39] For detailed discussions of these principles as well as their critics and analysis of underlying systemic, social and institutional dynamics see Oran, Baskın and Uzgel, İlhan (2009): "Türk Dış Politikasının Teori ve Pratiği", in . Oran, Baskın (Ed.), *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar, Cilt 1 1923 – 1980 [Turkish Foreign Policy: From the War of Independence to Present Facts, Documents, Comments, Volume 1 1923 – 1980]*, 15th Ed., Istanbul, İletişim Yay., pp.19 – 93. Aydın, Mustafa(1999): "Determinants of Turkish foreign policy: historical framework and traditional inputs", *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 35, no. 4, pp.152 — 186. Sönmezoğlu, Faruk, "Türk Dış Politikasında Sapma Olduğu Söylenemez [It Can't Be Said that There is a Diversion in Turkish Foreign Policy], Özdal, Habibe, Dinçer; Osman Bahadır and Yegin, Mehmet (eds.) *(2009): Mülakatlarla Türk Dış Politikası, Cilt 1 [Interviews on Turkish Foreign Policy, Volume 1]*, Ankara, USAK Yayınları, pp. 114 – 137, especially pp.114 – 122. Aydın, Mustafa: "The Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy, And Turkey's European Vocation" in Nonneman, Gerd (ed.) (2005): *Analyzing Middle East Foreign Policies*, New York, Routledge, pp.197 – 222.

[40] Frankel, Joseph (1963): *The Making of Foreign Policy; An Analysis of Decision-Making*, London, Oxford University Press, p. 1.

rule. The basic fundamental characteristics that are listed above as determinants of foreign policy of Turkey are dependent on the firmly held beliefs of the traditional decision making elites, sometimes referred to as the establishment, of the country.

As the "traditional decision making elites" I refer to what could be termed roughly as a hegemonic block that has determined Turkey's political landscape and affected the decision making process from the establishment of the Republic in 1923 to 2002 at varying degree.[41] Even though the consensus within the block started to loosen following the military coup of 1980, and especially during the Özal years (1983 – 1989 as Prime Minister and 1989 – 1992 as President),[42] until AKP's major election victory of 2002 the traditional decision making elites were largely in control of the foreign policy decisions in the country.[43] As such, foreign policy was one sphere of politics where the consensus of the traditional decision making elites was most rigid and strong. The strength of the "elements of continuity" was such that foreign policy was frequently called and regarded as "state policy". Denoting the unchanging, stable, consensual character of the policies, attributed them "*a priori*" legitimacy that defies any change in the governing party or coalition.[44] This situation was underlined with the "relative autonomy"[45] of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs signifying the gatekeeper status of the diplomats.

This consensus rested on a set of shared values especially on the character of the regime as a secular, western oriented democracy and a certain reading and interpretation of history and to an extent the international system. As it came to power the AKP challenged this consensus from the onset, continuously and relentlessly defending that the preferences of the traditional decision making elites do not reflect the genuine desires of the population. Trying to replace the traditional block with one that had formed around itself, perhaps nowhere else the challenge was as strong and as intellectually polished and founded as the area foreign policy.

Based on a 2001 book that has been written by Ahmet Davutoğlu, who was after the 2002 elections appointed as the chief foreign policy advisor to Prime Minister Erdoğan, AKP

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[41] As I use the term the traditional decision making elites are composed of, at the core military and civilian bureaucracy –especially the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and judiciary- supported intellectually by an outer circle of academicians and intellectuals including some members of the press and a third tier formed by mainstream politicians of the right and left.

[42] I have to underline that even though Özal years were somehow idealized in terms of the development of Turkish – US relations the individual affect and weight of Özal's influence in it should not be underestimated. The traditional decision making elites did not always share Özal's approach on the extent and depth that he had forced. It should not be forgotten that General Necip Torumtay, then Chief of Turkish Armed Forces General Staff has resigned in what many believed to be a silent protest to Özal's policies *vis a vis* the Gulf War in December 1990 just before his retirement. He was not alone. Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Defense, Ali Bozer and Safa Giray had also resigned under similar circumstances earlier, within the span of seven days in October 1990, in what could be accepted as another display of the tradition of consensus on foreign policy within the establishment.

[43] It may well be argued that until the end of President Ahmet Necdet Sezer's term in 2007, followed by the elections that resulted in AKP's landslide victory of 46,5%, the perceptions and preferences of the traditional decision making elites stayed to be an important factor in the decision making process. Hence the hold of the traditional decision making elites were, to an extent, still important in the foreign policy making process. This led to a situation where AKP was called the "government" but not the "ruler".

[44] Examples pertaining to this understanding are abundant Cyprus policy until 2002 being just one.

[45] For a comprehensive assessment of the sources of "relative autonomy" and observations supporting the comments I make concerning the traditional decision making elites and their solidarity interdependence see Oran, *op.cit.,* pp. 54 – 67.

pursued a new grand strategy.[46] The acclaimed Davutoğlu, who is sometimes called as "Turkish Kissinger"[47] has outlined five foreign policy principles all of which negatively affect the consensus of the establishment. To delineate this "new epoch" some analysts choose to call it the "Davutoğlu Era".[48] These principles were: establishing a balance between democracy and security; zero problem policy toward Turkey's neighbors; establishing regional and, gradually, global areas to extend Turkey's sphere of influence –to be supported, as in the case of Middle East with societal relations going beyond state level; a multi-dimensional foreign policy – emphasizing not only the western orientation but also other – i.e. Middle Eastern, Islamic character of the Turkish culture and a pro-active foreign policy based on rhythmic diplomacy –i.e. emphasizing heavily the importance of face to face communication, being there, leading in talking initiative in diplomatic efforts and active participation in international organizations.[49] As he expressed later, rephrasing a well known quotation by M.K. Atatürk the founder of modern Turkey, Davutoğlu believes that there is no such thing as a, single dimensional, front-line diplomacy, but spheral diplomacy and that sphere is the entire globe".[50] He is urging for an inclusive, participatory, egalitarian international order that brings in all of humanity's values and knowledge together in a respectful manner".[51]

There are, in essence three basic schools of thought in Turkey when it came to assessing the virtues and vices of AKP's foreign policy, its sources and its intellectual innovativeness. First, there are supporters of Davutoğlu and AKP foreign policy who argue that what is happening is just a natural necessary correction in Turkish foreign policy and what AKP does is to pursue a brilliant and intellectually refined policy that carries the expectations of the general public to the decision making core. According to them the source and legitimacy of this new foreign policy rests on the increasing democratic expectations and standards in the country that carried the AKP to power and keeps it there.

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[46] Davutoglu, Ahmet (2001): *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu* [*Strategic Depth: The International Position of Turkey*], Istanbul, Küre Yay. The book has reached an astonishing 43 editions in Turkey that is by any standard exceptional for any book of the genre.

[47] "The World's Kisssingers", *Foreign Policy* (March/ April 2010), p.27. The title was awarded by Mark Parris, the ex. US Ambassador to Ankara. "Davutoğlu, Türkiye'nin Henry Kissinger'ı", [Davutoglu, Turkey's Henry Kissinger], *Gazete Star*, Oct. 29, 2008. This however is an implication he refuted publicly. "Davutoğlu'ndan Kissinger itirazı" [Kissinger disclaimer from Davutoğlu], *Yeni Şafak*, May 13, 2009. It should be noted that despite his own rejection of the metaphor the pro-AKP press and outside of Turkey especially Arab media, prefers to use the terminology in appraisal of his influence, intellectual depth and talents. For some examples of this phenomenon reflected in the Turkish press, quoting Arab press' reactions to Davutoğlu's appointment as Foreign minister "Türkiye'nin Kissinger'ı Davutoğlu" [Turkey's Kissinger Davutoğlu], *Star*, May 3, 2009. According to political scientist Hüseyin Bağcı he reportedly prefers to be compared to Grand Vizier Nizam al-Mulk of the Seljuk Empire, who brought order (*nizam*) to the Empire in the second half of 11th century AD. Hüseyin Bağcı (2008): *Zeitgeist: Global Politics and Turkey*, Ankara, Orion, p. 547.

[48] The positive assesments of Davtoğlu's vision, knowledge and energy has been reaching new heights recently almost to the degree of a personality cult. For examples of enthusiastic appraisals see Aras, Bülent (2009): *Davutoglu Era in Turkish Foreign Policy*, SETA, *Policy Brief* no. 32.; Bilici, Abdülhamit, "Filozof Dışişleri Bakanı [Philosopher Foreign Minister] ", *Zaman*, 6 May 2009; Bilici, in three consecutive articles reveres Davutoglu as a "philosopher of international relations" while Kerim Balcı announces admiringly that "he has that *ideal combination of transcendental synthesis* of pure reason and pure empiricism. (Emphasis mine.) Balcı, Kerim, "Theory Meets Practice", *Today's* Zaman, 17 November 2009. See also Bilici, Abdülhamit, "Filozof Dışişleri Bakanı II [Philosopher Foreign Minister II] ", *Zaman*, 9 May 2009 and Bilici, Abdülhamit, "Filozof Dışişleri Bakanı III [Philosopher Foreign Minister III] ", *Zaman*, 10 May 2009.

[49] Davutoğlu, Ahmet: "Turkkey's Foreign Policy Vision: An Assessment of 2007", *Insight Turkey*, vol. 10, no. 1, (2008), pp. 77 – 96.

[50] "Diplomasinin 6 yeni kuralı [The 6 new rules of diplomacy]", *Hürriyet*, 05 January 2010.

[51] "Monşerlerin Pişti Açılımı [The Card Game Initiative of the Messieurs]", *Vatan,* 09 January 2010.

Second, there are those who contend that, despite all the rhetoric of innovativeness roared around Davutoğlu and AKP's foreign policy, the actual policies themselves were not new. The argument is that, even though the foreign policy discourse employed and concepts used to structure it might be new, the main framework, as dictated by systemic and regional dynamics, is no more than an extension of the efforts spent for repositioning Turkey within the international system during the immediate post-Cold War era. Following that line of thought, some supporters, as well as critics, contend that contrary to the argument that, "[when AKP came to power] the situation in the foreign policy arena was so uncertain,"[52] Turkish foreign policy was already shaping into its new mould, especially, during the second half of 1990s and the foreign policy leadership of Ismail Cem formed a significant period in that regard.[53] It should be noted that Davutoğlu himself agreed with the idea in his pre-politics *"opus magnum" Strategic Depth*.[54]

Third, there is a line of thought that finds the difference between what would be dubbed as "traditional" foreign policy and AKP's essentially in the diverging "worldviews" of AKP and its predecessors.[55]

In any case Turkey's ambitions on the international arena and its ability to be a viable partner to the US and the EU, a role that AKP is much willing to fill in, is constrained by the fact that it is a middle size power[56] with "modest economic and industrial resources," and there is still much to be determined by the success it shows in dealing with its persisting "ethnic issues"[57], as well as potential risks concerning the deepening fragmentation between seculars and Islamists, sectarian divisions that continue to haunt the soul of the country.[58]

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[52] Bilici, "Philosopher Foreign Minister...", *op. cit*.

[53] This line of thought is easily visible in the analysis of commentators that were writing just before and after 2002 elections. For an example see Uzgel, İlhan, "Dış Politikada AKP: Stratejik Konumdan Stratejik Modele [AKP in Foreign Policy: From Strategic Position to Strategic Model] in Uzgel, İlhan and Duru Bülent (eds), (2009):*AKP Kitabı: Bir Dönüşümün Bilançosu* [*The Book of AKP: The Balance Sheet of Transformation*], Ankara, Phonix Yay., pp. 357 – 380. Bostanoglu bases the Turkish foreign policy's search for multi-dimensionalism, -using the concept multi-centralism- during to mid 1950s. Bostanoğlu, Burcu (1999): "Türk Dış politikasında Çok Odaklılık Arayışı [The Search For Multi-Centralism in Turkish Foreign Policy] in *Türkiye- ABD İlişkilerinin Politikası* [*The Politics of Turkish-USA Relations*], Ankara, İmge, pp. 342 – 353. Even Kirişçi who otherwise seems to have adopted a quite content and supportive view of the AKP approach to foreign policy thinks that Turkey has already started to emerge as a multiregional state in the second half of the 1990s in a piece written just before AKP came to power. Kirişçi, Kemal, "US – Turkish relations: New Uncertainties in a renewed partnership" in Rubin, Barry and Kirişçi, Kemal (ed.s) (2002): *Turkey in World Politics: An Emerging Multiregional Power*, İstanbul, Boğaziçi University Press, pp. 169 – 196.

[54] He writes; "[C]em's efforts to build an initiative through face to face contact involved well directed elements fort he rationality of foreign policy". Davutoğlu, "Strategic Depth...", *op. cit.,* p. 315.

[55] For a forceful argument of this approach that also looks into the impact of "worldviews" and their corresponding theoretical approaches see Altunışık, Meliha Benli: "Worldviews and Turkish foreign policy in the Middle East", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, (Special Issue on Turkish Foreign Policy), no. 40 (Spring 2009), pp. 169 – 192.

[56] The conception of mid-size state or middle size power in explaining Turkey's international position is gradually becoming an important and popular concept and unit of analysis among Turkish academics. See Oran, *op.cit.,* p.29.

[57] Aydın, "The Determinants…", *op. cit.,* p. 216.

[58] For a similar critique, however one that asks of Davutoglu to pressure Erdogan more on these issues see Lagendijk, Joost, "Ülke içinde stratejik derinlik [Strategic depth within the country], *Radikal*, 5 May 2010.

4. The Long and Winding Road: Structural Changes in International System and Turkish American Relations

The weakest link in Turkish-US relations has always been emphasized as the economic relations[59] between the two countries, however, ironically, the relations between Turks, then Ottoman Empire, and Americans started actually with a trade agreement in 1830.[60] Nevertheless the security concerns based cooperation between the countries starting after the end of the Second World War. The nature of the Cold War relations were defined on the premises of Turkey seeking security against the Soviet expansionism, both territorially and ideologically, and the US's need of strengthening the containment of Soviet Union. At the end of the Cold War Turkey was the third largest recipient of US aid.[61]

4.1. The Path to "Strategic Partnership"

It has been a desire and mainly a tendency of Turkish policy makers to label Turkish-US relations. The preferred concept to resort to is "strategic".[62] It seems that over the years the concept of "strategic" is at times somehow shredded to being a qualifying adjective used interchangeably with crucial, important etc. Such kind of a usage undermined the necessity of such "strategic" relations to be appropriately contextualized with clear priorities and expectations of parties from each other. What is more it should be clear that such relations should be based on complementing capabilities and should be as multi-dimensional as possible both vertically and horizontally.[63]. The strength of such relations would lie not only on the perception of decision makers on the vitality of common, or complementing, interests served by maintaining the relations[64] but inescapably also be susceptible to the changes in the context of both the relations themselves and the international system.

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[59] See for example Bostanoglu: "Türk-Amerikan İlişkilerinin Zayıf Ayağı Ekonomi [The Weak Pillar of Turkish American Relations; Economy], in Bostanoğlu, *op. cit.*, pp. 367 – 368. Turkish – American realtions have been extensively studied. For an excellent early history of Turkish-US relations see Erhan, Çağrı (2001): *Türk-American İlişkilerinin Tarihsel Kökenleri* [*The Historical roots of Turkish-American Relations*], Ankara, İmge; For a more theoretical comprehensive study see Bostanoğlu, *op. cit.* and Aydın, Mustafa and Erhan, Çağrı (ed.s) (2004): *Turkish-American Relations: Past, Present and Future*, London, Routledge, Kirişçi, "US Turkish…", *op. cit.*

[60] Edgar, Alistair D., "The Shape of Things to Come: Defining US Foreign Policy on Turkey after 2001, in Aydın and Erhan, *op.cit.*, p. 231.

[61] Kirişçi, "US Turkish…", *op. cit,* pp. 170 – 174; Aydın, Mustafa, "Reconstructing Turkish-American Relations: Divergences Versus Convergences", *New Perspectives on Turkey,* vol. 40 (Spring 2009), pp. 126 – 127; Fuller, *op. cit*, p. 35; Kirişçi, "US Turkish…", *op. cit.,* pp. 170 – 174.

[62] Aydın, rightly, claims that "the American side reluctantly began to use it largely as a goodwill gesture to the Turkish side". Aydın, *Ibid.*, foot note. 10, p. 128.

[63] I mean by verticality the societal consensus at every level attributed to the importance of the relations –on different sides of political spectrum, within different institutions at every societal level, affected by the perceptions and positive involvement of different groups on the commonality and hierarchy of interests, the way these interests are formed, perceived and articulated among the decision makers, both as individuals and institutions and by the wider public at large –reflected in the attitudes against "partner". In revoking the concept of horizontality I refer to individual issues –which may be further qualified on the basis of actors involved, subjects and the social, economic, military and political aspects of every issue. The wider and deeper the relations between the parties in terms of stakeholders and counterparts, the more diverse the number of issues that parties cooperate and the deeper the complexity of relations on the horizontal scale and the stronger the positive perceptions of the "partner" and the strength of convergence of interests, the more resilient the strategic relations hence the easier to maintain for sustained periods of time.

[64] As it inevitably displays a temporary character in that they do depend on the *zeitgeist,* the question of duration and strength of the decision makers to stay in power.

The weakness of Turkish-American relations from the start lied in the fact that it was largely one-dimensional in the sense that it was perceived and structured around security concerns and interests. The bipolar international system imposed dictated constraints to Turkey and it endured three main crisis, the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, 1964 Johnson Letter on Cyprus and 1974 arms embargo. However the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and the regime change in Iran invoked the necessity to strengthen and deepen the relations. The result was the Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement (DECA) of 1980 partially addressing the inherent weakness and bringing in an economic dimension. The fact that this Agreement survived the 1980 military coup unscratched is significant,[65] because it also indicates the existence and strength of converging interests.

As the Berlin Wall fell and the Cold War ended in 1989 Turkey found itself in an urgent need to redefine its geo-political positioning. The problems with Turkey's relations with Europe had a bearing in its relations with the European members of NATO within the organization. Efforts of Europe to delineate a separate security identity under the revival Western European Union was critical in that regard. The process of formation of a Common Foreign and Security Policy -increasingly excluding Turkey- and the vocal criticisms on Turkey's human rights record during the 1990s, coming in a time when Turkey was struggling with PKK terrorism, pushed Turkey to enunciate stronger ties bilaterally with the US. This seems to have coincided with the post-Cold War US strategy of building alliances. It also made sense within the context of existing US interests within Turkey's environs at the time as it should also be said that the United States too could not afford the luxury of alienating Turkey in a time of post-Soviet restructuring in the Balkans, the Caucasus, Central Asia and the Middle East. The Gulf War that followed the Iraq's invasion of Kuwait witnessed the height of relations. It was again during the 1990s that the US became an important guarantor of Turkey's economic stability through its important weight in the IMF and "as an important source of [Foreign Direct Investment] FDI, as a market for Turkish products".[66]

It is a fact that Turkey had hardships in terms of benefitting from the "peace dividend" years both financially and in terms of "desecuritizing" its foreign relations. It would not be wrong to say that the inability stemmed partly from the strategic culture, intertwined with *Sevres Phobia* on the side of the decision makers, the level of competence they have shown for assessing and understanding the new parameters and dynamics of the transforming international system and to reposition the country by structuring a new foreign and defense policy pillared on these new parameters and dynamics or, as one writer has put it, on a larger scale a "prominent role of conspiracies and paranoia in Turkish social and political life".[67] However it should also be recognized that starting from mid 1980s Turkey has had very different concerns in terms of its security and foreign policy dictated by the low intensity conflict it was suffering and surrounded with regions suffering the throes of post-Soviet restructuring. In a way, Turkey did get out of the Cold War just to find itself encircled by hot conflicts and drowned into a fight against Kurdish separatism. An overwhelming majority of the traditional decision makers felt they were clearly fighting "2 ½ Wars".[68] The wide spread belief at the time, that can somehow be said to contain what most traditional decision making

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[65] Kirişçi, "US-Turkish…", *op. cit.,* p.173.

[66] Aydın, "Reconstructing…" *op. cit.*, p. 127.

[67] Berlinski, Claire: "A Nation of Conspiracies", *The Wall Street Journal*, 13 March 2010.

[68] The concept of 2 ½ Wars was first used by Ambassador Şükrü Elekdağ in a piece he has written to Foreign Ministry's Venter for Strategic Research's Perceptions journal and gained wide currency especially among the decision makers. Elekdağ, Şükrü: "2 ½ War Strategy", *Perceptions,* vol. 1, (March/ May 1996) at http://www.sam.gov.tr/perceptions/Volume1/March-May1996/%20212WARSTRATEGY.pdf.

elites regarded as a transcendent truth at the time, was reflected in Elekdağ's words: "[N]o matter how capable a foreign policy might be, it cannot be stronger than the military might it relies on."[69]

From mid 1990s onwards however Turkey has started to realize the change. The alliance with Israel, the positive role it played in regional conflicts, the participation of Turkish Armed Forces in international peacekeeping operations, the renewed relations with Greece and with Syria after the leader of the PKK Abdullah Öcalan was forced out of the country following the signing of the Adana Accord in October 1998, the "Neighborhood Forum" initiative started by then foreign minister -1997 to 2002- İsmail Cem İpekçi in January 1998, were all regarded by most observers of Turkish foreign policy as a great transformation. One such observer declared unhesitatingly, that "Turkey has transformed its foreign policy and self-image more thoroughly than any noncommunist country in the post-Cold War era".[70] At the beginning of the 21st century, before the elections of 2002 that carried AKP to power, it was already remarked that only Turkey was, unlike any other state in that, apart from the US, in a position to "[play] a part in so many different geographical reasons".[71] Especially following Öcalan's capture in Kenya Turkish foreign policy was largely relaxed. It can even be argued that the success of Turkey's enhancement of its post-Cold War security situation through its foreign policy is displayed very graphically in the success of its use of coercion against Syria that ended up in 1998 Adana Accord and with the banishment of Öcalan from that country. All in all, as Lesser observed the "strategic neglect that many Turks feared after the demise of the Soviet Union"[72] did not become a reality.

Even though there were also areas of divergence in foreign policy within these years, like the issue of Northern Iraq, the policy of dual containment and its consequences for Turkey, the appropriate way of dealing with Iran, the Cyprus issue[73] "US – Turkish relations showed considerable resilience and strength in the aftermath of the Cold War."[74] The general anticipation on US-Turkish relations was that "a strong basis for continuous strategic cooperation"[75] between the two countries exists.

4.2. Clinton: The Relief after the Earthquake

In mid November 1999 President Bill Clinton's visited Turkey. Though it was hard to arrange it for the US administration under Congressional pressure,[76] the visit itself was a huge success. The trip was organized just after the Marmara earthquake of 17 of August that hit one of the most industrially developed areas of Turkey, officially claiming 17.480 lives that year. The speech Bill Clinton delivered was the first by a US President.[77] On 15 November 1999

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[69] Elekdağ, *op. cit.*

[70] Rubin, Barry: "Turkey: A transformed international role", in Rubin and Kirişçi, *op.cit.,* p. 1.

[71] *Ibid.*

[72] Lesser, Ian O.: "Beyond Bridge or Barrier: Turkey's Evolving Security Relations with the West" in Makovsky, Alan and Sayarı, Sabri (eds.) (2000): *Turkey's New World: Changing Dynamics in Turkish Foreign Policy*, Washington D.C., Washington Institute for Near East Policy, p. 203.

[73] For assessment of these issues see Kirişçi, "US Turkish…", *op. cit.,* pp. 174 – 192.

[74] Sayarı, Sabri: "Turkey and the United States: Changing Dynamics of an Enduring Alliance" in Ismael, Tareq Y. And Aydın, Mustafa (eds.) (2003): *Turkey's Foreign Policy in the 21st Century: A changing role in world politics*, Aldershat, Ashgate p. 30.

[75] Kirişçi, "US Turkish…", *op. cit.,* p. 192. For similar comments see Sayari, *op.cit* and Aydın, "Reconstructing…".

[76] *Ibid.,* pp. 187 – 189.

[77] Clinton himself was the third President of the United States to ever visit Turkey after Eisenhower and Bush Sr. The five day trip was the longest ever and remains as such.

Clinton stated that within the so-called peace dividend years that followed the end of the Cold War, Turkey and the US have"[L]earned that" their, "[F]riendship does not depend upon a common concern with the Soviet Union".[78] In fact for the decade and a half following the Cold War the Turkish-American relations, called a strategic cooperation or a partnership, were the closest thing to a constant in the Turkish foreign policy formulation. Despite the restraints that Operation Provide Comfort and Operation Northern Watch had brought,[79] due to suspicions in Turkey about alleged support that these operations directly or indirectly provided to the PKK, the relations between the two countries were for the large part 'alive and well' in that "moment of great optimism"[80] as Clinton has called it in his address for Presidential reception dinner organized by President Süleyman Demirel in his honor. During his visit Clinton made his famous declaration on US and Turkey being "strategic partners". This was, it seems, largely in reciprocity when the subsequent Turkish leaders revoked the concept "strategic" for qualifying the bilateral relations.[81]

A Turkish academician underlines that it has traditionally been important for Turkish leaders to hear words of admiration as it somehow comes to mean "confirmation or renewal of confidence" that in return may bring more political credence and economic credibility that in return assures the business community and political circles as well as the wider [82] public that "everything is right on track" and the leaders in charge are "respected". Considering the prerogatives US has in Turkey's external relations, the importance that Turkish press attributes to such contacts like the high coverage of US leaders visits traditionally receive as well as some aspects of Turkish culture such as exaltations coming from the US have traditionally been important. Being able to have a quick appointment arranged at the White House and a cordial welcome from the US administrations is regarded as clear signs of prestige and is deemed significant.[83]

However it is hard to comment that the strategic nature of relations reflect themselves in the economic indicators. As Clinton arrived in Turkey the US was having a 8,2 percent share in Turkish foreign trade. Almost ten years later in 2008 this figure was 4,85 percent in an investment climate where Turkey increased its foreign trade 3,6 fold and faced a weak US currency. Within the same period imports from the US increased 2,8 times, from USD 3 billion to 8,5 billion, while exports increased only 1,3 times, from USD 2,4 to 3,2 billion. The US's share in the foreign direct investment (FDI) received by Turkey between 2000 and 2008 was 10,09 percent. That figure was 31 percent in 2000, and 5,79 percent in 2008. Within the

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[78] T.B.M.M. Tutanak Dergisi, Dönem: 21, Cilt: 16, Yasama Yılı: 2, 19 uncu Birleşim, 15 Kasım 1999.

[79] For an account and debates surrounding the effect of the Operations targeted to provide a Kurdish safe haven above the 36th parallel in Northern Iraq see Kirişçi, Kemal, "Provide Comfort or Trouble: Operation Provide comfort and Its Impact on Turkish Foreign Policy", *Turkish Review of Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 8 (1994/1995), pp. 43 -67.

[80] Cumhurbaşkanı Demirel'in onuruna Çankaya Köşkü'nde verdiği akşam yemeğinde ABD Başkanı Bill Clinton'ın yaptığı konuşmanın İngilizce metni [The English Text of the Speech by President of the USA, Bill Clinton at the Gala Dinner Given for His Honor in Cankaya Palace by President Demirel" 15 Kasım 1999, http://www.belgenet.com/arsiv/cldemirel_06.htm.

[81] Aydın, "Reconstructing…", *op. cit.,* p. 128.

[82] Uzgel, "Dış Politikada…", *op. cit.,* p. 368.

[83] The latest example of this situation is the way Turkish media covered Erdogan's meeting with Obama in April 2010 during the Nuclear Security Summit held in Washington D.C. Almost all newspapers made a common choice putting this one aspect of the meeting to the forefront: the meeting lasted for forty five instead of the fifteen minutes as it was originally planned. See *Radikal*, *Vakit*, *Zaman*, *Taraf* amongst others on 14 April 2010.

same period the amount of FDI Turkey received increased by 18 folds, from USD 817 million in 2000, to USD 14,8 billion in 2008.[84]

Looking at the past from where we are today it indeed can be characterized as the 'great optimism' period. Following the 9/11 attacks and Bush "War on Terror" that is marked with the invasion of Iraq, Turkish – American relations suffered what some call a "train wreck". The train started to derail with the rejection by the Turkish Parliament on 1 March 2003 of the use of Turkish territory for mounting the invasion from the north. Later, in Sulaymania US troops apprehended Turkish Special Operations Troops on 4 July 2003 which caused the then Turkish Armed Forces Chief of General Staff, Hilmi Özkök, to say that it was the "deepest confidence crisis"[85] that the relations suffered. Even though the resilience of Turkish-American relations were tested over time and proved strong, the effects of both events that occurred within the span of four months has to an extent transformed the nature of the relations. At the least the US's image amongst Turkish public was deteriorated in a way that seems to be quite persistent, if not permanent.[86] Even the election of Obama as the President did not change that deep feeling of mistrust against the US.[87] In July 2006 making an effort, the two countries announced a document titled, "Shared Vision and Structured Dialogue to Advance the Turkish-American Strategic Partnership" without any ratification at any level. The document seemed to be prepared and announced mainly by the Turkish side and "its announcement without signature highlighted the difficulties to structure a dialogue around a shared strategic vision." Even though the document stated the intention for a structured dialogue and underlined the existence of "strong bonds of friendship, alliance, mutual trust and unity of vision." and talks about shared set of values, ideals in regional and "global objectives" like "the promotion of peace, democracy, freedom and prosperity," and pledges for concentrated efforts," it was not signed by the parties.[88] The document seemed to be prepared and announced mainly by Turkish side's demand and the fact that it was announced "without signature highlighted the difficulties to structure a dialogue around a shared strategic vision."[89] Amongst the mechanisms that were mentioned the only one which had enough breath to come to the attention of the public was the Coordination Group for Countering the PKK. Established on 28 August the same year, ended in blunder when the Turkish envoy, retired General Halit Edip Başer was relieved of this duty following his public criticisms of the US attitude on 21 May 2007,[90] his American counterpart Joseph Ralston

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[84] The data for foreign trade figures are collected from Turkish Statistical Institute web site *"Ülke Gruplarına Göre Dış Ticaret* [Foreign Trade According to Nation Clusters]" at http://www.tuik.gov.tr/VeriBilgi.do?tb_id=12&ust_id=4. FDI figures are collected from Prime Ministery Undersecreteriat of Traesury *2001 Yılı Raporu* [*2001 Annual Report*]*,* T.C. Başbakanlık Hazine Müsteşarlığı Yabancı Sermaye Genel Müdürlüğü, Başbakanlık, Ankara, 2001, pp 40 – 41; *Hazine İstatistik Yıllığı 2008* at http://www.hazine.gov.tr:80/irj/go/km/docs/documents/Treasury%20Web/Statistics/Annual/V%20Yabanci%20Sermaye/YSGM.xls.

[85] Sevenler, Erhan, 'En büyük güven krizi' dedik ABD'nin üzüntüsüyle yetindik [We called it 2the deepest confidence crisis settled down with just USA's sorrow]", *Radikal*, 16 July 2003.

[86] There was a strong expectation for a serious apology within the public at large that turned into a serious disillusionment after the joint declaration of the two countries on the issue. *Ibid.*

[87] Stephens, Bret, "What Is Happening to Turkey? As the country has become wealthier, it paradoxically has also shed some of its Western trappings", *Wall Street Journal*, 11 May 2010.

[88] For the full text of the document, see, http://turkey.usembassy.gov/statement_070508.html.

[89] Aydın, "Reconstructing…", *op. cit.,* p. 138.

[90] "Edip Başer Görevden Alındı [Edip Başer is Dismissed]", *NTVMSNBC.com*, 22 May 2007 at http://arsiv.ntvmsnbc.com/news/408638.asp.

followed suit almost five months later.[91] He then accused the US of not keeping their word to Turkey.[92]

4.3. AKP and Consolidation of Political Power

Apart from the sympathies that he has been widely blessed by the Turkish people as well as by the global public opinion, Obama represented some specific risks for Turkish foreign policy. As he was campaigning for the Presidency he had explicitly committed himself to the Armenian claims to recognise the events of 1915 as genocide.[93] This led Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan to say: "As America is a very strong country in the world, at present the weight [responsibilities] on it is very distinctive. Especially in a period that a crisis is experienced USA would [fulfill] the responsibility to contribute to the world peace which lies much more with them [than any other nation]. At this point we think that some of their discourses [delineated] during the election campaign will be restricted exclusively to the campaign [period]. Because Turkish –USA relations do not [take shape and last according to] change of administrations but within [the context of] the strategic relations between the countries. I think it will be like that,"[94] while he was commenting on Obama's election. In Erdoğan's words there is a clear emphasis and recognition of the US's power. Then again apart from the fact that he is in realization of the risks Obama presents for Turkey, the tone of his words represent a much more confident Erdoğan as he was trying to find his way through the situation concerning US's invasion of Iraq in 2003.[95]

There were both domestic and international sources of confidence exhibited by Erdoğan. To understand these sources the interplay of domestic politics and foreign policy in Turkey should be substantiated. On the one hand "the changes in foreign policy reflect the rolling revolution in Turkey's domestic political arrangements"[96] and on the other hand Turkish politics is transformed through the legitimacy gained from the way foreign policy was pursued. In that regard AKP's approach to foreign policy can be defined as shaping on two basic currents.

First, the sustained and almost continuously escalating tensions with the bureaucracy forces the AKP to maintain an external balance that would serve them as the legitimacy against what seems to be an unremitting threat perception they feel to strengthen their political base and power. Second, AKP tries to keep the support it receives from the aforementioned external balance uninterruptedly mobilized. This is particularly the case in the relations of AKP with the West but, especially, the US.

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[91] Cindemir, Kasım: "Roslton istifa etti [Rolston Resigned], *Hürriyet,* 1 October 2007.

[92] "The US government should have made good on the commitments they have made to the Turks", Senanayake, Sumeda: "Iraq: Threat of Turkish Invasion Diminished, For Now", *Radio Free Europe/ Radio Liberty,* 8 November 2007, at http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1079101.html.

[93] In a speech delivered on 19 January 2008 he said; "I shared with Secretary Rice my firmly held conviction that the Armenian Genocide is not an allegation, a personal opinion, or a point of view, but rather a widely documented fact supported by an overwhelming body of historical evidence. The facts are undeniable. An official policy that calls on diplomats to distort the historical facts is an untenable policy…. and as President I will recognize the Armenian genocide." Obama, Barack: "Barack Obama on the Importance of US-Armenia Relations, *Organazing for America,* January 19, 2008, at http://www.barackobama.com/ 2008/01/19/barack_obama_on_the_importance.php.

[94] "Erdoğan Barack Obama'yı Tebrik Etti" [Erdogan Congratulates Barack Obama], at http://www.samanyoluhaber. com/haber-124131.html, 5 November 2008, "Başbakan Erdoğan'dan Obama'ya İlk Yorum" [Early Comments from Prime Minister Erdogan], *Star*, 5 November 2008.

[95] See for example Erdoğan, Recep Tayyip: "My Country is Your Faithful Ally and Friend", *The Wall Street Journal,* March 31, 2003.

[96] Stephens, *op. cit.*

As such the general understanding of AKP on the relations with the US can be said to bear a strong mark of the tumultuous event of March 2003, namely the Turkish Parliament decision on granting permission to the US troops to use the Turkish territory to march on Iraq. As AKP came to power its general stance *vis a vis* Turkey's –read the Party's- relations with the US was one of compulsory cooperation. The events following the Iraq decision seems to have reinforced this stance.[97] According to one line of thought AKP was quick to grasp the repercussions that the traditional decision making elite has suffered as a result of the strategic game that they have played. The failure to deliver on their side as expected was not forgiven, as displayed in Sulaymania. It seems that AKP was quick to build on the vacuum that was left by the traditional decision making elites who found themselves between strong suspicions concerning the AKP and their increasing dislike for the US policies. The AKP thesis to their US counterparts was that, traditional decision making elites no longer constituted a viable partner for the US. Particularly because of their nationalist, Kemalist –read undemocratic-stance. However, as AKP's roots rested in a political movement –*Nationalist Outlook Movement* (NOM) led for years by Necmettin Erbakan- that has been a victim of the unfair practices stemming from the differences of the NOM and establishment's perspectives, mainly on Turkey's orientation and identity, and is by definition[98] more open to dialogue and cooperation, AKP had the power to support US and western interests. As such AKP was able to make a difference.[99] What is more, what makes AKP unique, and all the more important, is the political tradition that it grew out of. That tradition, political Islamism now moderated to an understanding of conservative democracy, makes it very convenient for the AKP to understand the most troubled regions, in particular, Muslim Middle East as it grants the Party's decision makers an "inside" look to those regions as well as a wider perspective. The same tradition has its roots in history, in the time of the Ottoman Empire. That is particularly important as only AKP as the "modern" standard bearer of the political Islam in Turkey has an exclusive expertise when it comes to developing relations, giving and structuring messages and building upon their credibility a convincing approach that would bring parties of hot issues in the ex- Ottoman land and its hinterland –especially in the Middle East, North Africa, Balkans and Caucasus. The credibility is also an exclusive domain of the Party because of its political roots that permitted the preservation of the political tradition and cultural heritage of Islam and the Ottoman Empire while the Kemalist state has done everything in its power to distance the country and eradicate that heritage and pertaining Islamic identity. The tradition enables AKP to structure an ideological response from "inside" –non western- to limit and extinguish the risks and threats the West in general, and the US in particular face in the post-9/11 international environment. The unique character of the tradition and heritage AKP possesses not only qualifies Turkey under AKP the only viable model of a Muslim state in terms with the West, but also makes it possible for AKP to become a very instrumental and effective chaperon, courier, broker, facilitator, whenever the conditions and terrain is suitable a mediator, even a referee. As for these reasons, this line of thought argues, it would only be rational to support the socio-political consolidation that AKP has started, and succeeded to considerable extent, in the country. It should be kept in mind that the logical extreme of this line of thought is a sustained AKP dominance in Turkish politics. AKP has learned well from the fate of the traditional decision makers when they failed to deliver in March 2003 for

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[97] See, then Erdogan's influential advisor and AKP founder, Cüneyt Zapsu's reactions that were apparently shaped, at the least, also by this experience; footnote 100 below.

[98] Here the emphasis is on the multicultural tolerance that had its foundations in the Ottoman Turkish statecraft that AKP was the rightful heir to. Though the problem with this line of thought is that it was founded on a firm belief of supremacy against the other cultures and religions, is frequently overlooked.

[99] Whereas the Kemalist state was not, goes this line of argument, as it lacked any credibility with the Muslim/ Arab world.

domestic political considerations against itself.[100] The message that the West should make use of or facilitate Turkey under AKP is a repetitive theme in AKP foreign policy.[101]

The tendency for using foreign policy as a means of strengthening the domestic political base has always been a dominant tendency in Turkey.[102] It is argued that this is true in general for Middle East and North African states.[103] When analyzed in the light of such an understanding the tendencies of AKP summarized above is not at all exceptional. What is more, none of this changes the fact that good or bad, sound or not in the post 9/11 security environment in its region AKP's Turkey was the only country with a game plan which can claim the virtue of being constructive as a basis of its legitimacy at the same time.

Domestically also Turkey's economic transformation has been impressive in terms of the sustained growth performance the economy showed under the AKP. Even though the relative volume and diversity of the economy is still far from playing a global role, Turkey is in the region the "most important economic power" –the 16th largest with a GDP of USD 880,1 billion by purchasing power parity in 2009 according to the IMF – and "[N]ot only a major modern economy, but the largest, perhaps the only modern economy in the entire Muslim world".[104] "Goldman Sachs anticipates 7% growth this year, which would make the country Europe's strongest performer".[105] Also, particularly after the 2007 elections and the ascendance of the former foreign minister Abdullah Gül to Presidency after a period of bitter struggle between AKP and its opposition the AKP seems to feel that the process of political consolidation has been completed carrying the party to become an absolute center of gravity in Turkish politics. Even though this process is still going on the authority of AKP has become nothing short of impressive traceable through the great shift in the ownership of media, ascendance of a new Islamist bourgeoisie[106] with close links to the government. This authority is strengthened by the ongoing trials and investigations concerning alleged coup attempts between the first and second term of AKP. The dragging process of *Ergenekon* case on the alleged coup plans involving academicians, generals, journalists, police chiefs amongst others and the pressures on the press, in which the Dogan Group tax case became emblematic

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[100] Uzgel, *op. cit.,* p. 373. For an interesting and overlapping analysis of the events surrounding March 1[st,] 2003 Moment see Bilici, "Filozof Dışişleri Bakanı", *op. cit.*

[101] Davutoglu went on record to say, "Europe could have an inestimable partner to bring peace and stability to today's fragile and dangerous Middle East –Turkey. If only the EU took advantage of what Ankara can offer…". *Turkey as a Partner for European Foreign Policy in the Middle East*, 136 th Bergedorf Roundtable, Istanbul, (February 23rd-25th, 2007), p. 25. Also the much controversial words of Cüneyt Zapsu, the advisor to Erdogan then, voiced, reportedly, in a meeting in American Enterprise Institute on 7 April 2006, the US calling for the American decision makers not to "sweep [Erdogan] down the drain but use him". Yanardağ, Merdan (2007): *Bir ABD Projesi Olarak AKP* [*AKP as a US Project*], Istanbul, Siyah Beyaz Yayınları, p. 79. Zapsu then repudiated that he did not use the words as such. "Zapsu'dan 'down the drain' açıklaması ['Down the drain' explanation from Zapsu", *NTVMSNBC.com* at http://arsiv.ntvmsnbc.com/news/413011.asp.

[102] Erhan, Çağrı: "Türkiye Ortadoğu'da ABD Ne İstediyse Yapmıştır [Turkey Has Done Everything the US Asked in the Middle East] in Özdal *et. al. op. cit.,* pp. 51 -52

[103] Nonneman, Gerd, "Analyzing the Foreign Policies of the Middle East and North Africa: A Conceptual Framework" in Nonneman, *op.cit.,* p.9.

[104] Friedman George (2009): "The New Fault Lines", in *The next Hundred Years*, New York, Anchor Books. p. 80.

[105] Stephens, *op. cit.*

[106] On the rise of the Islamic bourgeoisie and its meaning and possible effects see *Ibid.* For a more comprehensive but somehow controversial analysis see Werz, Michael (2010): *The New Levant: Understanding Turkey's Shifting Roles in the Eastern Mediterranean*, Washington, D.C., Center for American Progress, at http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2010/04/pdf/turkey_levant.pdf.

of that consolidation that raised at least some eyebrows both in the country and abroad.[107] However as these developments reinforced the domestic authority of the government it also seems to fragment the society somewhat deeply. Nevertheless the success AKP showed in projecting the image of power consolidation, that I referred earlier, at home, in return, reinforces the AKP's active stance in foreign policy.[108] As this brings them "kudos" internationally AKP officers and members of parliament continuously underline the message of consolidation in their deliberations with their western, especially American, counterparts to receive more international support or at least approval to further consolidate their political power at home.[109]

4.4. Enter Obama

The hope that Obama represented was needed in Turkey and that was of no surprise to anyone involved in the trade of Turkish – American relations. As Obama was taking over the White House, "the US image abroad was suffering everywhere" according to the PEW Global Public Attitudes Project[110] and nowhere else, even not in Palestinian territories and Pakistan,[111] the popularity of the US was in shambles as bad as in Turkey where the popularity of the US hit a record low of 9 percent in 2007 and 12 percent in 2008,[112] while Turks also led the charts in disliking both American ways of doing business and American ideas of democracy with 83 and 81 percent respectively.[113] During the Bush years Turkish – American relations might be said to have suffered deeply from a post-9/11 syndrome.

The syndrome had two dimensions: first, there was the legacy of issues concerning the context, structure and priorities of the alliance between the two countries. This was due, mainly, to the problems surrounding Turkish decision makers on deciding how to position the country in the post-Cold War international system. According to Kirişci; "During the Cold War Turkey has benefited from a rent due to her geostrategic position and Turkish foreign policy has showed outstanding success in keeping this rent as high as is possible."[114] Following the collapse of the Soviet Union Turkish decision makers had a rough time in positioning[115] the country against new challenges that the seemingly unipolar world brought. Second, the US's invasion of Iraq and the events that followed has planted deep feelings of distrust among the Turkish population. These included, but were not limited to the US sponsoring the establishment of a Kurdish regional autonomy that has brought the question of whether or not the US was working for the declaration of an independent Kurdish state that

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[107] The former Ambassador of the US in Turkey between (2003 – 2005) Eric Edelman who closely observes Turkey also underlines the inconclusively Alçı, Nagehan: "ABD'den habersiz de darbe yapılabilir [A Coup may be realized without the USA knowing]", *Akşam,* 29 Mart 2010.

[108] The definition of camps in the article that I referred to earlier by Abramowitz and Barkey is indicative of the success of AKP in convincing the outside world to the image consolidation. See foot note. 36 above.

[109] For just one recent example see, Werz, *op. cit.,* p. 13. Werz quotes Suat Kınıklıoğlu, AKP's Deputy Chairman for Foreign Relations and Foreign relations Coordinator; "There is no dependable opposition," … the opposition is disparate "to the degree that it makes us uncomfortable."

[110] "Global Public Opinion in the Bush Years (2001-2008)", *Pew Global Attitudes Project,* Washington D.C., (December 18, 2008), p. 3.

[111] A previous PEW survey pitched US popularity in Palestinian territories at 13 %, while Pakistan was scoring 15 % for the year 2007. See "Global Unease with Major World Powers"*, PEW Global Attitudes Survey,* Washington D.C., (June 27, 2007), p.3 and 13.

[112] "Global Public Opinion…", *op. cit.,* p. 3

[113] "Global Unease…", *op. cit.* p. 5.

[114] Kirişci Kemal: "Türkiye Daima Kendisini AB'ye Yakınlaştıracak Politikalar İzlemelidir" [Turkey Should Always Pursue Policies That Would Bring Itself Close to EU] in Özdal *et. al.*, *op.cit.,* p. 3.

[115] Kirişci calls the situation, "some kind of a confusion". Kirişci, *Ibid.*, p. 4.

might fuel PKK's Kurdish separatism in Turkey[116]; the events that occurred in Sulaymania[117] and the general atmospherics resulting from the overall approach to the whole issue of "war on terror", from human rights abuses in Abu Ghraib to the unfortunate invocation of the concept of crusade by Bush Jr. in what seemingly was an inappropriate effort to underline the righteousness of US's cause, and so on.[118]

Even though AKP has done its best to repair the relations somehow after the turbulent months of 2003,[119] it seems to be a relief for the AKP to have a new president elected in the US. That would conceivably have been the case with any president but Obama was, mainly because of the perception that he represents a comparable identity, like those of the marginalized pitted against the mighty power holders, a better alternative for the AKP. Obama's legitimate and rightful aspiration to come to power, therefore, would be perceived much positively and "sell" better to the AKP constituency.[120]

5. "Change" meets "Transformation"

In his remarks made to the press together with President Abdullah Gül, following their meeting of 6 April 2009, during his two day visit to Turkey, US President Barrack Obama has labeled the Turkish - American relations as one that "can be" built as a "Model Partnership".[121] Later, Obama has delivered what was the second ever speech by a US President before the members of Turkish Grand National Assembly. His tone was different then Clinton nearly a decade ago. He said:

> "The United States and Turkey have not always agreed on every issue, and that's to be expected -- no two nations do. But we have stood together through many challenges over the last 60 years. And because of the strength of our alliance and the endurance of our friendship, both America and Turkey are stronger and the world is more secure."[122]

Phillip Gordon, Assistant Secretary of State, European and Eurasian Affairs, later expressed more directly these ideas. In a speech delivered at the Brookings Institution Gordon first underlined the importance of Turkish-US relations but then he did not hesitate to openly call

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[116] Despite numerous announcements by US officials to the contrary.

[117] That profoundly, if not irredeemably, blew up the bridges between Turkish secular nationalists and the US. Though the feeling can be said to cut across and shared by different layers of society. See for example liberal *Radikal* daily. Sevenler, *op. cit.*

[118] Bush, Geoge W.: "Today We Mourned, Tomorrow We Work", Remarks by the President Upon Arrival, *White House*, Washington D.C. (16 September 2001) at
http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010916-2.html. Bush actually used the concept while answering the questions after his speech.

[119] That led finally to Bush calling PKK the "common enemy" and an agreement on "hot" intelligence sharing between Turkey and US See Aydın, "Reconstructing…", *op. cit.,* p. 136.

[120] At least one commentator points out that this is the case on the issue of representing dynamism for embracing and initiating transformation. Fisher Onar, Nora: "Neo Ottomanism, Historical Legacies and Turkish Foreign Policy", EDAM *Discussion Paper Series*, (2009/03), p. 15.

[121] "Joint Press Availability with President Obama and President Gul of Turkey", Cankaya Palace, Ankara, Turkey, April 6th, 2009, at
http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/joint-press-availability-with-president-obama-and-president-gul-turkey.

[122] Obama, Barack H.: "Remarks by President Obama To The Turkish Parliament", April 6th, 2009 at
http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-obama-turkish-parliament.

the beast with its name saying that, "Turkey has always had multiple identities. But what binds the United States and Turkey together are shared interests, shared values, and a commitment to partnership." He went on with identifying the formula that worked during the Cold War, "The relationship, which was much easier to justify when we faced a shared Soviet threat". So he added in the new international environment, "those of us who believe in the relationship have to make a special effort to explain the enduring value of the partnership between the United States and Turkey."[123] What makes Gordon's words more noteworthy is the high probability that he is the inventor of the "Model Partnership" conceptualization that Obama used for naming the Turkish-American relations.

5.1. What is the Meaning of the Word "Model"?

Talking to *Council on Foreign Relations* Secretary of State, Hilary Clinton said that in the face of the new threats that the US is facing; "Rigid ideologies and old formulas don't apply."[124] The concept of "Model Partnership" seems to be formulated with this principle in mind. It was a flexible concept of a fluid nature, re-shapeable according to the circumstances and needs of the parties. As Clinton cited Turkey within the second tier of a total of seven countries as "emerging global powers" on which the US will "put special emphasis [for encouraging] … to be full partners in tackling the global agenda"[125] the concept of "Model Partnership" seems to rest mainly on the existing elements of cooperation with added flexibility as and when the circumstances demanded. The existing institutional framework of relations –under NATO, G-20 etc.- will be preserved while the parties extend their cooperation to economy, encouraging entrepreneurship in the Middle East using, what is thought to be, the AKP experience.[126] It seems like the US, naturally, also assumes the continuation of existing relations on Afghanistan and Iraq while it goes on supporting the Turkish bid to be a member of the European Union (EU). At a first glance this framework leaves the energy, Iran and Turkish-Israeli relations –even Turkish-Russian relations- either out or presupposes that they wouldn't represent important areas of divergence as they will either be outweighed by the benefits of cooperation, somehow be insignificant or, yet better, sort themselves out.[127]

AKP's leadership is as keen as their US counterparts when it comes to Turkish-US relations and the importance of US' friendship to Turkey. Abdullah Gül, then Foreign

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[123] Gordon, Philiph H.: "The United States and Turkey: A View From the Obama Administration", Sakıp Sabancı Lecture, *Brookings Institute*, Washington, D.C. (March 17, 2010), at http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/Files/events/2010/0317_turkey/20100317_turkey_sabanci.pdf.

[124] Clinton, Hilary Rodham, "Council on Foreign Relations Address by Secretary of State Hillary Clinton", Transcript, *Council on Foreign Relations,* Washington, D.C. (July 15th, 2009), at http://www.cfr.org/publication/19840/.

[125] The first tier being China, India, Russia and Brazil and second tier consisting of Indonesia, South Africa as well as Turkey. *Ibid.*

[126] To explain the AKP's rising to power by relying heavily on the increasing weight of the new Islamic bourgeoisie -the so called Anatolian tigers- and putting significant emphasis on the transformational role these new Islamic elite plays on both Turkish society and politics and democratization of political Islam –the latter being more important with the potential it represents for the Muslim world in general- is a popular theme in the research agenda on AKP. See Yavuz, M. Hakan (2009): *Secularism and Muslim Democracy in Turkey,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press and Werz, Michael (2010): *The New Levant: Understanding Turkey's Shifting Roles in the Eastern Mediterranean*, Washington, D.C., Center for American Progress, p. 4 at http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2010/04/pdf/turkey_levant.pdf. See also Kirişçi, Kemal: "The Transformation of Turkish Foreign Policy: The Rise of the Trading State", in *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no. 40, (Spring 2009), pp. 29 – 56.

[127] If so that seems to be an overly optimistic approach.

Minister, reportedly said that these relations were, "above and beyond everything else".[128] On the other hand Foreign Minister Davutoğlu calls these relations "unique" in character.[129] Referring to the concept of "Model Partnership" Davutoğlu underlines his belief that President Obama did use the conceptualization on purpose to signify "a prototype relationship between the two countries [that is]… a prototype for others".[130] However, as he underlines this future "prototype" he also underlines very strongly the unique character of the Turkish-US relations. As he paints a picture of a self-confident Turkey that has a foreign policy agenda that exactly matches that of the US on global issues because Turkey "has to be everywhere" not only because it is ""unique power in its surrounding regions and an important player in world politics," but also because "these are [Turkey's] concerns as a significant player of world politics."[131] That approach inevitably leaves the answers of two critical questions out: Firstly, how can a relationship which is so unique constitute a "prototype" for others in their relations with each other or with the US? Second, how can Turkey with all its internal divisions, especially divisions that are concerning the AKP and a still "precarious economic situation" can lead and shape the region,[132] or be the speaker on behalf of, say, "Africa"[133] as Davutoğlu suggests?

Actually, when it comes to Turkish-American relations Davutoğlu's approach is firstly one of a balancing act. He thinks that "Turkey should never be in a situation where he is left alone" with any of the global heavyweights such as the EU or United States as this will "ring about a strategic submissiveness".[134] The final aim of Turkey is to "establish an area of influence in its environs".[135] He clearly sees the US as a party that is crucial for Turkey to engage. According to him, "Turkey, as a middle size central country, needs the strategic weight of a continental superpower within the parameters of the internal balances of power of Afro-Eurasia".[136] The relations of two countries "has a solid geopolitical foundation, a strong historical background and an institutional framework."[137] Hence, the two countries, "need to have a comprehensive strategy, a comprehensive character for our model partnership," as Davutoğlu is "sure that in 10 years, the role of the United States as the global power will be strengthened" and Turkey will be playing that unique role in regional and global politics as he envisages.[138] His analysis on Obama's utterance to "Model Partnership" is remarkable in this regard:

> "This long historical experience together during the Cold War. Of course, we appreciate and we should remind each other of the good memories of the Korean War, good memories of other joint efforts. But, it should not be nostalgia and it should not be just referring to these. Memory is good, but we have to be future-oriented. After the Cold War, the situation

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[128] Yavuz, *op. cit.,* p. 228.

[129] Davutoğlu, Ahmet:, "Turkey-US relations: A Model Partnership, Global and Regional Dimensions", Speech Delivered by the Minister of Foreign Affairs H.E. Ahmet Davutoğlu at the 28th Annual Conference on US-Turkish Relations, *ATC-DEIK,* Washington DC (2 June 2009) at http://www.mfa.gov.tr/minster_s-speechat-the-28th-annual-conference-on-us-turkish-relations.en.mfa.

[130] *Ibid.*

[131] *Ibid.*

[132] Yavuz calls Davutoğlu's assumptions to this end "premature". See Yavuz, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

[133] He quotes this anecdote; "President of Tanzania, in our meeting, told our President, "You are in the G-20. There is no real representation from Africa, from the South in the G-20. Please be our voice. We have full confidence in Turkey and that Turkey will bring all our issues to the agenda of G-20". Davutoğlu, "Speech…", *op. cit.*

[134] Davutoğlu, "Stratejik…", *op. cit.,* p. 521.

[135] Davutoğlu, "Turkey's…", *op. cit.*, p.79.

[136] *Ibid.*, p. 88.

[137] *Ibid.*

[138] Davutoğlu, "Speech…", *op. cit.*

has changed and now there must be a new substance, there must be a new paradigm in our relations. Therefore, when President Obama used this term "model partnership" I said yes, this is a change of paradigm. Not just a strategic partnership, but a more comprehensive model partnership. That is what we need."[139]

Just like Davutoğlu, albeit in differing tones at home and abroad, Erdoğan also doesn't shy away from underlining the importance AKP attributes to the US. In a 2005 meeting in Washington, D.C. he went on record to say, "Turkey is a friend and ally of the United States of America. Our relationship dates back many, many years. And it is born on sound foundations. And it is true that at times we go through the test of time. Nevertheless, we see that there is a strong solidarity between our countries that is a result of commonsense and realism."[140] Two years later at the same venue he said; Turkey "highly value[s] …strategic partnership with the United States, which is one of the fundamental bedrocks of [its] foreign policy." He went on, "and I want to underscore this in the strongest and clearest terms. The deep-rooted history, shared values and common interests in our relations with the United States, which are advancing on a multidimensional basis, constitute the solid foundation of our alliance. "[141] Even the sheer weight of numbers speaks for themselves in that regard. A clear indication of the importance to give to bi-lateral relations by his government is that Erdogan visited the US 18 times 15 as Prime Minister –almost half of the total number of visits by Turkish presidents and prime ministers.[142] During his 2007 speech, Erdoğan's host, Richard Holbrooke, the veteran US diplomat who would become special adviser on Pakistan and Afghanistan to the president in the Obama administration, remarked, he"…can think of none … who is more important to the United States, to the stability of Europe and the Middle East, … There is no country in the world of more strategic importance to the United States at this moment in time than Turkey [which is] what Germany was during the Cold War, the frontline state…". [143]

However, despite these announcements from both sides that are full of compliments, none of these declarations change the fact that "Model Partnership" remains a vague term. The lack of a clear definition, as it was the case with the "shared vision" or "strategic partnership" in the past, is again the characterizing future of this new model of relations. This vagueness was not altogether negatively received in Turkey. Many commentators, especially within the circles sympathetic to the government hailed the new term as symbolizing "the beginning of a new era for every one of us and everything". This, Çandar argued, was because

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[139] *Ibid.*

[140] Erdoğan, Recep T.: "A Conversation with Recep Tayyip Erdogan [Rush transcript; Federal News Service, Inc.]", *CFR,* Washington D.C. (September 13, 2005), at http://www.cfr.org/publication/8880/conversation_with_recep_tayyip_erdogan_rush_transcript_federal_news_service_inc.html.

[141] Erdoğan, Recep T.: "A Conversation with Recep Tayyip Erdogan [Rush transcript; Federal News Service, Inc.]", Washington D.C., *CFR*, September 27, 2007 at http://www.cfr.org/publication/14395/conversation_%20with_recep_tayyip_erdogan_rush_transcript_federal_news_service.html.

[142] "Erdoğan 17 kez ABD'ye gitti", *Haber*, 5 April 2010, at http://www.24haber.com/?newstype%20=normal&newsid=43532. Reflective of Davutoğlu's influence in shaping the foreign policy doctrine of AKP, as of mid March 2010 , according to information reportedly released by AKP, Erdogan has completed 234 diplomatic visits. "7 Yılda 234 Kez Yurtdışına Gitti [234 Abroad in 7 Years], *Stratejik Boyut,* 15 March 2010, at http://www.stratejikboyut.com/haber/7-yilda-234-kez-yurtdisina-gitti--33209.html.

[143] Erdoğan, A Conversation with Recep Tayyip Erdogan [Rush transcript; Federal News Service, Inc.]", September 27, 2007.

"Turkey was going to be understood as one of the most important countries in the eyes of the US and treated as one". It was like the US and Turkey were creating "jointly" a new "company" for handling and cooperating on various global issues together".[144] Another observer inferred that "Obama is talking about an exemplary relationship, especially for the relations with Muslim countries," however the same observer has also called for "contextualizing the term".[145] The pro-government daily *Star* has heralded a new "relationship of equals".[146] There was a clear expectation on the Turkish side that the new era will be one that Turkish-American relations would develop on the economic front.[147] However in the lack of a clear definition of what a "model" entails or what does "strategic" encompass on the articulation of interests by and within both parties the expectation in this direction does seem to be lame. Tellingly it quickly became apparent by the Turkey´s behavior (not by the US).

Almost six months after the initial decoration of the new mode of partnership the process seemed to have frozen. Just before President Obama's speech on the Armenian genocide claims in April 2010, and after a positive vote in the House Committee on Foreign Relations pushing for a bill recognizing the claims, Turkish Minister of Industry and Commerce, answering to questions from the press, said that "[the Committee's] decision unavoidably made us, somehow, push the brakes. We will see the developments. We will decide what to do after April 24th [Obama's speech]."[148] AKP's Foreign Relations Coordinator Suat Kınıklıoğlu has commented that if the "[house] bill is passed into a law the US will no longer be able to be a superpower".[149] To be sure in part these reactions were for soothing the domestic public opinion.[150] However there is nothing in this suggestion that contradicts the earlier comment on the proximity of processes of interest articulation.

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[144] Çandar, Cengiz: "Barack Hussein Obama: Dürüst, Dost, Duyarlı [Barack Hussein Obama: Honest, Friendly, Sensetive", *Hürriyet*, 7 Nisan 2009 at
http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/haber.aspx?%20id=11381721&yazarid=215.

[145] Kılıç, Gülay:"Sedat: Laçiner: ABD ile Model Ortaklığın İçi Dolmalı [Model Partnership with the USA should be Contextualized", *USAK.com*, 15 December 2009 at http://www.usak.org.tr/makale.asp?id=1193.

[146] "Erdoğan ve Obama Model Ortaklık ile 'eşitler arası' yeni bir ilişki kurdu", *Star*, 9 December 2009.

[147] Davutoğlu also has remarked that the current state of Turkish-US trade and economic relations were unacceptable. Davutoğlu, "Speech…", *op. cit*.

[148] "ABD ile model ortaklık Obama'nın 24 Nisan konuşmasını bekliyor [The model partnership with the USA on hold until Obama's April 24th Speech]", *Star*, 14 Mart 2010.

[149] "Suat Kınıklıoğlu: Tasarı Yasalaşırsa ABD Artık Süper Güç Olamaz [If the Bill Passes into a Law the USA Will No Longer Be Able to Be A Super Power ", *TurkishNY,* 2 March 2010, at http://www.turkishny.com/interviews/40-interview/25232-suat-knklolu-tasar-yasalarsa-abd-artk-super-guc-olmaz.

[150] *As evidenced by the way Erdogan reacted to Obama's use of the term "*Meds Yeghern*" (Great Calamity) in his April 24, 2010 Armenian Remembrance Day speech. "Erdoğan'dan Obama'nın 24 Nisan Açıklamasına Olumlu Tepki,[Positive Reaction From Erdogan to Obama's Announcement of 24th April],* VOANews.ComTürkçe, *25 April 2010, at* http://www1voanews.com/turkish/news/Erdoandan-Obamann-24-Nisan-Acklamasna-Olumlu-Tepki-92050334.html. *Erdoğan said "our sensitivities were taken into consideration" and accused the opposition for being disillusioned with the result and calling that it was to the oppositions detriment that Obama has made such an announcement" the Ministry of Foreign Affairs took an entirely different line by declaring Obama's words "wrong and one-sided". It is interesting to compare the reaction from Davutoglu's Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the same subject which can either be taken as a sign of the division between the Erdogan led "pragmatist and opportunist group" and Gül led "moralists and idealists" within the AKP leadership. See Yavuz,* op. cit., *p. 233.or as yet another example of what AKP's opposition calls the dual track public diplomacy –read disinformation- campaign from AKP to cover its foreign policy blunders. See, "ABD Başkanı Obama Tarafından Yapılan Açıklama Hk. [Regarding the Speech by President Obama]",* T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı, no: 90, 24 April 2010, at http://www.mfa.gov.tr/no_-90_-24-nisan-2010_-abd-baskani-obama-tarafindan-yapilan-aciklama-k_.tr.mfa. *As a matter of fact, Obama's utilization of the concept and the whole outlook of the speech*

There are also a wide array of issues that will not be addressed here in detail ranging from AKP's denial of the human tragedy in Sudanese Darfur, on the grounds that, in Erdoğan's words "it is impossible that anyone belonging to the religion of Islam that we belong may commit genocide,"[151] to the somehow ambiguous issue[152] of Iran's nuclear program that, again according to Erdoğan, the entire intelligence on it, can be called "rumors,"[153] All this represent critical differences in the interests and hence foreign policies of Turkey and US.

6. Turkish – American Relations: Strategic Framework and Limitations

As the effects and consequences of 9/11 hit to the international system the "rent" that Turkey enjoyed with her geostrategic importance has been transformed. This has fit well with the AKP's self image as well as its political strategy. The civilizational outlook of the new conflict suddenly put great emphasis on Turkey's multi-faceted identity. A European state with most of its landmass in Asia, traditionally looking to West but with deep cultural roots in the East, a predominantly Muslim state with a secular regime and a multitude of sects. Turkey was now important not only for its geopolitical position, as was the case during Cold War, but it is also the predominantly Muslim democracy with secular institutions and governed by a, self defining, conservative democrat government which came to power through elections. The last one of these aspects seems to be especially important given the aforementioned civilizational outlook of the post-9/11 conflicts and tensions.[154] This civilizational outlook

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might be said to include almost all Armenian demands except using the g-word. For the full text of Obama's speech see Obama, Barak H.: "Statement of President Barack Obama on Armenian Remembrance Day", The White House, 24 April 2010 at http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/statement-president-barack-obama-armenian-remembrance-day. This also was not a surprise given the fact that while visiting Turkey Obama, despite repeated questions from the Turkish press, has said that he didn't change his position on the issue. See "Joint Press Availability…", op. cit.

[151] "Erdoğan'a göre Darfur'da Soykırım Yok! [According to Erdogan There is No Genocide in Darfur!]", *CNNTurk.com*, 9 November 2009, at http://www.cnnturk.com/2009/turkiye/11/08/erdogana.gore.darfurda. soykirim.yok/550901.0 /index.html.

[152] I call the situation ambiguous as in private many high ranking Turkish diplomats and even members of AKP –though ones who seem to be less identity oriented- voice their concerns on Iran's nuclear program and its potential effects on Turkey's foreign policy. Especially when one thinks about AKP's claim that Turkey is on its way to becoming a regional power with global influence a nuclear Iran should rationally be considered a hindrance. It might be said to be the case that AKP is merely following through the steps of Turkish governments before it. On the issues relating to Iran AKP's predecessors have always took a very cautious attitude and frequently choose to neglect the potential threats and risks Iran has posed to Turkey. This was largely due to the energy trade and commercial ties between the two countries which Turkish decision makers have traditionally put a high premium on. It should also be remembered that Iran's hydrocarbon resources, especially natural gas is strategically very important for Turkey's aspirations of becoming a transit and terminal country, a hub in world energy equation. This was the case during the 1990s onwards. Nevertheless Erdogan's attitude is hailed in Iran, see "Turkey: Iran's Nuclear Programme 'Solely Cvilian'", *Iran Affairs*, March 16th, 2010 at http://www.iranaffairs.com/iran_affairs/2010/03/index.html.

[153] Özel, Soli: "Başarının Riskleri [The Risks of Success], *Haber Turk*, 19 April 2010 Erdogan attributed these words while giving an interview to CNN's Christian Amanpour while attending the Nuclear Security Summit in the US.

[154] Obviously when the civilizational aspect, or the probability of post-9/11 conflict being defined in terms of civilizations, is revoked the work that is referred to whether implicitly or explicitly is the *Clash of Civilizations* of the late Harvard Professor Samuel Huntington. Huntington, Samuel P. (1997): *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order,* New York, Touchstone. The comment that Huntington's forcefully argued and equally controversial thesis was criticized mainly "out of fear that it may fuel the conflict"and the efforts to

was, and still is something that all the actors persistently denied. Though looking at the tone of the debate and the arguments developed in open denial and refutation of this aspect of post-9/11, one can wonder whether there is a genuine consensual belief on the nature of the situation not related to civilizational fault lines. In short, these kinds of generalizations may fuel the conflict.

These fears, somehow logically, not only put a premium on Turkey's importance for the West and the US but also increased the value-added of AKP's proposition that it and only it represented an exclusive, genuine wisdom that promised a chance for reconciliation by playing the role of a counselor, mediator or facilitator between the West and the Islamic rest, derived from the Ottoman past that it is the rightful heir of. Following on this argument AKP did not hesitate much before assuming, or at least tacitly accepting,[155] the role of leader of the now infamous Greater Middle East Project and then transforming this somehow dubious role by becoming, with Spain, the co-sponsor of *The Alliance of Civilizations* initiative on 13 June 2005, that was announced by the then Secretary General of the United Nations Kofi Annan in July 2005.[156] Following the appointment of State Minister Mehmet Aydın by Secretary General Annan to the position of Co-chair[157] it was commented in the Turkish press that this marked "a new perspective for Turkish foreign policy" as "Ankara which, since the establishment of the Republic pursued a foreign policy that was oriented towards the West and kept itself distant from the Islamic countries has by including itself in this initiative, in a way assumed the role of the voice of the Muslim World."[158] Indicative of an expectation in AKP that this initiative would also add up to the influence of Turkey, hence increasing the credibility of AKP's foreign policy and respectability at home and abroad, Erdoğan has not shied away from frequently using the issue as a sign of the renewed prestige that AKP made possible.[159]

Actually the way that President Obama's visit was reacted by the AKP circles can also be understood within the context of solidifying this image of prestige inside and outside the country. A report prepared for the pro-government think-tank SETA announces that, "[Obama's] visit contributed to Turkey's soft power image on the international stage." However, reflective of the need to define and contextualize the new mode of relations the

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strengthen a civilizational dialogue may in themselves be interpreted as an indication more of denial then forceful refutation. Amidst the early havoc of 9/11 Huntington seems to be careful not to" fuel" the risk by drawing attention to the fine tunes in his argument but he seemed to have no reason whatsoever to reject and contradict his earlier "prophecies". Steinberger, Michael, "So, are civilizations at war?", *The Observer*. For an equally forceful critique of Huntington's thesis see Said, Edward W.: "The Clash of Ignorance", *The Nation*, vol.273, no. 12, (21 October 2001).

[155] See Uzgel, *op. cit.*, p. 369.

[156] José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, President of the Government of Spain, called for the creation of the Alliance of Civilizations at the General Assembly meeting on 21 September 2004. See http://www.unaoc.org.

[157] "Secretary-General Announces Composition of High-Level Group for Alliance of Civilizations", *United Nations, Secretary-General SG/SM/10073/Rev.1**, (02/09/2005), at http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2005/sgsm 10073. doc.htm.

[158] Balcı, Ali: "Medeniyetler İttifakı ve AKP [Alliance of Civilizations and AKP", *Radikal*, 12 November 2006.

[159] Indicative of his position concerning the issue Erdogan vowed that if the European Union (EU) doesn't accept Turkey as a member that would be EU's loss "Because Turkey represent the Islamic world of 1,5 billion, we are carrying out the position of the co-chair of Alliance of civilizations". "Biz Medeniyetler İttifakı'nın Eş Başkanıyız", *Haberiniz,* 4 September 2009, at http://www.haberiniz.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3122:qchp-gelmezse-biz-onlara-giderizq&catid=137:poltka&Itemid=214. The issue is an interesting one to observe as while participating in such an initiative as kind of an internuncio Erdogan clearly places himself as the leader of one side –a position that is not categorically unifying. Also it should not be overlooked that the value of the position as a factor of influence ironically is dependent on holding the rift between the "civilizations."

analyst goes on to say that "there is a need to constitute a solid base for Obama's notion of model partnership in order to secure long-term support and cooperation on the ground from the US administration." The need is critical because "the challenge is to utilize converging regional and international interests between Turkey and the US in the current era in order to create a win-win situation for all sides."[160]

Actually one can't help to wonder how a relationship that is, in Gül's words I quoted earlier, "above and beyond everything else" may suffer from such a seemingly structural deficiency. For some the answer lies in the fact that the American side has for a long period of time realized the importance of having an American confirmation carried for Turkey's governments and have been generously scattered the qualitative adjectives for labeling the relations -the last example being the "Model Partnership". However the reality may be lying in the fact that Gordon underlined. The black and white world of the Cold War provided the parties with a solid rationale for developing and maintaining relations. Especially, for Turkey with its foreign policy being formulated on the traditional pillars of status-quo preservation, westernization and security, the justification was almost too easy to infer. Under those circumstances the US, with its unchallenged position of leadership of the western world and military might, was the natural signpost to watch. The 1990s were not so certain. They were somehow lost for Turkey as most of the decade was spent in pursuit of the formulation of the right strategy for fighting its two and a half wars –with the pressure of shouldering all the social, political and economic costs attached to such an endeavor. The US on the other hand was still able to toy around the idea of the unilateral moment that it enjoyed. Again at the time, for Turkey there was hardly ever any alternative other than getting along with what some called the hegemon of the international system given the necessities and priorities shaping around the "two and a half wars.

Today, these days are over. AKP's vision of Turkey becoming a central country, not only in its region but in a way that enables it to utilize its potential to play a central role within the transatlantic community, has already become the actively pursued policy line.[161] Although the roots of this policy have been clearly traceable in the late 1990s, it would not be wrong to say that AKP has provided it with the mantel of a grandiose discourse. However, the million dollar question concerning Turkish-American relations remain. Does the AKP see its relations with the West, and particularly with the US, in instrumental/ opportunistic terms? If it is so, to what extent? What is the US vision concerning Turkey's role in US's policies in Turkey's environs? The natural follow up of which is, where does AKP stand *vis a vis* these policies?

7. Games of Strategy rather than Partnership?

A strategic partnership can be understood as a tool used by a powerful state, or states, to maximize its "political, economic, and military dominance in the international system…[as] a means of shaping the international environment to suit [its/their] vital interests".[162] It would

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[160] Aras, *op. cit.,* p. 15.

[161] For Turkey being a "central country" rather than a "bridge" see Davutoğlu, Ahmet: "Türkiye merkez ülke olmalı [Turkey should become a central country], *Radikal*, 26 February 2004. For the Turkish word "*merkez*", I am suggesting using the concept of "central" " instead of "pivotal" as it is sometimes preferred. This is because of my understanding that what Davutoğlu refers to is an absolute center of gravity rather than a pivot position within a regional framework.

[162] Kay, Sean: "What is a strategic partnership?", *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 47, no. 3 (May/June 2000), p. 16.

not be wrong to say that the strategic partnership or cooperation between Turkey and US has long been understood by American decision-makers in line with this framework. However, Turkey's changing regional environment, the challenges and opportunities this change brings, coupled by Turkey's political transformation, in terms of the changing of ruling elites has seriously hindered the US's ability to sustain this situation. The events following 9/11 also has seriously damaged the US's options in effectively pursuing a traditional "carrots and sticks" policy that would encourage compliance with US interest while discouraging defiance. The invasion of Iraq has dented US claims to legitimacy to an extent that even a President such as Obama, who embodies so much of the long envied American Dream, is finding not easy to repair. Under the current circumstances the Obama administration's primary pursuit is damage control: To get the US troops in Iraq back; to evacuate Afghanistan in a foreseeable future with some kind of a success story; to repair the US economy, as well as attending to major foreign policy agendas of the US like WMD, Iran, Russia, China. It seems like the US will not be able to flex its muscles to the extent that it has done within the past decade before this administration or some other future one can win the battle for "hearts and minds" at home. This leaves Obama administration, as it would have any other administration, with no other choice but play a game of strategy where multilateral institutions are utilized whenever possible and *ad hoc* alliances, alliances of choice comprised of the willing, are vital. America at this point is in need of partners that could provide additional legitimacy and lever. Europe, it seems safe to assume, is neither willing nor able to act, at least would not choose to act beyond the framework of multilateral institutions. So it is a viable alternative for the US to begin to understand the concept of Strategic Partnership in terms of "a close relationship between two states that seek mutual gains but whose interest may be competitive rather than shared."[163] Still one has to realize that the "Model Partnership" resonates much more in tune with an emphasis on bilateral relations which in essence is still a convenient recipe for leveraging the influence of the stronger side in the equation –in this case the US.

On the other hand for the AKP, as assertive as its vision might be, the constraints of Turkey being a middle-size/ intermediate, state/ power applies. However the AKP, even though it resorts to typical middle-size state strategies in pursuing its foreign policy agenda[164] in terms of, especially, its multilateralist behavior,[165] has a professed grand agenda. In an undisclosed report entitled "The Turkey Project" AKP is reported to argue that the Party "believes that Turkey should fill in the power vacuum in the Middle East created by the fall of the Ottoman Empire… [by becoming] a major intervening actor" as this is the only solution to Turkey's bilateral and domestic problems and, since "there is no other way to bring peace and stability to the region".[166] It will be interesting to see how AKP integrates the Ottoman heritage of statecraft which is by definition imperialistic, with the cooperative, multilateral, benign order building policy it says Turkey is pursuing. This seems to be an inherent incoherence that AKP's decision-makers will have to cope with.

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[163] Kay, *op. cit.,* p. 15.
[164] On mid-size states' multilateralist behavior in foreign policy see Hurrell, Andrew; Cooper, Andrew F.; González González, Guadalupe; Ubiraci; Sennes, Ricardo and Sitaraman, Srini: "Paths to Power: Foreign Policy Strategies of Intermediate States", *Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, Latin American Program,* no. 244, Washington D.C. (2000); Daniel, Flemes (2007): *Emerging Middle Powers' Soft Balancing Strategy:State and Perspectives of the IBSA Dialogue Forum*, Hamburg, German Institute of Global and Area Studies Working Paper.
[165] Raising it to the level of a principle, Davutoglu, "Speech …", *op. cit*.
[166] Yavuz, *op. cit.,* p. 229.

It is hard to make a crystal clear comment on the true nature of AKP's foreign policy and the strategy it pursuits.[167] This is largely because of the seeming inconsistencies between the discourse and practice as well as incoherence between the professed strategies and their declared targets. If one does not hold a categorical belief in AKP being a US project[168] or AKP being a mere buttress of US's policies in the Middle East[169] one thing seems to be sure, the AKP does not see itself in a position to "say yes to US originated policy choices".[170] However, there again appears to be another contradiction. A very sympathetic observer of AKP policies contends that, "the Party's leadership has shown utmost importance to continue and whenever the opportunity arises further develop friendly relations with the USA"[171] However it will be over stretching to claim that it is bandwagoning with the western –mainly US- interests even though on repeated occasions, as has been widely referred in this study, Davutoğlu has clearly urged the US and the West to work with Turkey, or Erdoğan's top advisers urging the US "to use the men".[172] Also, Davutoğlu, whenever possible, outlines how the West should act with Turkey. A careful reading of his words indicates that this is more an invitation to his counterparts to bandwagon with Turkey, not the other way around. While doing that, it is obvious that AKP is, at least for now, however somehow stubborn on a range of issues, most important of which happens to be the nuclear program of Iran - is not in defiance. Neither it's balancing in the classical Waltian sense –i.e. openly allying itself with powers that are in open confrontation, hot or cold, with the interests of the West and the US.[173]

One should not forget that Turkey is said to have "one of the most complex foreign policy situations in the world."[174] It might be said that a degree of inconsistency has been create as a result of pressing agendas stemming out of this situation. Davutoğlu compared Turkey's situation to that of a "chess player".[175] Yet it is possible to suggest a simpler answer: AKP is omnibalancing in an idiosyncratic way. That is, in Steven R. Davids's terminology, as the primary motivation of the government is to stay in power, it not only tries to deter the external threats but also uses the foreign policy to keep the domestic contenders in check. While doing that it also tries to mobilize the foreign economic resources to create and ensure

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[167] The theoretical framework used here is adopted from; David, Steven R.: "Explaining Third World Alignments" *World Politics*, vol. 43, no. 2 (January 1991), pp. 233-256; Barnett, Michael and Levy, Jack S.: "Domestic Sources of Alliances and Alignments: Case of Egypt, 1962-73", *International Organization*, vol. 45, no. 3 (Summer 1991), pp. 369-395; Walt, Stephen M. (1987): *Origins of Alliances*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press; Rothstein, Robert L. (1968): *Alliances and Small Powers,* New York and London, Columbia University Press; Hinnebusch, Raymond: "Introduction: The Analytical Framework" in Hinnebusch, Raymond and Ehteshami, Anoushiravan (eds.) (2002): *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States*, Boulder and London, Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp. 1 – 27.

[168] Edelman, *op. cit.,* Yanardağ, *op. cit.*

[169] Uzgel, *op. cit.*

[170] Fuller, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[171] Kardaş, Şaban: "Türkiye ve Irak Krizi: Kimlikle Çıkar Arasında AKP, [Turkey and The Iraq Crisis: AKP Between Identity and Interest] in Yavuz Hakan (ed.) (2010): *AK Parti: Toplumsal Değişimin Yeni Aktörleri* [*AK Party: The New Agents of Societal Change*], Kitap Yayınevi, İstanbul, p. 362. The volume is first published by the University of Utah Press in 2006 under the title *The Emergence of a New Turkey: Democracy and AK Party*.

[172] See foot note 100 above.

[173] It can be said today that in the sense of forming a security block the West and the US can't be assumed and treated as a single entity. To be sure on the economic interests seem to diverge more. However even there, a multiplicity of issues, starting from the Euro's potential challenge to US Dollars international reserve currency status makes relations somehow uneasy. Burns, Robert: "US and Europe rethink role of Cold War alliance", *The Associated Press* (April 21st, 2010), at http://www.gopusa. com/news/2010/april/0421_natop.shtml.

[174] Rubin, *op.cit,* p. 1.

[175] "[T]urkey's foreign policy vision was structured on planning the whole experience like a game of chess and to move the right piece with the correct timing." Davutoğlu, "Türkiye Merkez…", *op. cit.*

political popularity. The question asked is not "how does this policy affect states power"[176] but, "how does this policy affect *probability* of *my* remaining in power?" In theory the leaders tend to ask, "which outside power is most likely to protect *me* from the internal and external threats (as well as combinations of both) that I face" rather than seeking a viable ally to help protect the state against external threats.[177]

If one finds the idea that AKP uses foreign policy both to transform the country and delegitimize its opposition and hence amplifying its supporters' influence by increasing their economic power[178]compelling, then omnibalancing becomes a reasonable explanation of AKP's foreign policy agenda. Intrinsically, AKP seems to be soft-balancing externally, while hard-balancing domestically. Furthermore the zero-problems with neighbors policy that is often criticized as being idealistic and moralistic also becomes a quite rational policy choice. As it means desecuritization of Turkey's foreign policy, the direct domestic effect of zero-problems policy is to decrease the Turkish Armed Forces' clout on politics. As that position is legitimized with the discourse of Turkey being surrounded by hostile neighbors, as much as the self-image of the Army that is shared by a majority, of being the driving force and the guardian of Kemalist revolutions, any move that leads to the questioning of the need of Turkey to sustain the presence of a sizable Army directly decreases the Army's weight in domestic political balances. In a hostile neighborhood it would be substantially harder to mobilize and convince the public that the Army has become an obstacle on the way to democratization of the country more than it is an asset - as that has been the experience in the past.[179] As such, despite the potential risks that such a policy entails –as the probability of having to side with one of the parties in a crisis situation that goes out of control– it is somehow worth the risk as it guarantees a domestic, as well as an international, *strategic depth*.

As Yavuz says, as Turkey becomes more democratic the foreign policy will also be more and more determined "by the identity of the elected representatives."[180] This is a phenomenon that we can observe more and more after the landscape victory of the AKP in 2007. Feeling more secure against the domestic threat and overcoming its February 28th Syndrome on the grounds of well earned self-confidence through omnibalancing, the Party has become more identity oriented in its foreign policy.[181] In a way, it might be said that AKP has been embarked on a different kind of westernization, trying to get the better part of "Afro-Eurasia", as Davutoğlu calls it, under Turkish influence.

Looming at the background are three risks: Firstly, there is the intellectual risk stemming from the coherence, or lack of it, of Davutoğlu's vision. Davutoğlu in essence is building a "grand strategy" on a geopolitical interpretation of history that is inspired by *realpolitik* and of the international system. However on these foundations he tries to elaborately relocate a "principled" functionalist / neo-liberal institutionalist rhetoric. Then he seems to try to run the policy on that structure. Given this situation, his theoretical stance, a frequent subject of debate amongst Turkish academicians, can conveniently be labeled as *pragmatic eclecticism* more than anything else. Under the circumstances there is enough

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[176] David, *op.cit.*, p. 238 from Morgenthau, Hans and Thopmson, Kenneth (1985): *Politics Among Nations*, VIth Ed., New York, Alfred Knopf, p. 14 foot note 3.

[177] Emphasis in the original. *Ibid.*, pp. 235 - 236 and, Hinnebusch, *op.cit.*, p. 15.

[178] For compelling arguments on this contention see Yavuz, "Secularism...", *op. cit.,* pp. 203 - 204 and, Uzgel, *op.cit.*, pp 366 - 368.

[179] This easily applies to the Kurdish an Armenian issues as well as the approach to Iran.

[180] Yavuz, "Secularism…", *op. cit.,* p. 210.

[181] See in this volume Tür, Özlem: "Turkish-Syrian Relations –Where are we going?".

reason to point out to the probability of a moment of truth where he has to really choose between a "conscientious constraint" and interests,[182] risking to lose a good amount of credibility in the process when one consider how much capital AKP has spent on building this beautiful looking but not that solid structure of foreign policy. The second risk stems from the objective conditions surrounding the level of power that Turkey can yield for this ambitious task. Starting from the vulnerabilities of its economy to the sheer lack of enough Foreign Ministry experts and personnel there are a series of inadequacies. AKP also lacks the support of the know-how of large parts of bureaucratic state, some pacified by the AKP itself, as this asks for a level of coherence with the traditional decision making elites of developing such an independent influence. In the end this is important.[183] Since 2007 AKP seems to overcome that obstacle to an extent but nevertheless it still seems to be far off hitting the base. Thirdly, as it is the case in any *game of strategy*, there is the factor of moves of the other parties involved. Not only on the domestic level, about which much has been said in the preceding pages but, also, on international level. There is small probability that the AKP could become a one way street. Answering to a question in a panel on Turkish foreign policy, Ali Bulaç, an influential intellectual of the Islamist circles, said; "Turkey is blocking the system… It has to change itself. Whoever pledges to realize that change will be in government. Today AKP is trying to do that. If they fail they will be replaced by somebody else who delivers."[184] Moreover; "attempting to become [even] a major regional power while the world's greatest power is focused on your every move, to say the least, difficult."[185] The natural consequence is that any move targeted to become a major influence should somehow involve co-opting the US which inevitably involves bandwagoning.

However cracking under multi-level pressures, -growing skepticism about the AKP both in the EU and US, the influence that the deterioration of relations with Israel had on the influential Jewish Lobby in Washington D.C., the increasing voices of concern over the countries inner divisions- there seems to be a belief in the US that the "US needs Turkey for its Middle East agenda."[186] However as the words speak for themselves the US understanding of Turkey is far from stretching all over "Afro-Eurasia" but rather limited to the identity that AKP is vigorously pushing. To give another more telling example, in a Senate Committee on Armed Services Hearing on *Current and Future Worldwide Threats To The National Security Of The United States*, held in March 2009, Turkey has been mentioned ten times, seven of

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[182] In reality such a moment came when the atrocities of Sudan leader al-Bashir were known. However, by that time the "identity cloak" worked for Davutoglu and AKP. A near miss nevertheless.

[183] As " states foreign-policy (or ideology) can be thought of as a durable formula or tradition that incorporates experience by state elites in balancing and reconciling such elements as economic needs, geopolitical imperatives, domestic opinion, and state capabilities." Hinnebusch, *op. cit.*, p.15.As such it can be said to display continuity that makes it more resilient in the face of events.

[184] Bulaç, Ali: "Ortadoğu Türkiye için Neden Önemlidir? [Why is the Middle East Important for Turkey?]", Yirmi Birinci Yüzyıl Tür Dış Politikasının Değişen Parametreleri" [Changing Parameters of Turkish Foreign Policy in the Twenty First Century], *Diplomasi Forum- 2010*, İstanbul, ITO (6 May 2010).

[185] Friedman, *op. cit,* p. 80. Ironically Friedman's argument was aimed at explaining Iran's position *vis a vis* US.

[186] Katulis, Brian: ""US Needs Turkey for its Middle East Agenda.", *Atlantic-Community.org* (November 23rd, 2009)   at
http://www.atlanticcommunity.org/index/articles/view/The_US_needs_Turkey_for_its_Middle_East_Agenda.
Though, compared with an earlier report, significant of the events that followed its release, co-authored by the same analyst the scope of the relations seem to be limited more on Iraq then Iran and Arab-Israelis conflict. See Boyer, Spencer P. and Katulis, Brian: "The Neglected Alliance: Restoring US-Turkish Relations to Meet 21st Century Challenges", *Center for American Progress,* Washington, D.C.,
(December 2008). For other examples see Werz, Michael: "Turkey's Democratic Steps Have A Lot in Common with US Interests", *Today's Zaman,* October 26th, 2009.

which was within the context of either Iraq or Kurdish terror.[187] Second, Turkey with its limited resources might find it very difficult to deliver on such an over-stretching call. Third, in the face of internal divisions of Turkey getting bitter and bitter, it will be hard to achieve "peace on earth" before it achieves "peace at home".[188] In the end the statement quoted above may just be reduced to a myth as was the case with the belief that "US can't go it alone without Turkey on board in Iraq."

How long will Turkey go on omnibalancing, especially the soft-balancing attitude towards the US and, in part, under somewhat different dynamics the EU? Werz in a way follows on that question when saying, "[I]t remains an open question if and when the AKP government will decide to make Turkey into a real stakeholder in the region rather than simply maintain its new role as a facilitator." Then he goes on for another remark, "the latter may not be enough for the United States."[189]

8. Conclusion

As mentioned earlier Davutoğlu's approach seems in essence to be one of *pragmatic eclecticism*. Under this approach the AKP seems to bandwagon with the US on many issues of significance and promises on its ability to be able to do more. However if AKP is omnibalancing under the threat it perceives from the traditional decision making elites within the framework elaborated by David then it may well be the case that the omnibalancing by soft balancing in this case might as well look like bandwagoning with the dominant power in what is for all practical reasons still a unipolar world. The distinction, Yavuz noted,[190] amongst AKP decision makers as the moralists and pragmatics might lose its relevance under such an explanation as they all become actors, in final analysis, motivated by a shared pious as well as an imperial identity –namely Ottoman Islamic. This approach could be a position that the US finds for the time being accommodating and acceptable. This is because it, first, promises much needed backing by a major Muslim country, accompanied with solid messages of support for most US policies. Second, because, as mentioned earlier it comes in a time that the US administration is under heavy pressure from all fronts concerning the economy and foreign policy, the latter of which being largely in connection with the Muslim world. Third, a brief analysis of the US foreign policy in the Middle East or elsewhere clearly indicates that the US is as pragmatic in its foreign policy as any other power despite the rhetoric of values that often accompany the practice.[191] However, the reverse westernization that was mentioned earlier, with its focus on becoming as powerful as the West once successful might definitely provide ample incentive for transforming soft balancing to out-right defiance. For the US, whose national interests in Turkey's region, which by no means constitute the geographical limit for AKP's quest for influence, might be summarized as, "having unfettered access to oil, do away with anti-American groups, promote the interests of Israel and prevent any Middle Eastern country from evolving into a regional hegemon to

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[187] "Current and Future Worldwide Threats To The National Security Of The United States", Hearing Before the Committee on Armed Services, *United States Senate, One Hundred Eleventh Congress, First Sesssion*, Washington, D.C., Government printing Office (March 10, 2009).

[188] It still remains, even perhaps more so then the time this comment was made that "The trouble with Turkey is still "conflicting visions of the county's future character and external role". Lesser, "Beyond 'Bridge…", *op. cit.,* p. 203.

[189] Werz, "The New….", *op. cit.*

[190] See foot note 148 above.

[191] Such a pragmatic continuity was traced and analyzed above.

challenge US and/ or Israeli domination in the region,"[192] such defiance will be, to say the least, problematic.

Seemingly outside of the debate on "Model Partnership" as term used to define the Turkish-US relations, there is also the larger issue of Turkey playing the role "Model" for the countries that it has religious, cultural or ethnic ties with. This issue however somehow becomes relevant when the definition of "Model" as used in the term "Model Partnership" is interpreted as meaning a prototype. Under the prevailing conditions of the day it may well look plausible to have Turkey play as a *civilizational arbitrator*. This has definitely been an idea that the US toyed with for some time now. A model for the rest of the Muslim world as pre-dominantly Muslim country, run by moderated Islamists as *Muslim Democrats*.[193] As such the country led by AKP might serve as an agent of transformation in Islam. However while embracing that approach one has to also remember the immediate years after the collapse of the Soviet Union. At the time many in Turkey and around the world couldn't help but see a great potential in Turkey being a model for the ex-Soviet Central Asian Turkic Republics. The argument was that Turkey being the secular Islamic society, run by a democracy with a functioning free market system –that it very recently transformed its economy to- was the ideal model for the so called "Istans". However, the constraints that are in large part still looming today were casting a long shadow on Turkey's prospects of becoming "Turkic" model" at that time too. That experience resulted in disillusionment not only because Turkey lacked the necessary resources to run the distance but, also because Turkey's other identities were not able to be very much effectively mobilized eager to support "that" cause. Today, the other half of Turkey's *Janus* like identities is not very much eager, if not outright against, to be mobilized for the cause of the "model Islamic country". That is a considerable problem given the fact that in the 1990s there was at least no fragmentation comparable to the current one hanging over the society like the sword of Damocles. While Turkey's competing but unified identities do fight for its soul they do drag each other away from going into a single consensual direction. The trouble for Turkey is much in unifying these identities in one soul rather then deciding a winner over its consciousness.

There is no doubt that Turkey and US can't risk letting each other go their own ways in the foreseeable future. Neither there is reason to expect a sudden breakup of the relations. Though the road ahead seems to be one that is downhill rather than the other way around in the absence of a real, contextualized "partnership" that is based on either shared interests, or common values and principles –preferably all-, the relations still carry at least a pragmatic and instrumental value for both sides. There is no question that what Turkey under AKP demands, in addition to the enriched multidimensional content or "comprehensive character"[194] for the relations, that almost all past Turkish governments wanted, is a much more egalitarian relationship with the US.[195] Under the circumstances it may well be the case today that Turkey-U.S "partnership" qualified under any label is just an amiable salutation of a bygone

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[192] Yavuz, "Secularism…", *op. cit.,* p. 238. I should, Express that I am not as sure of the validity of the parts of the analysis concerning Israel under the Obama administration. However they were definitely there at the time of Yavuz's writing.

[193] For an argument coming from within arguing that "Muslim Democrat" constitutes a more appropriate definition of the AKP then the preferred "Conservative Democrat, see Akdoğan, Yalçın: "Muhafazakar-Demokrat Siyasal Kimliğin Önemi ve Siyasal İslamcılıktan Farkı [The Importance of Conservative Democrat Identity and the Difference with Political Islamism], in Yavuz (ed.), "AK Parti…", *op. cit.,* pp. 71 -73.

[194] Davutoğlu voiced this when saying "Nobody should make just one reference to our relations." See Davutoğlu, "Speech…", *op. cit*.

[195] It should be said that *égalité* in this case should be understood as one that transcends the theoretical equality of the states enshrined in the UN charter and international law in that it is rested on an equal treatment and respect to the Turkish present demands and interests globally.

past that may be very hard to resurrect in the absence of another Korea or the common threat of an "evil empire."

TURKEY´S ENERGY STRATEGY: WHAT DIFFERENCE DOES IT MAKE TO BECOME AN ENERGY TRANSIT CORRDIOR, HUB OR CENTER?

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Abstract:

This article identifies the differences between being an energy corridor, hub or center, in the case of Turkey, with a particular focus on its foreign and domestic energy features. It elaborates the shift in Turkey's energy discourse from 1991 to nowadays in order to define the background which makes Turkey consider energy as a significant tool in foreign affairs and regional relations. The paper points to important consistencies and inconsistencies between Turkey's energy discourse, regional situation, foreign policy initiatives and domestic energy structure. Turkey's fuzzy energy discourse, as it was at the very beginning of this period, has gained a strategic vision during the last couple of years. Turkey implements energy as a strategic foreign policy tool, yet with a retroactive characteristic mainly arising from past discrepancies. This strategy, which is aimed at creating an energy transit corridor, can become proactive, making Turkey a hub or a center, and will be highly related to contractual terms of past and forthcoming energy agreements, changes in the energy mix and the successful use of massive investment.

Keywords: Turkey, energy policy, pipeline politics, energy investments.

Resumen:

Este artículo identifica las diferencias existentes entre ser un corredor energético, eje o centro, en lo que al caso de Turquía se refiere, y ello con especial énfasis en los aspectos de su política exterior y doméstica. Considera el cambio de discurso de energía de Turquía desde 1991 hasta hoy en día para definir los antecedentes que animan a Turquía a considerar la energía como un instrumento significativo en sus relaciones exteriores y a nivel regional. El artículo destaca numerosos aspectos tanto consistentes como inconsistentes entre el discurso turco en materia energética y la coyuntura regional, las iniciativas de política exterior y la estructura energética doméstica. El hasta ahora poco claro discurso turco en materia de política energética, tal y como aparecía al inicio de esta legislatura, adquirió una visión estratégica en el último par de años. Turquía utiliza la energía como una herramienta de política exterior estratégica, si bien con características heredadas de discrepancias pasadas. El que esta estrategia, destinada a crear un corredor energético, pueda adquirir características proactivas, transformando a Turquía en un centro o eje, estará profundamente relacionado con los términos de los contratos pasados y a venir, la corrección del mix energético y las exitosas implicaciones de inversiones masivas.

Palabras clave: Turquía, política energética, políticas sobre gasoductos, inversiones en energía.

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1. Introduction

Turkey can be regarded as an energy corridor mainly because it is a natural bridge between Western Europe, the Southern Mediterranean and hydrocarbon rich regions in North and North-East Eurasia, the North-East Caspian and the East and South-East Middle East[2]. In fact, 73% of world's proven oil and 72% of the world's proven gas reserves are located in Turkey's neighborhood, which includes the Russian Federation, the Caspian and the Middle Eastern countries as suppliers. As a result, Turkey has emerged as an energy transit country, yet with further aspirations to become an energy hub, and even an energy center.[3] There are of course some international and domestic restraints which limit Turkey's will to use energy as a foreign policy tool.[4] Turkey implements pipeline politics in order to overcome some of these restraints, which will be discussed in the next sections of this article.

Turkey's energy discourse mainly stems from the number, capacity and direction of existing and proposed pipelines. Although pipelines are a significant part of the energy policies, an analytical approach solely based on pipelines would fail to explain Turkey's restraints and risks in transforming transit features into strategic gains. Nor is there a clear definition of these terms to be transformed into thorough policy initiatives in the case of Turkey. This article, therefore, aims at setting down the differences between being an energy corridor, hub or center, particularly in the case of Turkey, regarding foreign and domestic features, both of which it is assumed will become very effective in due course. The article, within this assumption, suggests that:

Turkey as an energy transit corridor implies a variety of oil and gas pipelines, and other sorts of transportation, originating from Russia, the Caspian and the Middle East, not only for the Turkish market, but also for Europe and other markets via the Mediterranean. Turkey, in this scenario, receives certain transit fees; however, it fails to prioritise domestic needs, is satisfied with average transit terms and conditions, and can not re-export a considerable amount of the oil and gas passing through its lands.

Turkey as an energy hub stresses Turkey's extensive influence on a web of oil and gas pipelines as well as Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) trade, not only in terms of its ability to influence transit terms and conditions, but also in re-exporting some of the hydrocarbons passing through this system. Compatibility between international agreements and the domestic energy mix is of utmost significance in avoiding a negative impact of one on the other and describes the level of success if Turkey becomes an energy hub.

Turkey as an energy center depicts a situation in which Turkey's energy hub features have been supported by massive investment, such as in nuclear power plants, a renewable energy program and a comprehensive infrastructure composed of additional refineries, natural gas storage facilities, LNG trains, vessels, marine terminals and ports. Turkey as an energy

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[2] ***Akil, Hakkı: "Turkey's** Role in European Security as the Epicenter of Regional **Energy** Routes", Turkish Policy Quarterly*, vol. 3, no. 2 (2003), pp. 1-4. Babalı, Tuncay: *"Turkey at the Energy Crossroads," Middle East Quarterly,* vol. 16, no. 2 (Spring 2009), pp. 25-33.

[3] Bilgin, Mert: "The Emerging Caspian Energy Regime and Turkey's New Role", *The Turkish Yearbook of International Relations,* vol. 34 (2003), pp. 1-22. Pamir, Necdet: "Turkey a Case of a Transit State", in Luft, Gal and Korin, Anne (eds.) (2009): *Energy Security Challenges for the 21st Century*, Santa Barbara, Greenwood, pp. 250-260.

[4] Shaffer, Brenda: "Turkey's Energy Policies in a Tight Global Energy Market", *Insight Turkey*, vol. 8, no. 2 (April-June 2006), pp. 97-104. Winrow, Gareth M.: "Energy Security in the Black Sea Region: Economic Interdependence or Commercial and Political Rivalry," *Journal of Southeast European & Black Sea Studies*, vol. 2, no. 2 (May 2002), pp. 129-152.

center also requires the achievement of sufficient energy intensity and a sustainable energy mix.[5] Turkey in this case has a favorable balance between international agreements, pipelines, domestic energy structure and energy mix. This compatibility, in turn, conveys economic and strategic advantages, bolstering Turkey's regional influence.

Whether Turkey's energy strategies fall into one of these conceptual divisions is a significant issue that deserves further elaboration. Restraints and risks are as real as opportunities, and may limit Turkey's position and strategic gains. This article concentrates on this matter, trying to provide answers as to whether Turkey has been emerging as an energy corridor, hub or center and, if so, at what costs and benefits. The article points to "retroactive" characteristics of Turkey's present energy strategy, which arise from extensive use of pipeline politics as a means to foster regional cooperation and strategic investment, despite some lingering structural problems in the energy sector.

After this introduction, the article proposes a conceptual-historical analysis and looks at how Turkey's energy discourse shifted from a regional interest with political concerns to a retroactive energy strategy responsive to regional and global dynamics with continued domestic flaws. This analysis tries to understand the shift in Turkey's energy discourse from corridor to hub and center. It later focuses on existing and proposed pipelines with a particular focus on domestic energy issues. The article finally designates the potential and restraints of Turkey if it becomes a strategic hub, or a center, and stresses the likelihood of failure under given circumstances.

2. Turkey´s Energy Discourse and Foreign Policy Implications

In general, and as accepted publicly, differences between being an energy corridor, a hub or a center are related to the number and capacity of the pipelines crossing to Europe and the Mediterranean via Turkey. According to this approach Turkey as a corridor refers to East-West pipelines. Turkey as an energy hub implies East-West and North-South pipelines. Turkey as an energy center defines multidimensional pipelines with extensive capacities as well as storage facilities to balance and regulate the flow of oil and gas from suppliers to markets. This categorization, which is extensively based on pipelines, skips the significant relationship between energy geopolitics, foreign policy initiatives and industry. For a long period of time, Turkey's energy discourse has been fixed on international pipelines but has lacked a strategic vision. It may be useful to categorize some periods which can explain the move from discourse to strategy.

Turkey's approach to energy politics is highly related to political shifts that have happened from the disintegration of the USSR in 1991 to nowadays. Turkey, from 1991 to 1994, expressed very few concerns about energy security, and approached the Caucasus, the Caspian Sea and Central Asia from a perspective of cultural and economic cooperation.[6] An "East-West energy corridor" discourse based on pipelines from the Caspian Sea to Europe and the Mediterranean became recurrent from 1994 on. One crucial reason was Azerbaijan's

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[5] Bilgin, Mert: "Neopolitics (New energy order politics) of Fossil, Renewable and Nuclear Fuels: Turkey's Position and Alternative Futures", *Journal of International Relations*, vol. 5, no. 20 (2009a), pp. 57-88.
[6] Aydin, Mustafa: "Foucault's Pendulum: Turkey in Central Asia and the Caucasus 1", *Turkish Studies*, vol. 5, no. 2 (Summer 2004), pp. 1-22 at 14-16.

integration into the world oil markets via Turkey, an initiative supported by the US.[7] Following Turkey's natural gas agreements with the Russian Federation, Iran and Azerbaijan, a new discourse on an "East-West energy corridor from Eurasia and the Middle East to Europe" appeared as a policy priority[8]. It was supposed that this priority could back up Turkey's foreign policy initiatives for improving relations with the Middle Eastern countries, while using the energy card as a tool for integration into the EU[9]. A multidimensional discourse on an East-West and North-South energy transit hub became dominant in 2009 and onwards[10].

It is therefore useful to point out that Turkey's interest in becoming an energy transit corridor, hub or center passed through four phases:[11]

1. Early phase with political-cultural concerns: 1991-1994.

2. East-West energy corridor originating from Caspian: 1994-2005.

3. East-West energy corridor originating from Eurasia and the Middle East: 2005-2009.

4. East-West and North-South energy transit hub originating from Russia, the Caspian Sea and the Middle East: 2009 and onwards.

Each of these phases contains some characteristics shaped by the global situation, regional dynamics, foreign policy options and domestic priorities. Supply and demand side pressures have also been influential in shifts from one phase to another.

2.1. Early Phase (1991-1994)

During the early phase, Turkey expressed very little interest in energy issues. The only transborder oil pipeline was Kirkuk-Ceyhan from Iraq to Turkey, which had started functioning in 1977 with a capacity of 35 million tons per year.[12] Turkey increased the capacity of this pipeline, reaching 46.5 million tons in 1984 and 70.9 million tons per year in 1987. The cold war conditions (1945-1991), the Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988) and Turkey's fragile economy throughout the 1970s and 1980s did not allow a foreign policy based on energy strategy. Turkey, as a close ally of the USA and The **North Atlantic Treaty Organization**, had limited political and economic relations with the USSR for obvious

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[7] Bilgin, Mert: "The Emerging Caspian Energy Regime and Turkey's New Role", *The Turkish Yearbook of International Relations,* vol. 34 (2003), pp. 1-22.

[8] See *Akil,* **op. cit.,** pp. 1-4.

[9] Jensen, Donald N.: "Turkey's Energy Ambitions Clash with Russian Succession Politics", *Turkish Policy Quarterly,* vol. 2, no. 6 (2007), pp. 35-44. Ker-Lindsay, James: "Turkey and A Black Sea Strategy for EU Enlargement", *Turkish Policy Quarterly,* vol. 7, no. 2 (2008), pp. 49-58. Larrabee, F. Stephen: "Obama's Foreign Policy: Opportunities and Challenges", *Insight Turkey***,** vol. 11, no. 1 (2009), pp. 1-11. Noureddine, Mohammed: "Arab-Turkish Cooperation in the New Era", *Insight Turkey*, vol. 11, no. 1 (2009), pp. 43-51.

[10] Bilgin, Mert: "New Prospects in Political Economy of Inner-Caspian Hydrocarbons & Western Energy Corridor through Turkey", *Energy Policy*, vol. 35, no. 12 (2007), pp. 6383-6394; 6387-6390.

[11] There may be deviations and cross features as these eras are meant to give an idea of the changes in the discourse rather than strictly categorizing policies within time intervals.

[12] See, Baram, Amazia: "Ideology and Power Politics in Syrian-Iraqi Relations 1968-1984", in Moshe Maoz and Avner Yaniv (eds.) (1986): *Syria under Assad*, Kent, Croom Helm, pp. 129.

reasons[13]. Consequently Turkey, which suffered from energy shortages from the 1970s to the late 1980s, did not benefit from the rich energy resources of the USSR. This was in contradiction to its needs and awkward in the sense that energy relations between the USSR and European countries had started to increase in the 1960s, especially in the case of natural gas. Turkey's increasing energy demand and the risks coming from electricity shortages implied the consideration of natural gas as a solution, although this approach was a little bit late if I make a comparison between Turkey and its European counterparts. Turkey signed natural gas and LNG import agreements with Algeria (via marine transportation) and Russia (via the existing Russia-Turkey West Pipeline coming to Turkey from Bulgaria) respectively on 14 February 1986 and 14 February 1988. Since then natural gas consumption has started to increase drastically, not only for domestic and industrial uses but also for electricity generation[14]. Actually, natural gas is the most used fuel type for electricity generation followed by coal, hydro and oil.[15] This is surprising when I make a comparison between Turkey and other European countries such as Germany, who imported high volumes of gas from Russia, but benefited from renewables and nuclear energy as much as possible in order to avoid extravagant electricity production from natural gas.

The disintegration of the USSR in 1991 had a twofold effect on Turkey's energy policies. First, it allowed a rapid increase in energy relations with Russia, keen to sell more gas to Turkey. Second, and somehow at odds with the first one, Turkey found itself in a position to politically fill the space left in Central Asia by Soviet Russia. It was involved in a sort of political expansion in the Caucasus and Central Asia by using cultural and linguistic ties, mainly with Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. This initiative failed and was not fully achieved not only because Turkey could not launch the economic projects which were supposed to balance the negative consequences of USSR disintegration in the region after 69 years of inclusion in the USSR (1922-1991), but also because of the warfare between Azerbaijan and Armenia (1988-1994). To this the strong cultural and institutional ties of Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan with Russia have to be added. And finally, Russia really needs Turkmen, Kazakh and Uzbek gas to avoid the risks of decay in mature fields and sustain a strong market position in Europe by re-exporting gas from these countries. In the meantime, Turkey's energy relations with Russia entered a boom era which limited Turkey's aim to include Central Asian countries in a web of pipelines going to Europe and the Mediterranean[16]. Turkey, however, managed to strengthen ties with Azerbaijan not only by the virtue of its cultural-linguistic affiliation, but also due to developments in energy relations with Baku. This success has to be related to global dynamics and regional circumstances[17].

The first Azeri president Ebulfez Elchibey, who held the office from 16 June 1992 until his overthrow by a coup d'état in June 1993, followed a pro-Turkic line to obtain political support during the war with Armenia, which was backed by Russia. Interestingly

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[13] For some perspectives, this era (1991-1994) describes a collegiate bureaucratic approach of Turkish foreign policy, see, Robins, Philip (2003): *Suits and uniforms: Turkish foreign policy since the Cold War*, London, C. Hurst & Co. Publishers, pp. 61-64.

[14] Ozturk, Harun Kemal; Yilanci, Ahmet and Atalay, Oner: "Past, present and future status of electricity in Turkey and the share of energy sources", *Renewable and Sustainable Energy Reviews*, vol. 11, no. 2 (February 2007), pp. 183-209.

[15] See: "Electricity Generation by Fuel, Turkey" *International Energy Agency (IEA), IEA Energy Statistics* (2009), at http://www.iea.org/stats/pdf_graphs/TRELEC.pdf.

[16] For bilateral relations between Turkey and Russia, see, Panin, Victor and Paniev, Henry: "Turkey and Russia", in Bal, İdris (ed.) (2004): *Turkish Foreign Policy in Post Cold War Era*, Florida, Brown Walker, pp. 253-268.

[17] For the role of the oil industry in Azerbaijan's regional status see, Shankleman, Jill (2006): *Oil, profits, and peace: does business have a role in peacemaking?*, Washington, US Institute of Peace Press, pp. 75-92.

energy relations between Azerbaijan and Turkey were not developed in this era, proving how energy politics have their own agenda, going beyond the expansion of cultural relations. An insecure investment environment because of warfare with Armenia and Elchibey's ultra nationalist approach, not allowing concessions to multinational companies, postponed oil and gas development projects which would be promptly carried out during the post-Elchibey era under the auspices of the US, Turkey and multinational companies.[18] This would change in 1994 and led to a new era in Turkey's energy discourse based on pipeline politics. It is therefore possible to find a correlation between the political initiatives assumed by Haidar Aliyev (1993-2003) and his son Ilham Aliyev (2003 and onwards) and Turkey's approach to the South Caucasus from an energy perspective up to 2009. This consistency broke down in October 2009, when Turkey agreed with Armenia on a protocol to normalize frozen conflicts and open borders which had remained closed because of Armenia's insistence on not withdrawing from the occupied Azeri rayons. This protocol, which was an outcome of Turkey's so called zero problem neighborhood policy, came along with a new discourse on energy in which Azerbaijan seemed to be considered as one of many suppliers, including Russia, Turkmenistan, Iran, Iraq, Qatar and Egypt. This shift was highly related to developments in gas supplies to Europe via Turkey, the success of Russia in boosting energy relations with Turkey, as well as to the government's priority in developing relations with Middle Eastern countries based on a neighborhood strategy which conceived Azerbaijan as an ordinary country rather than a strategic partner.

2.2. East-West Energy Corridor from Caspian Phase (1994-2005)

This phase was characterized by a variety of oil and gas pipeline projects which would bringCaspian hydrocarbons to Turkey[19]. The US supported the so-called Western route with two main goals. First, there was the hope of downgrading Russia's influence in Central Asia and the Caucasus. Second, there was the expectation of affecting China's commitment to importing energy from the Caspian Sea. Turkey, with the support from the US, took initiatives to get energy agreements and build oil and gas pipelines from the Caspian Sea. This plan would confront Russia's organic ties with Central Asia and China's growing energy demand[20]. Regional and domestic dynamics created a split in the Caspian energy system between Azerbaijan, which would develop relations with Turkey, and Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan that would rely on relations with Russia despite sporadic problems in price mechanism and transit duties. As an example, Turkey and Turkmenistan signed an intergovernmental agreement on 29 October 1998 and a sales and purchase agreement on 21 May 1999. Nevertheless these agreements would confront Russia's political influence, based on Gazprom's energy network from Central Asia to Europe and other CIS countries. The Caspian's unresolved legal status and the pitfalls of Iran's nuclear energy program limited chances to extend Turkmen pipelines to Turkey. Consequently Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan had to use the Russian transportation system. They also looked for alternative routes to cooperate with China, India and Iran.

Turkey, in the meantime, managed and developed energy relations with Azerbaijan, where Elchibey was replaced by Haidar Aliyev as the new president who would remain in power from June 1993 to October 2003 (two months before his death), when his son Ilham

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[18] See, Lewis, David G. (1999): "The Politics of Energy in the Caspian Region", in *Regional Surveys of the World: Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States*, London, Routledge, pp. 92-96.
[19] See, Bilgin, "The Emerging Caspian…", *op. cit.*
[20] For the significance of Central Asia, see, Dorian, James P.: "Central Asia: A major emerging energy player in the 21st century", *Energy Policy*, vol. 34, no. 5 (March 2006), pp. 544-555.

Aliyev succeeded as the new president[21]. The BP led Azerbaijan International Operating Company (AIOC) was formed in February 1995 to develop the giant Azeri, Chirag and Guneshli oil field. In 2002 the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Pipeline Company was founded to construct a pipeline from Azerbaijan to Turkey via Georgia with the goal of transporting the oil produced by the AIOC. The BTC pipeline became operational in 2005.

Transportation of Azeri gas from a similar route was also a significant concern for Azerbaijan, Turkey and Georgia, which were supported politically by the US who were searching to balance Russia's extensive influence in the Caspian Sea. On 7 July 2000, the EU Commission, Turkey and Greece signed a concluding statement on natural gas deliveries from Russia, Azerbaijan and other prospective suppliers to Greece. Following the discovery of additional natural gas fields in Shah Deniz, Turkey and Azerbaijan signed an inter-governmental agreement on 12 March 2001. A sales and purchase agreement between the states was also signed on 12 March 2001. On 28 March 2002, BOTAŞ from Turkey and DEPA from Greece signed a memorandum of understanding (MoU) concerning the South European Gas Ring, which was followed by an intergovernmental agreement between Turkey and Greece, signed on 23 February 2003. Having established contacts with potential buyers in Europe, Turkey furthered attempts to include Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan within the East-West energy corridor, which would definitely damage Russia's economic interests in Europe and limit its political influence in Central Asia and the Caucasus.[22] Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan got involved in additional ties with Russia when leading foreign companies in the Caspian Sea, such as ExxonMobil and Chevron, chose to transport the oil and gas they produced from fields such as Tengiz, Kashagan and Karachaganak through the Russian transportation system.[23] In the meantime, Turkmenistan's security of demand was challenged by severe problems with Russia on trade terms and transit fees. Turkmenistan, at this stage, could not find a way to commercialize its natural gas other than through working with Russia. The Trans-Caspian pipeline was outdated by disputes between Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan on transit fees, on certain fields in the Caspian Sea and the capacity to be attributed to Turkmen gas. Companies exploiting Kazakh fields benefited from the Russian transportation system and started their exports soon after their investment, whereas Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan continued their dependence on Russia because the conflict on the Caspian's legal status among the littoral states (Russia, Iran, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan) was doomed to a deadlock.[24] International law needed either to go to arbitration after full consensus or to achieve a multilateral agreement, which also required full consensus. This picture increased the significance of the relations between Turkmenistan and Iran. To curb extreme dependence on Russia, Turkmenistan had already launched a 190 km gas pipeline from Korpedje (Turkmenistan) to Kurtkui (Iran) in January 1998.[25] This route would give Turkey an opportunity to export gas from Turkmenistan and Iran through a pipeline between Tabriz and Erzurum. Turkey and Iran had already signed an agreement to trade 10 billion m³/year (BcM) of gas on 8 August 1996, followed by an intergovernmental agreement signed

[21] Kalyuzhnova, Yelena (2008): *Economics of the Caspian Oil and Gas Wealth: Companies, Governments, Policies*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, p. 38.

[22] Cutler, Robert M.: "Turk*e*y and the Geopolitics of Turkmenistan's Natural Gas", *Review of International Affairs*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Winter 2001), pp. 20-33.

[23] For existing and alternative routes see, Guliyev, Farid and Akhrarkhodjaeva, Nozima: "The Trans-Caspian energy route: Cronyism, competition and cooperation in Kazakh oil export", *Energy Policy*, vol. 37, no. 8 (August 2009), pp. 3171-3182.

[24] Amineh, Mehdi P. (1999): *Towards the control of oil resources in the Caspian Region*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 143-207.

[25] Askari, Hossein and Taghavi, Roshanak: "Iran's Caspian Oil and Gas Dilemma", in Mojtahed-Zadeh, Pirouz (ed.) (2007): *Boundary Politics and International Boundaries of Iran*, Florida, Universal-Publishers, pp. 91-92.

on 30 August 1996 to construct a gas pipeline between Tabriz and Erzurum. This pipeline, which started functioning in 2001, would enable Turkey to import gas from Turkmenistan along with Iran.

Iran's political isolation and inadequate domestic infrastructure at the time did not allow Turkey to develop additional pipelines from Turkmenistan and Iran to Turkey.[26] Turkey, in response, looked for other suppliers in the Middle East and started preparations for a massive project following the unofficial agreement between the Turkish BOTAS and Austrian OMV companies in February 2002. In June 2004, BOTAŞ (Turkey), Bulgargaz (Bulgaria), Transgaz (Romania), OMV (Austria) and MOL (Hungary) founded the Nabucco International Company with the aim of supplying gas from the Caspian and Middle East to European markets by a proposed 3300 km pipeline from Turkey's border (to Georgia and/or to Iran) to Baumgarten in Austria.[27]

2.3. East-West Energy Corridor Originating from Eurasia and the Middle East (2005-2009)

Pipelines from Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and Iran, with possible extensions from Iraq and Qatar, to Turkey were a matter of concern to Russia, affecting its strong market position in Europe. Russia, along with Nord Stream crossing the Baltic Sea, proposed the South Stream pipeline project.[28] Italian ENI and Gazprom signed a MoU for the construction of South Stream on 23 June 2007, to pass through the Black Sea, reach Bulgaria and distribute natural gas to several European countries (Bulgaria, Serbia, Hungary, Italy and Austria) that were also targeted by Nabucco as potential markets.

The Nabucco project faced the difficulty of convincing European counterparts to buy natural gas from an emerging pipeline with no supply guarantee, as opposed to Russia which has been supplying natural gas to Europe for the last 40 years with no interruption[29]. On 5 February 2008, RWE from Germany became the sixth member of the Nabucco consortium, every member maintaining an equal share of 16.67%. This made sense as RWE was a significant distribution company in countries which were considered to be important markets of the consortium. On 13 July 2009, Austria, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Turkey signed The Inter-Governmental Agreement (IGA) as transit countries to allow construction of the pipeline in their territory[30]. Natural gas pipelines from Turkmenistan to Iran, from Iran to Turkey, from Azerbaijan to Turkey via Georgia and the possibility of extensions from Iraq and Egypt (via the Arab gas pipeline) helped Turkey implement pipeline politics as leverage in regional relations: with the EU and EU members (mainly Greece and Italy) on the demand side; Russia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Iran, Iraq, Egypt and Qatar on the supply side; Georgia, Syria, Austria, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Greece and Italy as transit countries.

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[26] Kinnander, Elin: "The Turkish-Iranian Gas Relationship: Politically Successful, Commercially Problematic", Oxford, *OIES Paper*, No. 38 (2010).

[27] "Markets for Nabucco", *Nabucco Consortium,* at
http://www.nabucco-pipeline.com/company/markets-sources-for-nabucco/markets-sources-for-nabucco.html.

[28] For Russia's monopolistic strategy see, Umbach, Frank: "Global energy security and the implications for the EU", *Energy Policy*, vol. 38, no. 3 (2010), pp. 1237-1238.

[29] Bilgin, Mert: "Geopolitics of European natural gas demand: Supplies from Russia, Caspian and the Middle East", *Energy Policy*, vol. 37, no. 11 (2009b), pp. 4482-4491.

[30] "Inter-Governmental Agreement (IGA) guarantees stable legal framework for gas transit", Press Release, *Nabucco Consortium,* Ankara, (13 July 2009), at http://www.nabucco-pipeline.com/press-public-news/press-releases/press-release-20090713.html.

3. Turkey´s Energy View: From Discourse to Strategy after 2010?

3.1. Pipelines as the Leitmotif of Turkey´s Energy Strategy

Concerns of global actors, regional dynamics and Turkey's increasing efforts to implement energy as a means of foreign policy led to some oil and gas pipelines as well as some feasible projects. What actual pipelines and pipeline projects derive from Turkey's motivation to use energy as a tool to bolster regional relations?

As indicated by Map 1, Turkey has already been surrounded by oil and gas pipelines.[31]

Map 1. Pipelines in Turkey
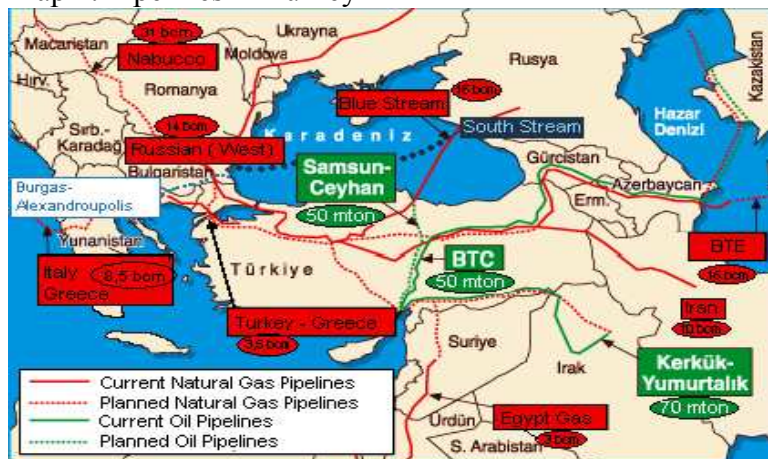
Source: Erkin, 2008

With regard to oil, two parallel pipelines from Iraq to Turkey reach a total capacity of 71 million tons annually (Mta). The pipelines, however, function under capacity and are frequently disrupted by terrorist attacks. Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan from Azerbaijan currently functions almost at full capacity reaching 50 Mta.

Table 1. Oil Pipelines to Turkey

	Diameter	Length	Capacity	Status	Supplier
Kirkuk-Ceyhan Crude Oil Parallel Pipelines I & II	40"-46"	641-656	71 mta	Active	Iraq
Baku Tbilisi Ceyhan Crude Oil Pipeline	30"-42"-46"	1076	50 mta	Active	Azerbaijan
Samsun-Ceyhan			50 mta	Proposal	Russia-Kazakhstan

Source: Adopted by author from: Bilgin 2003, 2007, 2009a, 2009b; BOTAS, 2010; EIA, 2010; IEA, 2010; MENR, 2010

Turkey and Russia have been considering the construction of another oil pipeline from Samsun (Turkey's Black Sea coast) to Ceyhan (Turkey's Mediterranean coast). The Samsun-

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Ceyhan pipeline will not only allow Turkey to decrease the number of oil tankers passing through Istanbul Strait, but is also expected to contribute to Turkey's aim of becoming an energy hub. Oil transport to Ceyhan will be increased up to 171 Mta (4.5% of world oil refining capacity) if these pipelines function at full capacity. It will become more feasible to build refineries, ports and petrochemical units in Ceyhan which will facilitate the construction of the proposed Ceyhan Energy Industry Region (CEIR). Construction of the Samsun-Ceyhan oil pipeline will definitely increase the interest of Russia and Russian firms in building refineries in CEIR.

Natural Gas

Turkey's natural gas agreements with Russia, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and Iran reached an amount of 62.5 BcM; a huge amount far exceeding Turkey's consumption of 36 BcM in 2008 and 32 BcM in 2009.[32] Turkey's agreement with Turkmenistan remained idle, whereas the supplies from Azerbaijan and Iran remained below full capacity.[33] In addition, Turkey has LNG agreements with Algeria (4 BcM) and Nigeria (1.2 BcM).

Table 2. Turkey's Natural Gas Agreements

Agreement	Volume BCMA (Plateau Period)	Date Of Signature	Duration (Years)	Status
Russian Fed. (West)	6	14 February 1986	25	In operation
Russian Fed. (Black Sea)	16	15 December 1997	25	In operation
Russian Fed. (West)	8	18 February 1998	23	In operation
Iran	10	8 August 1996	25	In operation
Turkmenistan	16	21 May 1999	30	-
Azerbaijan	6.6	12 March 2001	15	In operation

Source: Botas, 2010

Russia apparently is the main gas supplier to Turkey with agreements reaching 30 BcM. Azerbaijan emerged as an alternative supplier to Turkey and may supply up to 15 BcM of gas after the discoveries in Shah Deniz. Supplies from Azerbaijan to Turkey depend on the price negotiations, Russia offered higher prices to the Azeri government, which has already become highly sensitive to developments between Turkey and Armenia. Regarding Central Asia, Turkey and Turkmenistan could not activate the 30 BcM of natural gas agreement due to the lack of pipelines linking the two countries. As mentioned earlier, Turkmenistan has become able to sell only small volumes of natural gas to Turkey via Iran. Iran until recently, suffered from undeveloped domestic infrastructure and was far behind the necessary level to secure supplies to Turkey while meeting domestic demand. Iran's investments in IGAT programs and two pipeline extensions from Turkmenistan to Iran increased the significance of these two countries, which can nowadays supply about 20 BcM of gas annually.

In sum, pipelines from Russia, Azerbaijan and Iran allow Turkey to receive 60 BcM of gas annually. In 2008, Turkey imported 23 BcM from Russia (13.2 from the West pipeline,

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[32] BOTAS: Petroleum Pipeline Corporation, Oil and Gas Pipelines 2010, at http://www.botas.gov.tr/index.asp, (accessed on 27 January 2010).

[33] Bilgin, Mert: "New Prospects in Political Economy of Inner-Caspian Hydrocarbons & Western Energy Corridor through Turkey", *Energy Policy*, vol. 35, no. 12 (2007), pp. 6383-6394.

9.8 from Blue Stream), 4.5 BcM from Azerbaijan and 4.1 BcM from Iran and reached a total import of 31.6 BcM with 72 percent of dependence on Russia.

Table 3. Natural Gas Pipelines to Turkey

Project / Features	Diameter	Length	Capacity	Status	Supplier	Imports in 2008
Russian Gas West	46"-42"-34"	845	14 BcM	Active since 1987	Russia	13.2 BcM
Blue Stream	56"-24"-48"	501	16 BcM	Active since 2003	Russia	9.8 BcM
Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum	42"	915	16-20 BcM	Active since 2007	Azerbaijan	4.5 BcM
Tabriz-Erzurum-Ankara	16"-48"	1494	10 BcM	Active since 2001	Iran - Turkmenistan	4.1 BcM

Source: Adopted by author from: Bilgin 2003, 2007, 2009a, 2009b; BOTAS, 2010; EIA, 2010; IEA, 2010; MENR, 2010

As regards the demand side, Turkey's transit role in relation to Europe stems from the Turkey-Greece-Italy (TGI) pipeline and the Nabucco pipeline project. Turkey-Greece-Italy pipeline interconnection is the result of a joint project arranged by Edison from Italy, and DESFA from Greece.

Turkey-Greece interconnections, which have been established since 2007, will be extended to Italy after the construction of the Greece-Italy pipeline in 2013. Accordingly, the interconnections will lead to a sort of new pipeline from Turkey to Greece to Italy with a capacity of 12 BCM.

Table 4. Natural Gas Pipelines to Europe via Turkey

Project / Features	Diameter	Length	Capacity	Status	Supplier
Turkey-Greece-Italy	36"	808	3.5 BcM to Greece. It can be increased to 12 BcM	Turkey Greece Interconnection active since 2007. Greece-Italy is under construction, to function in 2013	Azerbaijan
Nabucco	42"-56"	3300	31 BcM	Intergovernmental Agreement Signed in 2009 to start operation in 2014	Azerbaijan agreed; Turkmenistan, Iran, Iraq, Egypt, Qatar under consideration

Source: Adopted by author from: Bilgin 2003, 2007, 2009a, 2009b; BOTAS, 2010; EIA, 2010; IEA, 2010; MENR, 2010

The Nabucco pipeline is planned to start functioning in 2014 with a capacity of 10 BcM, to be increased up to 31 BcM. Turkey will have the capacity to transport 43 BcM of gas to Europe if TGI and Nabucco functions at full capacity. Additional pipelines may allow a growing transit role. Turkey, however, has three main discrepancies resulting from current natural gas agreements which limit its strategic gains. First of all, natural gas agreements impose "take or pay" terms which make Turkey pay the amount of contracted gas even if it does not take it. Secondly, Turkey does not have the right to re-export the gas under any circumstances. A third factor, which limits Turkey's role in regional energy relations, emerges from the lack of adequate gas storage capacity in Turkey. Turkey's actual gas storage capacity is limited to the Silivri facility of 2 BcM (maximum, depending on the density) which is far behind the level necessary to become a gas hub. The LNG storage facility, which belongs to Egegaz, a private company, with 5.5 BcM capacity in Izmir, makes some sense for domestic energy security. Yet it remains inadequate for strategic regional implications. This is why Turkey's plan to achieve additional storage capacity of 5 BcM by wells to be built in Tuz Golu (Salt Lake) is of vital importance for supporting its role in regional energy relations.

3.2. The Link between Pipeline Politics and Domestic Energy Issues

Turkey's energy discourse is related to regional dynamics, concerning Russia, Azerbaijan, Iran and Iraq as actual suppliers, and priorities of the US and the EU, which prove to be highly effective respectively in the cases of the BTC and BTE pipelines and the Nabucco pipeline project.[34] The Nabucco natural gas pipeline project has so far been supported by the EU Commission despite the unwilling position of certain EU member states. Regional dynamics, in the meantime, have played a significant role in making Azerbaijan more interested in pipelines through Turkey rather than to Russia, until very recently. The Blue Stream gas pipeline emerged not only because Turkey was in urgent need of energy at the time, but also due to Russia's successful lobbying activities[35]. Turkey had taken some initiatives to build oil and gas pipelines that gave priority to mutual interests with suppliers rather to the interests of third parties. Oil pipelines from Kirkuk and a natural gas pipeline from Iran are good examples in this regard. It is therefore possible to conclude that Turkey's changing energy discourse has been shaped by external powers (the US, the EU and Russia) and regional dynamics in Central Asia, the Caucasus and the Middle East whether it be related to supply, demand or transit routes.

Consequently, Turkey's energy discourse turned into a "retroactive energy strategy" arising from the interaction of Turkey with concerned countries:

1-with the US, especially with oil and gas pipelines from the Caspian Sea, which led to the BTC oil and BTE gas pipelines;

2- with the EU as well as Greece and Italy with natural gas pipelines as in the cases of Turkey-Greece-Italy interconnections and the Nabucco project;

3-with Russia with the Russia West and Blue Stream gas pipelines as well as the proposed Samsun-Ceyhan oil pipeline project;

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[34] See, "Turkey" Country Analysis Briefs, *US Energy Information Administration (EIA)* (April 2009), at http://www.eia.doe.gov/cabs/Turkey/pdf.pdf.
[35] For energy relations between Russia and Turkey, see, Kiniklioğlu, Suat: "Turkey and Russia: Partnership by Exclusion?", *Turkish Policy Quarterly,* vol. 2, no. 5 (2006), pp. 31-47.

4-with Azerbaijan and Georgia, with oil and gas transportation from the Caspian Sea to Turkey;

5-with Iran with the Tabriz-Erzurum-Ankara gas pipeline on the one hand and further extension projects from Turkmenistan to Turkey via Iran on the other;

6- with Iraq not only with the Kirkuk-Yumurtalik oil pipeline but also with the possibility of including Iraqi gas within the Nabucco pipeline;

7- with Iraq, Syria and Egypt with the extension of the Arab Gas pipeline to Turkey, and possibly to Europe via Nabucco;

8- with Qatar, with the possibility of a gas pipeline extension to Turkey and more LNG trade via Turkey;

9- with Israel with the possibility of extending pipelines from Ceyhan to Haifa.

It is therefore possible to talk about Turkey's retroactive energy strategy which stems from certain foreign policy implications and regional developments.[36] Turkey, under these conditions, emerges as an energy corridor with certain geopolitical advantages. Can Turkey move on from being an energy transit country to an energy hub, or even a center, with strategic advantages? This may be possible, yet it is constrained by certain discrepancies and it is highly related to several contingencies. First of all, Turkey will need, and in fact is in search of, the construction of additional oil and gas pipelines under good contractual terms from suppliers such as Turkmenistan and Iran. Secondly, Turkey suffers not only from "take or pay" and "no re-export" obligations in its international gas agreements, but also from inconsistency in its domestic energy structures.[37] These domestic flaws are significant obstacles to achieving the above goals.

There are in particular four issues which appear to be vital not only for Turkey's future capacity but also in its aim to become an energy hub[38]:

1- Turkey's installed energy supply capacity is 40,000 MW and is dominated by hydro, natural gas and coal resources. The share of public and private enterprises in this production is 58% and 18% respectively. According to the 2020 projections, the capacity needs to be increased by 50,000 MW, which requires a $4 billion to $5 billion annual investment.

2- More than 40% ($12.5 billion as of 2006) of total mineral oils and fuels imports of Turkey come from the Russian Federation, $6 billion for oil/oil products and $5.5 billion for natural gas.

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[36] "The Great Turkish Energy Race", *Foreign Affairs,* vol. 88, no. 1 (Jan/Feb2009), pp.13-14.
[37] For current statistics on Turkey's energy consumption, see, "Relations with Member Countries-Turkey", *International Energy Agency (IEA)* (2010), at http://www.iea.org/country/m_country.asp?COUNTRY_CODE=TR.
[38] "Turkey's Energy Industry", Industry Report, *Istanbul Chamber of Commerce* (*ITO*) (2008), at http://www.us-istanbul.com/pdfs/reports/turkey/turkey_energy.pdf.

3- Projections indicate that the gross electricity demand is expected to rise to 499 billion kWh in 2020. In order to supply these amounts of electricity, the installed capacity will have to increase to 96,000 MW by 2020.

4- To meet Turkey's need for electricity in the near future, the projections indicate that it will be necessary to employ nuclear power [up to 10000 MW] for electricity production.[39]

Challenges, therefore, arise from rapid increase in consumption, high dependence on Russia and extensive use of natural gas for electricity generation.[40] The international and domestic aspects have become highly interrelated with each other, mostly because of Turkey's strategy to implement pipeline politics as a means of regional cooperation not only with the EU and some European countries in need of energy, but also with Russia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Turkmenistan, Iran, Iraq, Egypt and Qatar on the supply side. Turkey's need for additional investment (such as in refineries, natural gas storage facilities, ports, LNG terminals, power plants and nuclear energy) make the interaction between international and domestic aspects even more complicated[41].

The level of success that might be got from this strategy will be highly related to Turkey's bargaining capacity as much as to regional and global dynamics. To become a strategic energy hub Turkey, as a minimum, needs to: build the CEIR; increase its natural gas storage capacity up to 10 BcM; improve its energy mix to achieve more affordable and sustainable sources, especially for electricity generation; and obtain favorable terms on natural gas (such as the right to re-export with no "take or pay" obligation) and nuclear energy (such as electricity prices at affordable levels) deals. [42]. Pipelines would make Turkey an energy transit country and may imply some strategic gains depending on the contractual terms and regional dynamics. However pipelines on their own, and even with best possible terms, will not allow Turkey to become a strategic energy hub or center without these amendments.

Apparently Turkey uses pipeline politics as leverage in negotiations with counterparts on investment in the energy sector. This is why, and how, each negotiation on pipeline projects leads to an energy package which includes a myriad of issues mainly involving Russia. Russia, at this time, appears as a keen partner for every project supposed to contribute to Turkey's role in regional energy relations. If restraints embedded in the relations with Russia (dependence on gas supplies from Russia, extreme use of gas for electricity generation, "take or pay" and "no re-export" obligations) are to be balanced with additional agreements with Russia (mainly on the Akkuyu nuclear power plant, the natural gas storage facilities in Tuz Lake, the Samsun-Ceyhan oil pipeline, refineries in CEIR, shares to Russian companies for domestic gas distribution), then this will require a new conceptualization regarding

[39] *Ibid.*

[40] See, Balat, Havva: "Contribution of green energy sources to electrical power production of Turkey: A review", *Renewable and Sustainable Energy Reviews*, vol. 12, no. 6 (August 2008), pp. 1652-1666. Çetin, Tamer and Oguz, Fuat: "The reform in the Turkish natural gas market: A critical evaluation", *Energy Policy*, vol. 35, no. 7, (July 2007), pp. 3856-3867. Kiliç, Fatma Çanka and Kaya, Durmuş: "Energy production, consumption, policies, and recent developments in Turkey", *Renewable and Sustainable Energy Reviews*, vol. 11, no. 6 (August 2007), pp. 1312-1320. Tunç, Murat; Çamdali, Ünal; Liman, Tunc and Değer, Anil: "Electrical energy consumption and production of Turkey versus world", *Energy Policy*, vol. 34, no. 17 (November 2006), pp. 3284-3292.

[41] See: *Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources* (MENR) (2010), at http://www.enerji.gov.tr/index.php.

[42] See, Yıldız, Taner: "The Budget for 2010", *Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources* (18 December 2009), at http://www.enerji.gov.tr/yayinlar_raporlar/2010_Genel_Kurul_Konusmasi.pdf.

Turkey's position. In this case, Turkey's transit, hub or center role in energy will make less sense when compared to its strategic rapprochement with Russia. In short, Turkey's role in regional and global energy politics as a transit corridor, hub or center will be highly related to the success or failure of the contractual terms it gets from international agreements, management of the energy mix and the promotion and facilitation of investment.

4. Conclusion

This article has focused on the political and regional backgrounds interrelated with Turkey's changing approach to energy politics from 1991 to nowadays. The analysis indicated differences among the given periods. Each comprised a change in Turkey's energy discourse from oil corridor to oil and gas transit country, and then to energy hub and even an energy center. The shift from one phase to another is found to be highly related to regional and global dynamics rather than to a foreign policy input strategically chosen by policy makers. This partially explains the reasons why Turkey has originally skipped launching a comprehensive energy strategy in conformity with foreign policy options and domestic structures.

Turkey, currently, fails to exert influence over the transit terms and conditions and cannot re-export considerable amounts of oil and gas. It also suffers from certain domestic discrepancies, such as the lack of natural gas storage facilities and has a problematic energy mix. Massive investment projects have to be carried out in order to overcome these flaws in energy security. Turkey, therefore, appears as an energy transit country, still with the chance to become an energy hub depending on the contractual terms of oil and gas pipelines as well as on the degree of success in carrying out massive investment.

It is in this context that I can talk about a recent transformation of Turkey's "energy discourse" into a "retroactive energy strategy" composed of two pillars:

1- Internationally. Turkey is attempting to incorporate additional oil and natural gas pipelines, coming from Russia, the Caspian and the Middle East, and going to Europe and the Mediterranean, with the expectation of bolstering regional relations with suppliers, transit and demand countries. This policy is supposed to be in conformity with its foreign policy based on the new regionalism and the use of pipeline politics as leverage in opening the energy chapter *vis-à-vis* the EU in its accession process.

2- Domestically. Turkey is trying to improve contractual terms with counterparts concerning natural gas agreements (take or pay obligations and no-export rules with Russia and Iran), build the proposed nuclear power plants (Mersin Akkuyu 5000 MW and Sinop 3000-5000 MW), activate massive investment projects, such as CEIR and natural gas storage facilities in Salt Lake, and increase the share of renewables to at least 20% by 2023.[43]

These pillars stem from a retroactive characteristic, rather than a proactive one, because Turkey needs to recover from past disagreements while carrying out new investment that is

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[43] Yıldız, Taner: "Energy Minister Underscores Necessity of Signing A Deal on Nuclear Power Plant", *Journal of Turkish Weekly*, 8 February 2010, p. 14.

highly related to the current situation rather than to the future. In a worst case scenario, past disagreements may not allow Turkey to implement a thorough energy strategy. Under normal conditions, Turkey's retroactive energy strategy is expected to transform energy transit features into an energy hub, or at best, into a center. This retroactive strategy may be useful as the policies are aimed at overcoming domestic discrepancies while increasing regional significance through pipeline politics. However, it increases its vulnerability because Turkey subjugates important domestic structures (contractual terms on natural gas and possibly on nuclear energy; a problematic energy mix which is extremely dependent on natural gas for electricity generation; investment in CEIR and natural gas storage facilities) to oil and gas transportation to Europe and the Mediterranean. Given the complex web of interactions between the actors concerned (especially Russia's growing influence in Turkey's energy policies and Iran's international position), it is justified to wonder in what measure Turkey has to subordinate the priorities of the energy sector to more and more pipelines when domestic disagreements need prompt, urgent and peer decisions. This is why the geopolitical consequences of Turkey's retroactive energy strategy will be drastically affected by domestic energy policies along with pipeline politics.

CYCLES OF EUROPEANIZATION IN TURKEY: THE DOMESTIC IMPACT OF EU POLITICAL CONDITIONALITY

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Abstract:

This article deals with the underlying dynamics of the flux in the political reform process in Turkey, and the role of EU membership conditionality in triggering those dynamics within the conceptual borders of Europeanization. It argues that ups and downs in Turkey's democratization process can only be grasped with the presence/absence of EU conditionality coupled with endogenous and exogenous factors that affect its operability. In other words, conditionality led to Europeanization between 2002-2005 when facilitating factors (i.e. member states' as well as EU's commitment to Turkish accession, the coherent accession strategy of the Union, support at the governmental, elite and societal level) interacted without any salience of one over another. On the contrary, in 2005, Europeanization in Turkey entered a reversed cycle with the absence or limited existence of the above-forces necessary to bring about any domestic change. Thus, this paper employs an understanding of the cycles of change in Turkish domestic politics through not only conditions-compliance dichotomy *per se*, but the interplay of domestic and European level forces that render conditionality conducive to Europeanization.
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Keywords: Europeanization, EU conditionality, Turkey´s democratization progress, Turkey´s domestic politics.

Resumen:

Este artículo trata sobre las dinámicas subyacentes al proceso de reforma política en Turquía y el papel de la condicionalidad vinculada con la entrada en la UE en servir de detonante de esas mismas dinámicas dentro de los parámetros conceptuales de la europeización. Se argumenta que los altibajos en el proceso de democratización de Turquía sólo pueden ser entendidos teniendo en cuenta la presencia/ausencia de la condicionalidad de la UE junto con factores tanto endógenos como exógenos que afectan su operatibilidad. En otras palabras, la condicionalidad llevó a la europeización entre 2002 y 2005 cuando factores facilitadores (es decir, los compromisos de los estados miembros y de la misma UE hacia el acceso de Turquía, la estrategia coherente de acceso, apoyo a nivel gubernamental, de las élites y de la sociedad), interactuaron sin que ninguno destacase sobre el otro. En claro contraste, a partir del 2005, la europeización en Turquía entró en un ciclo contrario con la ausencia o la limitada existencia de las fuerzas mencionadas más arriba, necesarias para forzar cambio doméstico alguno. Por ello, este artículo emplea un concepto de los ciclos de cambio en la política doméstica turca no sólo a través de la dicotomía condiciones/cumplimiento per se, sino también la interacción de fuerzas a nivel doméstico y europeo que hacen que la condicionalidad lleve a la europeización.

Palabras clave: Europeización, condicionalidad de la UE, progreso de democratización de Turquía, política doméstica de Turquía.

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1. Introduction

The Helsinki Summit of December 1999 that declared Turkey as a candidate country destined to join the EU on an equal-footing with the other candidates, marked a turning point in Turkey-EU relations in general and Turkey's democratization process in particular. Since then, through constitutional amendments in 2001 and three harmonization packages endorsed by the coalition government formed by Democratic Left Party (DSP), Motherland Party (ANAP) and Nationalist Action Party (MHP) in 2002, Turkey embarked upon a process of wide-ranging political reforms to redress its shortcomings vis-à-vis the Copenhagen criteria.[2] The new government formed by Justice and Development Party (AKP) after the elections on 3 November 2002, followed this trend of reforms and adopted four more harmonization packages in 2003 and one in 2004.[3] Based on Turkey's progress in compliance to EU's democratic norms and values almost through revolutionary steps, the Commission declared that Turkey has "sufficiently" fulfilled the political criteria and recommended the Council to open accession negotiations with Turkey. According to the historic decision of the European Council on 17 December 2004, accession negotiations with Turkey commenced on 3 October 2005. Ironically, it was around the timing of this momentous decision in the history of Turkey-EU relations that the reform process in Turkey was reversed.

The aim of this chapter is to explain the underlying dynamics of the flux in the political reform process in Turkey, and the role of the EU conditionality in triggering those dynamics within the conceptual borders of Europeanization. First, it offers a brief discussion on the concepts of Europeanization and clarifies how and under what circumstances membership-political conditionality converts into Europeanization of domestic politics of any candidate country. In this context, this article argues that conditionality *per se* cannot result in domestic change, and should be filtered through a combination of mediating endogenous and exogenous elements. Second, it analyzes the contents and the reasons of the sea change in Turkish politics between 2002 and 2005, by arguing that although the primary impetus for the first cycle of change was the operation of the conditionality mechanism, it was not the conditions-compliance dichotomy *per se* that led to the gradual Europeanization of Turkish domestic politics. This unique political transformation of Turkey was also driven by facilitating factors both at the domestic and European levels that had their immediate implications on the efficacy of conditionality. Third, it focuses on the reversed-Europeanization path of Turkish domestic politics since 2005, and argues that EU conditionality mechanism that should have been more powerful with the opening of the accession negotiations was almost insufficient to forge continuity with the previous cycle of reforms. This part also suggests that conditionality should be backed up with other forces in order to understand the period of inertia in Turkey's further democratization on its road to EU membership.

Ups and downs in Turkey's democratization process can only be grasped with the presence/absence of EU conditionality coupled with inside/outside factors that affect its operability. In other words, conditionality led to Europeanization when facilitating factors (i.e. member states' as well as EU's commitment to Turkish accession, the coherent accession strategy of the Union, support at the governmental, elite and societal level) interacted without any salience of one over another. On the contrary, in 2005, Europeanization in Turkey entered a reversed cycle with the absence or limited existence of the above-forces necessary to bring

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[2] For the definition of harmonization package see *Political Reforms in Turkey* (2007): Ankara, Secretariat General for EU Affairs, p. 4.
[3] *Ibid.*

about any domestic change. Thus, this article employs an understanding of Europeanization of Turkish domestic politics through not only membership conditionality alone, but also through the interplay of domestic and European level forces that render conditionality conducive to Europeanization.

2. Conceptualizing EU´s Domestic Impact: Europeanization by Conditionality

In its contemporary widespread usage, Europeanization is conceptualized as the process of change at the domestic level due to the pressures generated at the EU level, thereby linking this new research framework straightforwardly to EU studies accommodated within the prism of Political Science. However, an in-depth research on conceptual understanding of Europeanization would manifest the term's diversified application in a variety of disciplines of Social Sciences ranging from history to economy.

Within the contours of *history*, Europeanization is mainly identified with the "export of European authority, institutional organization and social practices, social and cultural beliefs, values and behavior" mainly through "colonialization, coercion and imposition".[4] Following this general trend in historical interpretations, Mjoset argues that "from the long 16th century to the last turn of the century, Europeanization implied the extension of the European state system outside its core area" and this took place particularly through coercive imperial endeavors such as the ones by Britain, France, Spain and Portugal.[5] However, historians of the modern era attach two different meanings to the concept of Europeanization which deviate from the early accounts emphasizing the coercive and outward-looking characterization of the term. Some argue that "Europeanization has often meant adaptation to West European norms and practices, acknowledging the 'pull' to convergence of the major powers of the region", thereby focusing on the voluntary importation of the European norms and practices.[6] In this context, the mechanism for Europeanization is "imitation and voluntaristic borrowing from a successful civilization" since after the "European states have lost their world hegemony, hierarchical command and coercion are less likely to be the most important processes for spreading European institutions outside Europe".[7] On the other hand, some reject those outward-looking definitions of Europeanization as taking place outside the continent, and instead argue that in the 20th century Europeanization must be understood as an inward-looking phenomenon in the shape of an "integration process within Europe as a region".[8]

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[4] Featherstone, Kevin: "Introduction: In the Name of Europe", in Featherstone, Kevin and Radaelli, Claudio M. (eds.) (2003): *The Politics of Europeanization*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 6; Olsen, Johan P.: "Many Faces of Europeanization", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 40, no. 5 (December 2002), p. 938. For a detailed historical perspective on Europeanization see Geyer, Michael: "Historical Fictions of Autonomy and the Europeanization of National History", *Central European History*, vol. 22, no. 3-4 (September-December 1989), pp. 316-342 and Mjøset, Lars (1997): *The Historical Meanings of Europeanisation*, Arena Working Papers no. 24, Oslo, University of Oslo.

[5] Mjøset, *op. cit.*

[6] Diamandouros, Nikiforos (1994): *Cultural Dualism and Political Change in Post-Authoritarian Greece*, Estudios-Working Papers, No. 50, Madrid, Centro De Estudios Avanzados en Ciencias Sociales; quoted from Featherstone, *op.cit.*, pp. 6-7.

[7] For these interpretations see Olsen, *op.cit.*, p. 937-938.

[8] Mjøset, *op.cit.*

From an *anthropological* perspective, Europeanization is widely depicted as a "strategy of self-representation and a form of identification"[9] "in a manner which relativizes (without necessarily supplanting) national identities"[10]. Thus, it is a process of labeling self as European, in other words creating a European identification through relations with others that involves "everyday encounters and face-to-face interactions where people work with stereotypes and construct commonalities and differences".[11] So far, anthropologists have studied the empirical aspects of Europeanization in various practices including drinking habits, ideology, tourism, sports, money and etc.[12] This anthropological conceptualization of the term is also deeply intertwined with its widespread usage in the context of Cultural Studies where Europeanization is envisaged as "increasing transnationalism, that is the diffusion of cultural norms, identities, and patterns of behavior on a cross-national basis within Europe".[13] Undoubtedly, it is through these forces of cultural exchange that the formation of European identification in an anthropological sense can be materialized.

The argument that "transnational and intercultural relations are judged to be on the rise in Europe due to the forces of globalization"[14] links the cultural and anthropological perspectives on Europeanization to its conceptualization in the view of *political economy*.[15] Europeanization from an international political economy perspective is inextricably bound with the progress of globalization which not only gives rise to the above-mentioned intercultural interactions, but forces "countries grow more interdependent and consequently more vulnerable to impulses transmitted by the international system".[16] In order to alleviate the negative effects of globalization, "many countries choose regionalism as the way to further integrate themselves in the world economy and to achieve collective action in the international arena".[17] In this respect, the formation of "various modes of inter-state cooperation, up to and including regional integration" in Europe is understood as Europeanization from the perspective of economists.[18] In conclusion, "Europeanization becomes the European response to globalization" as Helmut Kohl once put forward.[19]

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[9] Borneman, John and Fowler, Nick: "Europeanization", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 26, no. 1 (October 1997), p. 493.

[10] Harmsen, Robert and Wilson, Thomas M.: "Introduction: Approaches to Europeanization", *Yearbook of European Studies*, vol. 14 (2000), p. 17.

[11] MacDonald, Maryon (1995): *Towards an Anthropology of the European Union*, Brussels, European Commission, pp. 7, 12, 15; quoted from Borneman and Fowler, *op.cit.*, p. 498.

[12] For some examples of Europeanization literature with an anthropological perspective see Gransow, Volker: "The End of Ideological Age: The Europeanization of Europe", *Argument*, vol. 24 (March 1982), pp. 299-300; Olafsdottir, Hildigunnur et.al.: "The Europeanization of Drinking Habits in Iceland after the Legalization of Beer", *European Addiction Research*, vol. 3, no. 2 (1997), pp. 59-66 and Borneman and Fowler, *op.cit.*, pp. 487-514.

[13] Featherstone, *op.cit.*, p. 7

[14] Harmsen and Wilson, *op.cit.*, p.18.

[15] For this perspective see, Escribano, Gonzalo and Lorca, Alejandro: "The Ups and Downs of Europeanisation in External Relations: Insights from the Spanish Experience", *Perceptions*, vol. 9 (Winter 2004-2005), pp. 131-158.

[16] Andersen, Jeffrey: "Europeanization in Context: Concept and Theory", in Dyson, Kenneth and Goetz, Klaus (eds.) (2003): *Germany, Europe and the Politics of Constraint*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 40. For detailed information on the link between Europeanization and globalization see Rosamond, Ben: Review Article: Globalization and Europeanization", *Yearbook of European Studies*, vol. 14 (2000), pp. 261-274 and Hennis, Marjoleine: "Europeanization and Globalization: The Missing Link", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol 39, no. 5 (December 2001), pp. 829-850.

[17] Escribano and Lorca, *op.cit.*, p. 133.

[18] Andersen, *op.cit.,* p. 41.

[19] Quoted from Escribano and Lorca, *op.cit.*

Since 1990s the concept of Europeanization has become the new spotlight of *political scientists* specialized in European integration issues at a time when the EU was preoccupied with deepening at all fronts through completing its internal market, consolidating its various policy areas ranging from environment to social policy, moving towards a single currency, and sowing the seeds of a common foreign and security policy with the hope of achieving *finalité politique*, all having direct effects on the domestic systems of member states. For the scholars of EU integration having their origins either in *International Relations* or *Comparative Politics*, Europeanization appeared as a new research agenda for understanding the dynamics of integration both at the supranational and domestic levels. Since then, three different conceptualizations of the term emerged within the boundaries of political science[20].

Following the traditional trend on understanding European integration through the prisms of the neo-functionalist and/or intergovernmental theories, the first conceptualization of the term concentrates on the creation of a European center with a collective action capacity.[21] In this 'bottom-up' approach, Europeanization is the "evolution of European institutions as a set of new norms, rules and practices".[22] Likewise, in a project conducted by European University Institute of Florence, Europeanization was defined as "the emergence and development at the European level of distinct structures of governance, that is, of political, legal and social institutions that formalize and routinise interactions among the actors, and of policy networks specializing in the creation of authoritative European rules".[23] However, Europeanization-from-below perception equates the term with the concept of integration, thereby risking its relevance due to duality of terms. The concept of integration is concerned with the "construction of a European center or perhaps a European whole", as suggested by its etymology; whereas it offers nothing in analyzing the effects of integration on member states.[24] Thus, in order to delineate the boundaries of two concepts, *Risse et.al.* frame a new understanding on Europeanization having primarily a top-down approach flavored with a focus on the domestic impacts of integration as a dependent variable. In their work, Europeanization is defined as:

> the emergence and the development at the European level of distinct structures of governance, that is, of political, legal, and social institutions associated with the problem solving that formalize interactions among the actors, and of policy networks specializing in the creation of authoritative European rules.[25]

Yet, by employing the domestic changes stemming from the process of integration in this new framework, they bring forward a broader conceptual understanding than the concept of integration offers.

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[20] This understanding of Europeanization in political science has been extracted from Aydin, Mustafa and Acikmese, Sinem: "Europeanization through EU Conditionality: Understanding The New Era In Turkish Foreign Policy", in Verney, Susannah and Ifantis, Kostas (eds.) (2009): *Turkey's Road to European Union Membership: National Identity and Political Change*, Abingdon/New York, Routledge, pp. 49-60.

[21] This dimension of Europeanization has been applied within various policy areas ranging from broadcasting to airlines policy. For references see Featherstone, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

[22] Börzel, Tanja: "Pace-Setting, Foot-Dragging and Fence-Sitting: Member State Responses to Europeanization", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 40, no. 2 (June 2002), p. 193.

[23] Quoted from Harmsen and Wilson, *op.cit.*, p. 14.

[24] *Ibid.*, p.19.

[25] Risse, Thomas *et.al.*: "Europeanization and Domestic Change: Introduction", in Cowles, Maria Green *et al.* (eds.) (2001) *Transforming Europe: Europeanization and Domestic Change*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, p. 3.

The mirror-image of this first conceptualization that has a 'top-down' connotation reflects Europeanization as a process of domestic change that can be attributed to European integration.[26] The most cited definition in this 'Europeanization- from-above' approach suggests that it is a "process reorienting the direction and shape of politics to a degree that EC political and economic dynamics become part of the organizational logic of national politics and policy-making".[27] Apart from politics, policies and polity, the domains of change at the domestic level is generally seen in a wider spectrum covering styles, informal rules, ways of doing things, shared beliefs and norms.[28] Nevertheless, this dimension of Europeanization by focusing solely on the change at the domestic level triggered by European structures seems to neglect the fact that those European structures "do not come out of the blue, but are the result-among others- of political action by domestic actors who shift domestic issues to the European level".[29] In this respect, the 'top-down, but?' approach of *Dyson* and *Goetz* deserve special attention, who argue that "while bestowing analytical primacy to the impact of European integration on the domestic level", they argue that Europeanization is a catalyst for recasting integration by seeking to upload domestic institutional models, policy preferences and 'ways of doing things' to the EU level". However, they see downloading of EU structures as the defining and uploading as the secondary or accompanying property of Europeanization[30].

The third conceptualization of Europeanization in literature is a sum of the top-down and bottom-up approaches. Many scholars have merged these two perspectives and ended up with a synthesized conceptualization.[31] In this context, Europeanization can be portrayed as "an ongoing, interactive and mutually constitutive process of change linking national and European levels, where the responses of the Member States to the integration process feed back into EU institutions and policy processes and vice versa".[32] This synthesized approach considers Europeanization as a cycle of interactions and change at all levels, and does not attach any analytical primacy either to center-building or to domestic change, instead consider them coexisting in a vicious circle.

However, for analytical purposes of research this cycle should be stopped at one point in order to achieve methodological consistency. As argued by Major, "being bound up in a circular movement is of little help as it blurs the boundaries between cause and effect, dependent and independent variable".[33] In this respect, selection of one dimension of this

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[26] For top-down approaches see Ladrech, Robert: "The Europeanization of Domestic Politics and Institutions: The Case of France", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 32, no. 1 (March 1994), pp. 69-88; Knill, Christoph and Lehmkuhl, Dirk: "How Europe Matters: Different Mechanisms of Europeanization", *European Integration Online Papers*, no. 3 (June 1999), at http://eiop.or.at/eiop/texte/1999-007a.htm; Hix, Simon and Goetz, Klaus: "Introduction: European Integration and National Political Systems", *West European Politics*, vol. 23, no. 4 (July 2000), pp. 1-26.

[27] Ladrech, *op.cit.*, p. 69.

[28] Radaelli, Claudio: "Whither Europeanization? Concept Stretching and Substantive Change", *European Integration Online Papers* no. 4 (2000), p. 3; at http://eiop.or.at/eiop/texte/2000-008a.htm. For the differences between politics, policies and polity see Börzel, Tanja A. and Risse, Thomas: "Conceptualizing the Domestic Impact of Europe", in Featherstone, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

[29] Vink, Maarten: *What is Europeanization? and Other Questions on a New Research Agenda*, at http://www.essex.ac.uk/ECPR/publications/eps/onlineissues/autumn2003/research/vink.htm.

[30] Dyson, Kenneth and Goetz, Klaus, "Living with Europe: Power, Constraint and Contestation", in Dyson, Kenneth and Goetz, Klaus (eds.) (2003): *Germany, Europe and the Politics of Constraint*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p.14.

[31] For synthesized perspectives see Börzel, *op.cit.*, pp. 193-214; Featherstone, *op.cit.*; Radaelli, *op.cit.*

[32] Major, Claudia: "Europeanisation and Foreign and Security Policy: Undermining or Rescuing the Nation State?", *Politics*, vol. 25, no. 3 (September 2005), p. 177.

[33] *Ibid.*

process, either top-down/downloading or bottom-up/uploading, will bring more methodological clarity. Since the aim of this article is to understand the ups and downs in the political reform process in Turkey stemming from the EU leverage within the conceptual borders of Europeanization, the term will be applied in its top-down version implying change at the domestic level triggered by the dynamics of European integration.

The domestic level should not overall be understood within the sole context of EU member states, rather the term is generally conceptualized as "also covering the consequences of fulfillment of EU requirements and of voluntary orientation towards EU standards in candidates". [34] In the case of applicant countries Europeanization can be framed as a research agenda for understanding the gradual compliance with EU accession criteria, in return for which admittance to the EU Club is granted as a reward. The concept of conditionality lies at the heart of this framework and used as a tool for explaining the transformative power of the EU on applicant states.

As defined by Smith, "conditionality entails the linking, by a state or international organization, of benefits desired by another state to the fulfillment of certain conditions". [35] In the case of the EU, conditionality is the most effective foreign policy tool of the Union in its relations with third countries, which functions through "reinforcement by reward". [36] In other words, EU offers rewards (varying from aid to institutional ties in the form of concluding various agreements of trade, cooperation, association and even accession as well as forging other mechanisms of relationship through political dialogue and common strategies) in return for its demanded principles and norms to be adopted by the third country/countries concerned. [37] Furthermore, the EU has a specific type of *reinforcement by reward* clause defined as "membership conditionality", which fosters accession to the Union through the adoption of certain criteria by the applicant countries developed since the first enlargement of UK, Ireland and Denmark as customary practice and codified into main texts of the EU (i.e. treaties, presidency conclusions, accession partnerships and progress reports). [38] By and large, membership conditionality embodies *Article 49 of the Treaty on the EU* focusing on Europeanness and adherence to the main values of the EU such as "respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights of persons belonging to minorities", [39] the infamous *Copenhagen criteria* divided into political, economic

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[34] *Ibid.*, p. 178; for a detailed account on Europeanization of candidates see Grabbe, Heather: "How Does Europeanisation Affect CEE Governance? Conditionality, Diffusion and Diversity", *Journal of European Public Policy*, vol. 8, no. 6 (December 2001), pp. 1013-1031; Lippert, Barbara *et al.*: "Europeanisation of the CEE Executives: EU Membership Negotiations as a Shaping Power," *Journal of European Public Policy*, vol. 8, no. 6 (December 2001), pp. 980-1012.

[35] Smith, Karen E.: "The Evolution and Application of EU Membership Conditionality", in Marise Cremona (ed.) (2005): *The Enlargement of the European Union*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 108.

[36] For the mechanism of reinforcement see, Schimmelfennig, Frank *et al.*: Costs, Commitment and Compliance: The Impact of EU Democratic Conditionality on Latvia, Slovakia and Turkey", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 41, no. 3 (June 2003), p. 496.

[37] For the instruments of the EU at its disposal that could be used as rewards see, Smith, Karen (2003): *European Union Foreign Policy in a Changing World*, Cambridge, Polity, pp. 60-61.

[38] For the evolution of accession criteria through various waves of enlargement see Smith, "The Evolution and Application of EU Membership Conditionality", *op. cit.*, p. 105-139.

[39] Article 49 of the TEU stipulates that "any European State which respects the values referred to in Article 2 and is committed to promoting them may apply to become a member of the Union". According to the Article to of the TEU as amended by the Lisbon Treaty , "The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail".

and adoption of EU *acquis* fractions,[40] the *Madrid criterion* of effective implementation of adopted norms through appropriate administrative and judicial structure as well as the *Helsinki criteria* of good neighborliness and higher standards for nuclear safety.[41]

The Luxembourg decision that manifests compliance with the Copenhagen political criteria as a prerequisite for the opening of any accession negotiations put the political one at the top of the conditionality hierarchy.[42] Schimmelfennig et al. define political (or democratic) conditionality as the core strategy of the EU to induce candidate states to comply with its principles of legitimate statehood as defined by human rights, liberal democracy and rule of law.[43] Even though those values and principles are alleged to be vaguely defined that are justified through the very short and unclear sentence of the Copenhagen Presidency Conclusions and the non-existence of their explicit definitions by the Union, the EU is implicitly elaborating those contents of political conditionality mostly through Commission's opinions on various applications, accession partnership documents and progress reports since 1998.[44] For example, according to the European Commission's Agenda 2000 reports of 1997, the condition on the respect for minorities includes the adoption of the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.[45] Thus, pressures for domestic adaptation to EU's democratic norms are embedded not only in the abstract reading of the Copenhagen political criteria, but also in the detailed and implicit wording of various enlargement documents.

As explained by Tocci in the Turkish case, in a straightforward manner, EU political conditionality creates a "linear relationship between externally demanded conditions that are accepted domestically by adopting (constitutional, legal and administrative) reforms".[46] In this simplistic approach, the output of conditionality would only be an "instrumental" and "utilitarian" adaptation in the form of rule-transfer to the demands of the EU as an external power imposing change from above. [47] In other words, while the prospect of EU membership as the golden-carrot acts as a major catalyst for reforms through the adoption of EU rules, EU conditionality *per se* cannot solely lay the ground for genuine domestic change in a candidate

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[40] "Membership requires that the candidate country has achieved stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities, the existence of a functioning market economy as well as the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union. Membership presupposes the candidate's ability to take on the obligations of membership including adherence to the aims of political, economic and monetary union." *European Council in Copenhagen:* "Conclusions of the Presidency" *European Union (EU), European Council,* Copenhagen (21-22 June 1993), at http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/72921.pdf.

[41] For the Madrid criterion see "Madrid European Council", *Bulletin of the European Communities*, no. 12 (1995), p. 18. For the Helsinki statements on conditionality see paragraphs 4 and 7 of Helsinki European Council, 10-11 December 1999, at http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/ACFA4C.htm.

[42] See paragraph 25 of Luxembourg Presidency Conclusions, 12-13 December 1997, at http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/032a0008.htm.

[43] For these definitions see Schimmelfennig *et al*., "Costs, Commitment and Compliance", *op. cit.*, p. 495 and Schimmelfennig, Frank et al.: "The Impact of EU Political Conditionality", in Schimmelfenning, Frank and Sedelmeier, Ulrich (eds.) (2005): *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, p. 29.

[44] For the claims on ambiguity see Smith, "The Evolution and Application of EU Membership Conditionality", *op. cit.*, p. 115; Grabbe, Heather: "European Union Conditionality and the *Acquis Communautaire*", *International Political Science Review*, vol. 23, no. 3 (July 2002), p. 249, 251.

[45] Smith, "The Evolution and Application of EU Membership Conditionality", *op. cit.*, p. 116.

[46] Tocci, Nathalie: "Europeanization in Turkey: Trigger or Anchor for Reform", *South European Society and Politics*, vol. 10, no. 1 (April 2005), p. 75.

[47] For the arguments of instrumentality and utilitarianism see Kubicek, Paul: "The European Union and Grassroots Democratization in Turkey", *Turkish Studies*, vol. 6, no. 3 (September 2005), p. 364.

country. Sea change in domestic politics of a candidate country requires not just rhetorical or formal compliance as a show-off for obtaining membership, but also effective implementation of the transferred rules as well as the acceptance and internalization of the adopted norms by the society at large.[48] Europeanization in its fully-fledged definition of transformed politics, policies and polity as well as the styles, informal rules, ways of doing things, shared beliefs and norms can only be relevant in this broader picture of formal compliance to EU democratic practices as well as their implementation and embracement by society. The latter could only be achieved through the political conditionality tool interacting with other forces at various levels. In other words, by forging pressures for rule-transfer EU conditionality is a necessary but not sufficient mechanism for domestic change. Whether conditionality challenges the *status quo* of a candidate country depends on the existence of some factors facilitating genuine change through political reforms. Thus, Europeanization in a political context is relevant only when democratic conditionality operates effectively through the dynamics that can be defined as *facilitating*, *mediating* or *efficacy* factors.

The most cited work on the domestic impact of EU conditionality on candidate countries by Schimmelfennig *et al.*, identifies three domestic and one European-level mediating factors that are crucial for understanding the existence and the degree of democratic change in response to the pressures of adaptation triggered by conditionality: First factor defined as the *costs of compliance* suggests that if the costs of adaptation to EU norms (in the form of negative effects to the security and integrity of the state, the government's domestic power base and its core practical practices for power preservation) are lower than the rewards, then conditionality will be effective. Secondly, the target *government's commitment to Europe* and its identification with the EU affect the implementation of conditionality. The third mediating factor is related with the *societal responsiveness* to the EU membership depending on the society's identification with the EU norms and standards as well as the material expectations deriving from accession. Furthermore, they also suggest that legitimacy and the coherence of EU conditions determine the degree of adaptation, and double standards in conditionality will fail to exert the same compliance pull. [49] The salience of endogenous factors and the neglect of the existence and continuity of EU commitments to the candidate country in concern as well as the member states' consistent policies are also apparent in Kubicek's article on Turkey. However, Kubicek fills the gap of the previous article by adding the supportive role of the *veto players* as facilitating the move to Europeanization. The role of veto players for the efficacy of conditionality is defined by Risse *et al.* in their book on the domestic impact of Europeanization on member states which could also be used for the applicant states:

> The existence of multiple veto points in a given policy-making structure has been identified as a major factor impeding structural adaptation. The more power dispersed across the political system and more actors have a say in political decision making, the more difficult it is to foster domestic consensus or winning coalition necessary to introduce institutional changes in response to Europeanization pressures[50].

Moreover, Kubicek differentiates the societal responsiveness of civil society institutions and the opinion of mass public, and argues that these two elements of societal support from-below

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[48] Hughes, James *et al.* (2004): *Europeanization and Regionalization in the EU's Enlargement to Central and Eastern Europe: The Myth of Conditionality,* Houndmills, Palgrave Macmillan, p. 11; Kubicek, *op. cit.,* p. 362.
[49] Schimmelfennig et al., "Costs, Commitment and Compliance", *op. cit.*, p. 499-501.
[50] Risse *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

are essential in domestic transformation.[51] In line with the assertions of Schimmelfennig et al. and Kubicek, Tocci also prioritizes the explicability of the endogenous factors and focuses on the governmental commitments, role of civil society as well as the military in her article on Turkey's reform process.[52]

The exogenous factors are also crucial for grasping the degree to which genuine domestic change is expected. Borrowing the concepts of "temporality" or "time constraint" from Goetz, Ulusoy and Eralp both argue that EU's commitment to accession is vital in transforming the domestic politics of a country and for the well-being of bilateral relations, and this commitment is only apparent in time-tables, calendars, temporal rules, roadmaps and etc. in which candidacy, start of negotiations as well as their progress and final destination of membership are designated.[53] Ulusoy suggests that, "without a clear membership prospect, properly designed incentive structures and a time schedule tied to that, the hands of the reformist forces are extremely weakened". In addition to the EU commitments, the positive stance of member states towards the candidate country in question as well as a coherent and legitimate accession strategy are vital in understanding the presence and the degree of Europeanization as suggested by Öniş.[54]

On the contrary to the preferences of the salience of one factor over another as described above through some examples in the literature, this article suggests that political conditionality, or in other words the *conditions* (accession criteria), *reward* (membership prospects) and *compliance* (formal rule transfer) trilogy should be supplemented by the interplay of domestic (endogenous) and European (exogenous) factors in order to explain the dynamics of Europeanization of a candidate country. In this context, four factors at the domestic level (governmental commitment, costs of compliance, veto players and societal support) and three factors at the European level (EU commitment, member states' commitments and coherent EU conditions and strategies) will be used in order to understand to what extent membership conditionality was effective in the Turkish case and whether/when it led to the Europeanization of domestic politics in Turkey.

3. Europeanization by EU Political Conditionality: the Turkish Case

Since the Ottoman modernization movement of the 19th century, Turkey has a strategy of westernization, or in other words Europeanization as understood in the contours of *history*. This longest nourished endeavor of borrowing voluntarily the elements of the European civilization since *Tanzimat* has its repercussions in the formulation of the Turkish Republic's main motto of being recognized as a European state. Thus, Europeanization was reflected in the modernization reforms of 1923-1938 and in Turkey's ever presence in Europe through its membership to various European organizations, such as OECD, NATO, and Council of

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[51] Kubicek, *op. cit.*, p. 361, 366-374.

[52] Tocci, *op. cit.*, p. 73, 75.

[53] Goetz, Klaus H. (2006): *Territory, Temporality and Clustered Europeanization*, Political Science Series 109, Vienna, Institute for Advanced Studies; Eralp, Atila: "The Role of Temporality and Interaction in the Turkey-EU Relationship", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, vol. 40 (Spring 2009), p. 148; Ulusoy, Kıvanç: "Turkey and the EU: Democratization, Civil-Military Relations, and the Cyprus Issue", *Insight Turkey*, vol. 10, no. 4 (October-December 2008), p. 60.

[54] Öniş, Ziya, "Turkey-EU Relations: Beyond the Current Stalemate", *Insight Turkey*, vol. 10, no. 4 (October-December 2008), p. 41.

Europe.[55] From the perspective of the *anthropological* studies on Europeanization, through various cultural interactions (i.e Euro-vision, Euro-league and etc. as well as exchanges with around 3,5 million of Turks living in Europe), Turkish people have a sense of belonging to Europe, alongside their belonging to the state's identity. As argued by Fırat "constructions of Turkish national identity and state sovereignty have increasingly become transnational phenomena emanating from places outside of the administrative boundaries of the Turkish nation-state", implying the anthropological impact of Europeanization in Turkey.[56] From the political economy version of Europeanization, Turkey since 1960s has been establishing close bonds with European economies through its association agreement which paved the way for the inception of the Customs Union on 31 December 1995. Moreover, Turkey's trade liberalization process of 1980s opened up Turkish economies to more interaction with its counterparts in Europe. Thus, Turkey's Europeanization history in economic terms emerged far earlier than the transformation of Turkish domestic politics in late 1990s, the flux of which can be analyzed within the prism of the political science understanding of Europeanization in its top-down version in this paper.

3.1. Europeanization of Turkish Domestic Politics from 1999 to 2005: The Miracles of Political Conditionality

The Helsinki declaration of Turkey's candidacy in 1999 is widely conceived as a critical moment that sparked sea change in Turkey at all fronts, including economics as well as foreign and domestic politics.[57] As argued by Keyman and İçduygu, "Helsinki Summit was an important turning point for Turkey-EU relations, for it defined what Turkey, as a candidate country should do in order to qualify as a full-member, even if it did not give Turkey a specific date to start accession negotiations".[58] Accordingly, due to the pressures generated by the EU to overcome the disparities between European values and Turkish interpretations of democracy, human rights and rule of law, Turkey has embarked upon a series of unprecedented radical reforms at the domestic front. In other words, Turkey was placed "within the stream of conditionality-compliance principles" at the Helsinki Summit, and since then gradual Europeanization of Turkish domestic politics is on track.[59]

Even though the Helsinki decision was the landmark in the initiation of political reforms, the pressures for change have been on the EU agenda since Turkey's application for membership in 1987. The misfit between European and Turkish democratic standards was criticized by the European Commission in its opinion on Turkey's application in 1989. The opinion confirming Turkey's eligibility for membership, but denying to begin accession negotiations noted that "although there have been developments in recent years in the human rights situation and in respect for the identity of minorities, these have not yet reached the

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[55] For similar views see Müftüler Baç, Meltem: Turkey's Political Reforms and the Impact of the European Union", *South East European Society and Politics*, vol. 10, no. 1 (April 2005), p. 17, 19

[56] Fırat, Bilge: "Negotiating Europe/Avrupa: Prelude for an Anthropological Approach to Turkish Europeanization and the Cultures of EU Lobbying in Brussels", *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, vol. 9 (2009), p. 11-12.

[57] For a whole volume on Turkey's change at different levels due to EU membership prospects , see Verney, Susannah and Ifantis, Kostas (eds.) (2009): *Turkey's Road to European Union Membership: National Identity and Political Change*, Abingdon/New York, Routledge.

[58] Keyman, Fuat and İçduygu, Ahmet: "Introduction: Citizenship, Identity and the Question of Democracy in Turkey" in Keyman, Fuat and İçduygu, Ahmet (eds.) (2005): *Citizenship in a Global World: European Questions and Turkish Experiences*, Abingdon/New York, Routledge, p. 11.

[59] Ulusoy, Kıvanç (2005): *Turkey's Reform Effort Reconsidered, 1987-2004*, EUI Working Papers, No. 2005/28, Florence, European University Institute, p. 1.

level required in a democracy".[60] That level did not improve up until the inception of the Customs Union in 1995, which raised hopes for further democratization in Turkey. Indeed, between 1995 and 1998, the government has introduced some modest reforms designed to strengthen the functioning of democracy in Turkey. The most striking elements of those reforms were the right to any association to take part in political activities, the reduction in the minimum age of suffrage from 21 to 18 years, the extension of voting rights to Turkish citizens living abroad, and amendment to the Anti-Terror Law in order to improve the protection of freedom of expression by way of reducing the duration of imprisonment and the possibility of converting prison terms into fines as well as a legislation making spousal abuse illegal. As stated by the 1998 Regular Report, "this reform was the first such undertaken by a civilian government for a long time".[61] However, the scope of those reforms was not sufficient to lay the ground for a genuine political transformation, since they were not situated within the membership-conditionality-compliance trilemma. This shortcoming was also reiterated by the European Commission both in its Agenda 2000 reports and the 1998 Regular Report. Agenda 2000 stated that "despite political recognition of the need for improvement and certain recent legislative changes, Turkey's record on upholding the rights of the individual and freedom of expression falls well short of standards in the EU".[62] A similar view was apparent in the 1998 Regular Report:

> The actual upholding of civil and political rights enshrined in the Turkish constitution and law remains problematic. Cases of torture, disappearances and extra-judicial executions are recorded regularly. Freedom of expression is not fully assured and is subject to numerous restrictions. It should be noted that most of the disregard for civil and political rights is connected in one way or another with the way in which the government and the army react to the problems in the south-east of the country[63].

To sum up, even though premature steps were taken in Turkey's democratization path towards the EU standards since 1995, the candidacy status was the main impetus behind the ground-breaking political reforms of Turkey. However, the coalition government did not initiate an immediate response to the reform pressures up until late 2001, due to the emergency engagement with the financial crisis as well as the difficulties associated with overcoming the divisions among the parties forming the coalition about the reform process.[64] The government's "vigorous commitment to implementing the Copenhagen criteria both in the political and economic realms" after two years of bargaining opened a new era in Turkey-EU relations and Turkey's democratization process between 2002-2005, a period which is labeled as the "golden-age of Europeanization" by Öniş.[65]

The most prominent elements of the constitutional amendments of 2001 and 2004 as well as the eight harmonization packages adopted between 2002 and 2004, alongside the

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[60] "Commission's Opinion on Turkey's Request for Accession to the Community", *European Union (EU), European Commission, SEC (89) 2290 final* (20 December 1989), paragraph 9.

[61] Even though Turkey was not declared as a candidate, the Commission began to issue Regular Reports on Turkey since 1998 alongside other candidates for membership. For the above statement and Turkey's advances in its reforms since 1995 see "Regular Report from the Commission on Turkey's Progress Towards Accession", *European Union (EU), European Commission* (4 November 1998), at
http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/archives/pdf/key_documents/1998/turkey_en.pdf.

[62] "Agenda 2000: Volume I-Communication for a Stronger and Wider Union", *European Union (EU), European Commission, DOC/97/6,* Strasbourg (15 July 2007), p. 80, at
http://www.rcie.lodz.pl/dokumenty/pdf/agenda2000_for_a_stronger_and_wider_union.pdf.

[63] "Regular Report from the Commission on Turkey's Progress…"*, op. cit.,* p. 9.

[64] Müftüler Baç, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[65] Öniş, "Turkey-EU Relations", *op. cit.*, p. 38.

change in basic legal codes (i.e. the new Civil Code or the Anti-terror law) were the abolition of the death penalty, the freedom of expression, broadcasting in and learning of the different languages and dialects traditionally used by Turkish citizens in their daily lives, such as Kurdish and changing the composition and functions of the National Security Council as well as other reforms on the civilian control over the military.[66] *The death penalty,* not carried out since 1984 in Turkey, was abolished in the third harmonization package of 9 August 2002 except in times of war and the imminent threat of war as well as the crimes of terrorism. It was the sixth harmonization package that entered into force on 19 July 2003 that the death penalty was abolished in all cases including crimes of terrorism in line with the Protocol 6 of the European Convention on Human Rights ratified by Turkey on 12 November 2003. The constitutional amendments of 7 May 2004 also removed the expressions of death penalty from the text of the relevant articles. Within the context of *freedom of expression*, the most salient steps were the reduction from 6 years to 3 the upper limit of sentences as well as the minimum penalty from one year to six months for persons who openly insult or deride Turkishness in the first and seventh harmonization packages of 19 February 2002 and 7 August 2003 respectively, the abolition of the "fines stipulated for praising a criminal act, calling for disobedience to the law or inciting hatred on the basis of class, race, religion, sect or territory" in the first harmonization package, and finally the right of press not to reveal its sources of information "safeguarding the fulfillment of the function of press in a democratic society and the right of the public to be informed" in the fourth package of 11 January 2003.[67] The third harmonization package introduced the *right of broadcasting in and learning of the different languages and dialects* traditionally used by Turkish citizens. In this context, Article 4 of the Law of Radio and Television Enterprises and the Law on the Foreign Language Teaching Education were amended.[68] Finally, the prevailing demand of the EU was to provide *civilian control over the military* by way of changing the composition of the National Security Council (NSC), incorporating more civilians and a civilian Secretary General as well as aligning its role as an advisory body to the Government in accordance with the practice of EU member states. Accordingly, the Turkish Parliament passed a seventh reform package on 7 August 2003, changing the structure, composition and working procedures of the NSC. The government also appointed a new civilian Secretary General of the Council in August 2004 and introduced new rules of conduct for accountability and transparency[69].

Although the primary impetus for those substantial political reforms was the operation of the conditionality mechanism, it was not the conditions-compliance dichotomy *per se* that culminated in the golden-age of Europeanization. The political transformation of Turkey was also driven by exogenous and endogenous factors that had their immediate implications on the efficacy of conditionality. At the European level, the EU seemed to be committed to Turkish accession, member states were not designing alternatives to EU membership and Turkey did not relatively perceive double standards in the application of accession criteria and strategies. As argued by Öniş, a favorable external context *per se*, however, is insufficient and needs to be accompanied by a parallel process: the emergence of a strong political movement at home that is deeply committed to the reform process and to EU membership".[70] In this

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[66] For a detailed account of reforms see "Political Reforms in Turkey"*, op. cit.* and *Avrupa Birliği Uyum Yasa Paketleri* (2007): Ankara, Avrupa Birliği Genel Sekreterliği.

[67] "Political Reforms in Turkey…", *op. cit.,* pp., 6; 11; 15.

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[69] For the reforms about civil-military relations see, Heper, Metin: "The Justice and Development Party Government and Military in Turkey", *Turkish Studies*, vol. 6, no. 2, (June 2005), pp. 215-231; and Özcan, Gencer, "Facing its Waterloo Diplomacy: Turkey's Military in the Foreign-Policy Making Process", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, vol. 40 (Spring 2009), pp. 83-102.

[70] Öniş, "Turkey-EU Relations", *op. cit.*, p. 48.

context, alongside the exogenous factors, domestic environment was also conducive to Europeanization, through governmental commitments, public support, calculations of benefits and the non-presence of veto players.

When compared to the Luxembourg presidency conclusions of 1997 that confirmed Turkey's eligibility for membership but granted a special strategy for Turkey while putting the rest of the twelve candidates on the enlargement track, Helsinki decisions were a great sign of *EU commitment* towards Turkish accession. The fear associated with the deep resentment of Turkey that was reflected in the decision to freeze political dialogue with the EU that might result in Turkey's alienation from the European structures, the possibility of Turkey's retreatment from democratization process and non-involvement of Turkey in the newly established security understanding of the EU in its immediate periphery as a consequence of the conflicts in the Balkans led the EU to revise its enlargement strategy towards Turkey within just two years.[71] Accordingly, at the Helsinki Summit, the EU leaders declared that "Turkey is a candidate State destined to join the Union on the basis of the same criteria as applied to the other candidate States".[72] In other words, "Helsinki Summit did not give Turkey any definite timetable for beginning the accession negotiations, but it indicated that the EU took seriously Turkey's attempt to become a full member".[73] This optimistic picture drawn at the Helsinki Summit coupled with the aim of the opening of accession negotiations if/when the political criteria were fulfilled acted as a great leverage for the advancement of democratic reforms in Turkey. For Ulusoy, "EU conditionality produced positive results at a certain conjuncture when Turkey was under pressure to set a date to start accession negotiations". In other words, effective conditionality had a certain "time constraint" and the successive governments had to stick to reforms in order to get concrete commitments from the EU side in the form of a negotiating date.[74]

Alongside the EU's positive stance towards Turkey, *member states' commitments* to Turkish accession facilitated the conditionality mechanism's operability. Apart from the traditional support of Britain, Scandinavian countries and the newcomers, Turkey enjoyed commitment to its accession by Germany and Greece in the late 1990s. It was Germany under the leadership of Schröeder, who "provided the strongest support for Turkish membership in the process leading up to the crucial Helsinki decision of the EU Council in December 1999."[75] As argued by Eralp, the new government in Germany elected in 1998, "formulated an inclusionary policy towards the Turkish accession, emphasizing the significance of political and economic criteria in the process, rather than the religious and cultural factors underlined by the previous Christian Democrat government".[76] Moreover, due to the rapprochement between Turkey and Greece evident in the official visits of the prime ministers and ministers of foreign affairs; establishment of six bilateral working groups on issues such as trade, environment, culture, science and technology; ongoing exploratory talks between foreign ministries, talks on confidence-building measures; regular political consultations and modest but promising progress on the Cyprus' predicament, Greece became a strong

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[71] For the change of strategy from Luxembourg to Helsinki see, Eralp, Atila: "Turkey in the Enlargement Process: From Luxembourg to Helsinki", *Perceptions*, vol. 5, no. 2 (June-August 2000), pp. 17-32.

[72] *"Presidency Conclusions", European Union (EU), European Council,* Helsinki (10-11 December 1999), at http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits%20/hel1_en.htm#a.

[73] Keyman and İçduygu, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[74] Ulusoy, "Turkey and the EU", *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[75] Öniş, "Turkey-EU Relations, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[76] Eralp, "The Role of Temporality", op. cit., p. 156.

supporter of Turkish accession in the very first years of the millennium.[77] Up until the end of 2004 the major opponents of Turkish accession as of today, namely Germany and France were surprisingly backing Turkish membership bids. During a Summit meeting in Berlin in October 2004 between Chirac, Schroeder and Erdoğan, Chancellor Schroeder told that "we are both of the opinion that on December 17 it is about a decision that should give Turkey the opportunity to negotiate with the Commission with the explicit aim of Turkey joining the European Union and with no other aim".[78] By saying that "to ask a country like Turkey, a great country with a rich and long history, to make a considerable effort to reach a risky or partial result is not reasonable", Chirac was also against any option other than membership for Turkey.[79] Thus, the support of today's opponents to Turkey's full-membership was crucial in Turkish domestic transformation as a response to the adaptational pressures generated by the conditionality clause. If such commitment had not existed by then, Turkey would be in a pessimist mood about its accession to the EU which would have hindered its democratization process triggered by the prospect of EU membership.

In addition to the commitments of the EU and member states to Turkish accession, EU's *implementation of conditionality* in a relatively coherent manner and formulating accession strategies on an equal-footing with the other candidates relieved Turkey about being treated in double-standards. According to the 12th paragraph of the Helsinki presidency conclusions,

> Turkey, like other candidate States, will benefit from a pre-accession strategy to stimulate and support its reforms…Turkey will also have the opportunity to participate in Community programs and agencies and in meetings between candidate States and the Union in the context of the accession process. An accession partnership will be drawn up on the basis of previous European Council conclusions while containing priorities on which accession preparations must concentrate in the light of the political and economic criteria and the obligations of a Member State, combined with a national program for the adoption of the acquis.[80]

Thus, Turkey had a sense of belonging to the big-bang enlargement round alongside the Central and Eastern European candidates as well as Cyprus and Malta on an equal-footing. There is no doubt that this statement on equal-treatment created a favorable environment for responding to the demands of the EU for democratic reforms.

The domestic environment was also conducive to change as a reaction to conditionality. The AKP *government's commitment* to the EU accession process and democratic reforms is embedded in its ambitions to gain legitimacy by shedding "its Islamist past vis-à-vis the international community and secular establishment in Turkey" and to ensure survival since its predecessors having Islamist roots were successively banned by the Constitutional Court.[81] To prove this commitment to the EU accession process that was declared as an objective in the 2002 election manifesto, the government prepared two national programs for the adoption of the *acquis* respectively in 2001 and 2003, as responses to the accession partnership documents. The AKP Government also set up a Reform Monitoring

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[77] Aydın, Mustafa and Açıkmeşe, Sinem: "The EU Anchor in Turkish-Greek Rapprochement", *The Bridge*, no. 9 (2008), p. 8.

[78] "France, Germany Reiterate Backing to Turkey's EU Bid", *Euractiv,* 27 October 2004, at http://www.euractiv.com/en/enlargement/france-germany-reiterate-backing-turkey-eu-bid/article-131575.

[79] "Chirac Backs Turkish EU Entry Bid", *BBC News* (16 December 2004), at http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4100031.stm.

[80] "Helsinki European Council"*, op. cit.*

[81] Tocci, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

Group in September 2003 tasked with monitoring the adoption and implementation of legislation in the fields of democracy, rule of law, fundamental rights and freedoms in a very high-profile formation involving various ministers themselves. Turkish government has also demonstrated its commitment to reforms and EU process in general by setting up human rights boards, responsible for handling human rights complaints.[82] Moreover, *compliance costs* were low in the majority of reforms, i.e. in the case of the abolition of the death penalty because Turkey had a moratorium in its application since 1987 and in the case of the extension of cultural rights to Kurdish people because PKK had renounced armed combat after the prosecution of its leader.[83] The reforms were also supported at the *elite level*, almost by consensus among all political parties at the Turkish Grand National Assembly albeit some resistance from MHP as well as by the military,[84] as well as at the *societal level*. As Kubicek puts, "many prominent business, academic, and human rights organizations have launched many projects with EU partners, lobbied for Turkish accession in Brussels, and put pressure on the Turkish government to adopt various reforms".[85] According to the Candidate Countries Barometer of 2002, 65 percent of Turkish people supported Turkey's accession as a 'good thing', and 73 percent thought that Turkey would benefit from enlargement.[86] Thus, voices from-below in Turkey were also calling for reforms for the sake of the country and for being a part of the Union.

3.2. Setbacks in Europeanization since 2005: The Inneficacy of Political Conditionality on Turkish Domestic Politics

The European Council in Brussels on 16-17 December 2004 welcomed the decisive progress made by Turkey in its far-reaching reforms since 2001 and declared that Turkey sufficiently fulfils the Copenhagen political criteria to open accession negotiations.[87] Based on this path-breaking decision in the history of Turkey-EU relations, the intergovernmental conference convened on 3 October 2005 to open accession negotiations with Turkey, almost 18 years after the membership application of Turkey. That optimism led to another reform package adopted by the Parliament in April 2006. Ironically, it was around those days that Europeanization was reversed in Turkey. The lowest moment was when the EU leaders decided in December 2006 to suspend negotiations on the eight of the 35 chapters until Turkey implements the Additional Protocol that extends the application of Turkey-EU Customs-Union fully by also admitting Greek-Cypriot aircrafts and ships to its ports.[88] Moreover, no chapter would be provisionally closed until the Commission verified that Turkey has fulfilled its commitments related to the Additional Protocol. This period marked

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[82] *Ibid.*, p. 74.

[83] Schimmelfennig et al., "Costs, Commitment and Compliance", *op. cit.*, p. 507-509.

[84] Kubicek, *op. cit.*, p. 366.

[85] *Ibid.*, p. 368. For more on the role of the civil society see, Göksel, Diba Nigar and Güneş, Rana Birden: "The Role of NGO's in the European Integration Process-The Turkish Experience", *South European Society and Politics*, vol. 10, no.1 (March 2005), pp. 57-72.

[86] "Candidate Countries Eurobarometer 2002", *European Union (EU), European Commission, Directorate General Press and Communication, Public Opinion Analysis,* at http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/cceb/2002/cceb_2002_highlights_en.pdf.

[87] "Presidency Conclusions", *European Union (EU), European Council,* Brussels (16-17 December 2004), at http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/83201.pdf.

[88] These chapters are: Chapter 1: free movement of goods, Chapter 3: right of establishment and freedom to provide service, Chapter 9: financial services, Chapter 11: agriculture and rural development, Chapter 13: fisheries, Chapter 14: transport policy, Chapter 29: customs union and Chapter 30: external relations. *European Union (EU), General Affairs and External Relations*, 2770th Council Meeting (11 December 2006), at http://www.consilium.europa.eu /uedocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/gena/92122.pdf.

by the slowing-down the pace of reforms, the level of domestic change in Turkey is visualized as "loose-Europeanization" by Öniş.[89]

Since then, time is wasted in Turkey with the shift of the debate from democratic reforms towards elections where "the EU turned into a non-issue",[90] military warnings as in the case of the e-memorandum of April 2007, power struggles regarding the headscarf issue, political party closure cases and finally the so-called Ergenekon case. The victory of the 2007 elections had broadened the mandate of the AKP government, giving it every opportunity to adopt and implement reforms in line with EU demands. However, the government missed this opportunity of reviving the process of democratic change; and this inertia in reforms became subjected to criticisms in EU circles. The Commission in its 2008 Strategy Paper stated that "the pace of accession negotiations with Turkey reflects the pace of reform as well as the country's fulfillment of the relevant conditions. Turkey now needs to renew its political reform effort."[91] Moreover, the European Parliament in 1998 was "concerned to see in Turkey, for the third consecutive year a continuous slowdown of the reform process."[92]

Since Turkey was still a candidate for membership that began negotiating the adoption of the acquis with the EU and had to fulfill all the Copenhagen criteria in order to become a part of the Union, then what caused the paralysis in Turkey's democratic reforms? In other words, what were the underlying dynamics that circumscribed the power of conditionality on domestic change in Turkey? First at the European level, commitments of both the EU and the member states to Turkish accession were diminishing, and also the EU was losing its credibility in the application of its accession strategies coherently and legitimately.

The lack of *EU commitment* was apparent in the almost invisible progress of accession negotiations, through which only one chapter –science and technology- was provisionally closed, 12 opened so far and a few left to be opened due to the 2006 decision of the Council. EU's existential crises of enlargement fatigue and deepening in the form of a constitutional treaty were the main reasons why the EU was engaged with issues other than Turkey's accession. EU's lack of commitment was also coupled with the *changing attitudes of the member states* towards Turkish membership. The debate in the European circles on the issues arising from Turkey's possible accession such as the fears of mass immigration intensified with the 2004 European Council decision and the starting of negotiations. In other words, the fact that Turkey came to the brink of membership with the prospects of negotiations triggered alarm bells in many European capitals, mostly in Germany, Austria and France. The leaders of centre-right parties in Germany and France, Merkel and Sarkozy, formed a grand coalition in favor of a privileged partnership for Turkey as an alternative to EU membership.[93] Thus, "whatever we do, they will not let us in" sentiments gained momentum across Turkey, thereby decreasing the leverage of the EU anchor in the advancement of domestic reforms.

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[89] Öniş, "Turkey-EU Relations", *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[90] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

[91] "Turkey 2008 Progress Report", *European Union (EU), European Commission* (5 November 2008), at http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/press_corner/keydocuments/reports_nov_2008/turkey_progress_report_en.pdf.

[92] "Motion for a Resolution", *European Union (EU), European Parliament* (13 February 2009), at http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?language=EN&reference=B6-0105/2009.

[93] For the arguments on privileged membership and Franco-German attitudes see Yılmaz, Hakan, "Turkish Identity on the Road to the EU: Basic Elements of French and German Oppositional Discourses", Verney, Susannah and Ifantis, Kostas (eds.) (2009): *Turkey's Road to European Union Membership: National Identity and Political Change*, Abingdon/New York, Routledge, pp. 79-91 and İçener, Erhan, "Privileged Partnership: An Alternative Final Destination for Turkey's Integration with the European Union", *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 8, no. 4 (December 2007), pp. 415-438.

Furthermore, the Negotiating Framework for Turkey as well as the accession strategy for Cyprus raised concerns about *double-standards in EU's implementation of conditionality*. Even though the Negotiating Framework of 3 October 2005 stated that "the negotiations are an open-ended process, the outcome of which cannot be guaranteed beforehand" both for Turkey and Croatia, the fact that this was not explicitly used in the previous enlargement rounds was of great concern for Turkey. Moreover, the clause on EU's possible recourse to the absorption capacity of the Union as a justification for Turkey's rejection to the Union was perceived as a sign of unwillingness of the EU to admit Turkey to the EU club. The statements of the Negotiating Framework on the long-transitional periods, derogations, specific arrangements or permanent safeguard clauses in areas such as agriculture, structural policies and free movement of persons for Turkey were almost unique in the enlargement history.[94] The accession of Cyprus in 2004 also created an image of differentiated accession strategies employed by the EU. The unfair treatment can easily be seen from the accession of Cyprus in 2004, without being imposed any additional criteria to resolve any item of its problematic agenda with the Northern Cyprus in particular, and with Turkey in general. Without any peaceful settlement on the island, the EU declared in December 2002 that accession negotiations were concluded and Cyprus would be a member in 2004. In the case of Turkey, the resolution of Cyprus issue in its whole has not been stipulated as a condition for Turkish accession, but Turkey is obliged to extend the implementation of the Association Agreement fully to all new member states including the opening its ports and vessels to Cypriot-flagged ships and aircraft. Since Turkey did not meet this demand, EU decided in December 2006 to partially block the negotiation process. This decision that marked a break with the conditionality applied to Cyprus "proved to be the ultimate blow" in the pace of democratic reforms in Turkey.[95]

At the domestic level, there were also various signs of the decline in AKP *government's European commitments*. The government's lack of enthusiasm for the EU project in general was apparent in its hesitancy in abolishing article 301 of the Penal Code on the way to the enhancement of freedom of expression, in the reservations to implementation of broadcasting on mother tongue that was endorsed on paper on 3 August 2002, in the non-responsiveness to the third accession partnership in the form of a national program and finally in the decision to appoint the Minister of Foreign Affairs also as the chief negotiator on 3 June 2005; thereby rendering EU affairs not as a priority but as a part of the complicated foreign policy agenda.[96] Moreover, as argued by Narbone and Tocci, the European Court of Human Rights' judgment of 2005 that "Turkey's headscarf ban does not constitute a violation of fundamental rights has tarnished the appeal of Europe amongst the AKP and its sympathizers".[97] Thus, it became evident that AKP's own agenda of religious reforms did not always coincide with European demands; and therefore the government did not have much reason to resort to EU for implementing its own agenda.

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[94] "Negotiating Framework", *European Union (EU),* Luxemburg (3 October 2005), at http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/st20002_05_tr_framedoc_en.pdf. For more interpretations of the Negotiating Framework see Aydın Düzgit, Senem (2006): *Seeking Kant in the EU's Relations with Turkey*, İstanbul, TESEV, p. 6-13.

[95] Öniş, "Turkey-EU Relations", *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[96] Ulusoy, "Turkey and the EU", *op. cit.*, p. 55.

[97] Narbone, Luigi and Tocci, Nathalie: "Running Around in Circles? The Cyclical Relationship between Turkey and the European Union, in Verney, Susannah and Ifantis, Kostas (eds.) (2009): *Turkey's Road to European Union Membership: National Identity and Political Change*, Abingdon/New York, Routledge, p. 31. For a similar discussion see Öniş, Ziya: "Conservative Globalists versus Defensive Nationalists: Political Parties and Paradoxes of Europeanization in Turkey" in Verney, Susannah and Ifantis, Kostas (eds.) (2009): *Turkey's Road to European Union Membership: National Identity and Political Change*, Abingdon/New York, Routledge, p. 42-43.

Apart from the government's reluctance in conducting reforms, the grand coalition on Turkey's European vocation began to disintegrate, and thus the *veto players* started to voice their concerns on Turkey-EU relations. Mostly because of the EU conditionality attached to the Cyprus issue which had "high nationalist resonance that has long been used by hardliner circles in Turkey as a populist tool", the military as well as the political parties and even civil society institutions took a rather nationalist stance and skeptical attitude towards Turkish accession. In other words, *the costs of compliance* involved in the Cyprus issue not only shaped government's commitment to reform process to a certain extent, but also transformed the elitist positive stance towards the EU integration to a skeptical one.[98] That skeptical tone was also adopted at the *societal level*. According to the Fall 2008 Eurobarometer survey, only %42 of Turkish citizens supported Turkish accession as a good thing (-7 points since summer 2008; -19 points since 2005).[99] Thus, since 2005 domestic and European environments were not conducive to the effective implementation of conditionality that would have culminated in the transformation of Turkish politics akin to the European norms and principles. In other words, since 2005 conditionality *per se* has not created enough momentum in Turkey for the continuity of the reform process evident in the previous cycle of Europeanization.

4. Conclusion: Hopes for Revived-Europeanization?

The unprecedented reform process in Turkey between 2002 and 2005 owes much to the successful implementation of political conditionality that has been filtered through a combination of exogenous and endogenous factors. However, that miraculous progress was knocked down in 2005 due to the very same mediating components of political conditionality, which raised doubts about a "train-crash" in Turkey-EU relations. Even though Olli Rehn assured Turkey that the train which slowed down because of works further down the tracks, will continue to move, it was up until 2008 that a period of inertia in the advancement of Turkey's democratization prevailed.[100]

The closure case of 2008 made up AKP government's mind on pursuing EU democratic reforms. As argued by Ulusoy, "Prime Minister Erdoğan saw the EU again as a savior", first because "democratization process was necessary for its survival and that any serious step backwards in this process will jeopardize its political supremacy", and second sacrifices should be made so as to keep accession negotiations on track that would push the government to sustain the process of democratization.[101] It was in this context that Turkey resumed its democratization efforts. The most striking elements of the initial reform steps were in the areas of broadcasting in Kurdish and the opening of Kurdish language departments at universities. More substantial changes were introduced in the recently debated constitutional package comprising the advancements in gender equality, protection of children's rights, law on trade unions, the composition and working procedures of the Constitutional Court as well as the functioning of political parties.

Since 2008 the government is pursuing a reformist strategy for overcoming the disparities between Turkey and the EU. However, it is too early to announce a new era in Turkey-EU relations or Turkey's democratization process. The salience of the government's

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[98] *Ibid.*, p. 63 and Eralp, "The Role of Temporality", *op. cit.*, p. 162.
[99] "Eurobarometer 70: Public Opinion in the European Union", *European Union (EU), European Commission,* (Fall 2008), at http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb70/eb70_first_en.pdf.
[100] "EU on Collision Course with Ankara Over Membership", *Guardian*, 30 November 2006.
[101] Ulusoy, "Turkey and the EU", *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56.

recourse to the EU process and the future prospect of reforms to be converted into a new cycle of Europeanization will depend mostly on the responses from the EU and member states. Stronger signals from the EU will not only result in the normalization of Turkey-EU relations, but also will pave the way for Turkey's further democratization. In other words, Turkey needs to see the light at the end of the EU tunnel.

TURKEY´S CHANGING MIDDLE EAST POLICY

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Abstract:

This article aims to discuss recent developments in Turkey's Middle East policy. After a brief historical background of Turkey's relations with the region, it focuses on understanding the change in terms of both the level and nature of involvement in the region. Within that context, the article looks at systemic/structural as well as ideational and domestic politics explanations. Then the current policy is discussed through its three elements: improvement of relations with neighbors, characterized as "zero problems with neighbors policy"; eagerness to play third party roles in regional conflicts; attempts to increase economic interdependence with the region. Through the discussion of these cases the article attempts to discuss the possibilities and limitations of Turkey's new engagement.

Keywords: Turkey´s Middle East policy, improvement of relations, "zero problems with neighbors policy", regional conflicts, economic interdependence.

Resumen:

Este artículo tiene como objetivo considerar los desarrollos más recientes en la política de Oriente Medio de Turquía. Tras un breve repaso de los antecedentes históricos de las relaciones de Turquía con la región, se centra en la comprensión del cambio en términos tanto del nivel como de la naturaleza de la implicación en la región. En este contexto, el artículo recurre a explicaciones sistémico/estructurales así como a aquéllas centradas en políticas domésticas. Tras ello la política actual es discutida a través de sus tres elementos: mejora de las relaciones con los vecinos, caracterizada como "política de cero problemas con los vecinos"; deseo de jugar un papel de mediación en los conflictos regionales; intentos de aumentar la interdependencia económica de la región. Discutiendo tales casos, este artículo intenta determinar las posibilidades y limitaciones de la nueva política de implicación de Turquía.

Palabras clave: Política de Oriente Medio de Turquía, mejora de las relaciones, "política de cero problemas con los vecinos", conflictos regionales, interdependencia económica.

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1. Introduction

During the Cold War years the Middle East did not have much weight in Turkish foreign policy. In this period when Turkey was active in the region, the Middle East was considered as an extension of Turkey's relations with the West, as in the 1950s, or Turkish involvement in the Middle East was determined by its desire to further its economic relations with the region, as in the 1970s after the oil crisis or in the 1980s during the Iran-Iraq War. Yet even when it was involved, Turkey did not consider itself as part of the Middle East regional system. This perception was due to Turkey's Western historical orientation and the definition of its identity.

Since the late 1980s several external and internal developments required a rethink in Turkish foreign policy towards the region and eventually led to more active involvement, either reluctantly or enthusiastically. The Gulf Crisis of 1990-1991 occurred at a time when Turkey was uncertain about its place in the newly emerging post-Cold War international system. Thus, Ankara hoped to reiterate its strategic importance by supporting Washington's Iraq policy. Yet the developments in Iraq after the war posed further security challenges for Turkey as they were articulated with the rise of the Kurdish nationalist challenge to the state. The emergence of northern Iraq as an area out of the control of central government and the consolidation of Kurdish rule there under US protection was seen as a threat to Turkey's interests. Ankara was not only concerned by the possible spillover effects of these developments for Turkey, but also by the presence of the militant Kurdish organization, the PKK, which started to launch its attacks from northern Iraq. The Kurdish issue was also very much affected by the support given to the PKK, especially by Syria until 1998 and Iran sporadically in the 1990s. Thus, due to the implications of Middle Eastern developments on Turkey's own Kurdish issue, Turkey felt the need to be engaged in the Middle East. In fact in the mid-1990s Turkey revised its national security document and identified the Middle East as its main source of threats. Throughout the 1990s Turkey became heavily involved in northern Iraq by using different tools, including military means, and through its cooperation with the US. In the same decade Turkey's relations with Iran and Syria deteriorated mainly due to the Kurdish issue. Turkey also engaged in an alignment with Israel and signed two agreements for military cooperation mainly to balance the threats it perceived from its Middle Eastern neighbors. These policies marked a change in Turkey's involvement in the Middle East.[2]

In 2002, once the Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi - hereafter AKP) came to power, Turkey's involvement in the Middle East clearly started to go beyond the Kurdish issue and took a more opportunistic turn. The AKP called for more active Turkish involvement in this region and advocated a "zero problem with neighbors" policy. In this perspective, Turkey's soft power capabilities and economic opportunities were emphasized, rather than its military capabilities. Thus the AKP coming to power emphasized historical and cultural ties with the Middle East and increased Turkey's engagement with this region. This policy could be implemented due to the changes in the region. The region faced an acute crisis in the 2000s: the collapse of the Arab-Israeli Peace Process in 2000 and the deterioration of the Palestinian conflict; the US invasion of Iraq in 2003; Iran's rise to regional power; intra-Arab divisions; for some states, like Syria, the danger of collapse led to a sense of weakness in the region. The socio-economic problems in the Arab world as documented by the UNDP's Arab Human Development Reports and the persistence of

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[2] For Turkey's policy towards the Middle East in the 1990s see, for instance, Robins, Philip: "The Foreign Policy of Turkey", in Hinnebusch, Raymond and Ehteshami, Anoushirvan (eds.) (2002): *Foreign Policies of Middle East States*, London, Lynne Reinner.

authoritarianism underlined the deepening legitimacy problems for the regimes. On the other hand, the main regional dynamic that emphasized Turkey's third party role has been the intensification of intra-Arab divisions and the emergence of a vacuum in regional politics. The fragmentation of the Arab world not only weakened the states' capacity to tackle the problems of the region, such as the Palestinian issue and the Iraqi crisis, but also led to other powers intervening in pursuit of their interests. The second vacuum in the region was left by the US. The failure once again of the Bush administration to create a Middle Eastern order became starkly clear after the invasion of Iraq in 2003. The power vacuum, coupled with an ideological one, created by the decrease in US power and credibility in the region, was filled again by regional powers such as Iran and Turkey. Unlike Iran, however, Turkey, due to its position, was able to talk to all the parties in the region and emerged as a credible third party. The perception of Turkey as a fair interlocutor strengthened Ankara's position. Thus, the new strategic, political and socio-economic context created new opportunities and Turkey became more involved in the region and increased its appeal as well.

2. *"Zero Problems with Neighbors"*

As stated above Turkey had several problems with its immediate neighbors during the 1990s. An important aspect of Turkey's foreign policy in the Middle East in recent years has been the improvement of its relations with its immediate neighbors. This policy was summed up by Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu in the phrase "zero problems with neighbors". The attempts to improve ties with neighbors predate the current AKP government, like in the case of Syria, but such attempts became fruitful only more recently due to the shifting regional landscape and the AKP's ability to use it to push Turkey's ties with the regional countries further.

2.1. Turkish-Syrian Relations

The most dramatic example of change has been the successful transformation of conflictive relations with Syria into very cooperative relations.[3] Syrian-Turkish relations were poor historically. For many years the common Ottoman heritage constituted an important obstacle to the development of closer relations. The Arab nationalist narrative which has been quite dominant in Syria portrayed the Ottomans as colonizers that were responsible for the backwardness of the Arab world in the modern era. In the case of Syria in particular the incorporation of Hatay (Alexandretta) to Turkey in 1939 was considered another manifestation of a colonial design to divide the "historical Syria". On the Turkish side the feelings swung between moving away from the Ottoman heritage to a sense of "betrayal" given the Arab Revolt. Although the recent historiography disputes these neat categories of suppression and betrayal in particular, Syrian-Turkish relations have been developed within this negative historical memory kept alive through schoolbooks and cultural representations.

During the Cold War the two countries aligned themselves with rival blocs. This fact further contributed to the problematic relationship. Thus, while Damascus perceived Turkey as a stooge of the United States, Ankara considered Syrian actions to be directed by the Soviet Union. In the late 1980s two additional problems were added to the already overcrowded list of grievances. After Turkey launched its extensive GAP program (Southeastern Anatolian

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[3] Altunisik-Benli, Meliha and Tür, Özlem: "From Distant Neighbors to Partners? Changing Syrian-Turkish Relations", *Security Dialogue,* vol. 37, no. 2 (2006), pp. 229-248.

Project) to utilize the waters of the Tigris and the Euphrates by building an extensive irrigation network, Syria protested on the grounds that this would affect the amount and the quality of the water it received from these rivers. Thus a disagreement over water supplies from the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers started. Fueled by the ideology of self-sufficiency, Damascus perceived the building of the GAP as "Turkish control of its waters" and turned it into a Pan-Arab issue by bringing it to the agenda of Arab League meetings in the 1990s. From Turkey's perspective the main issue was Syrian support for the PKK and the residence of its leader in Damascus. Turkey's security concerns with regard to Syria's policies further contributed to the crisis between the two countries. As a result, the climate of mutual suspicion and mistrust increased. Turkish-Syrian relations hit rock bottom when Turkey threatened Syria with the use of force in October 1998 if it did not cut its support to the PKK. The crisis was resolved with the signing of the Adana Agreement on October 20, 1998. Syria undertook a commitment to end its support to the PKK.

Since 1998 relations between the two countries have been transformed. Up to 2000, there was a period of trust building, particularly through security cooperation. During this period regular meetings were held by the Joint Security Committee comprised of military officials from both sides, and there was an increase in diplomatic visits at various levels. Turkish President Ahmet Necdet Sezer's attendance at Hafiz al-Asad's funeral ceremony in June 2000 symbolically enhanced the relations between the two countries. Then in 2004 Bashar al-Asad became the first Syrian President ever to visit Turkey. Relations between the two countries have taken off, especially in the last five years. A new phase characterized by deepening cooperation started as the two countries began to develop ties in all areas: economic, political, and cultural in addition to security.

In December 2004 a Free Trade Agreement was signed and was ratified on January 1, 2007 and the Turkish-Syrian Business Council was established to explore the possibilities of expanding economic relations between the two countries. As a result, the volume of trade reached two billion US dollars by 2008. Border trade also flourished, contributing to economic development and employment on both sides of the border. The elimination of visa requirements in 2009 is expected to further contribute to the expansion of trade as well as tourism.

In order to establish a long term strategic partnership and to expand and solidify their cooperation on a wide range of areas of mutual concern and interest the two sides decided to establish a higher institutional mechanism, the Syrian-Turkish High Level Strategic Cooperation Council. The First Ministerial Meeting of the Council was convened in Aleppo and Gaziantep on October 12-13, 2009. During the meeting the parties worked on almost 40 protocols and agreements. One of the protocols envisaged the expansion of the Free Trade Agreement to include trade in services. Among the new areas of cooperation energy was in particular emphasized. The most important project in this regard is the natural gas pipeline project, connecting an Arab pipeline with a Turkish pipeline, to be carried out in the next 18 months. There has been some progress even in one of the most problematic areas in bilateral relations: the water issue. The two countries seem to be working for the collaborative management of the Euphrates water resources. They also agreed in principle on a dam project on the Asi River, called the "Asi Friendship Dam".

These areas of cooperation were taken up in the first meeting of the Syrian-Turkish High Level Strategic Cooperation Council in Damascus, which was convened under the chairmanship of the Prime Ministers of the two countries. The two Prime Ministers also addressed the Syrian-Turkish Business Forum, which brought together around 350

businessmen, investors and company representatives from both countries with a view to enhancing economic and commercial relations, and promoting investments and joint projects in the two countries. The two sides expressed their common interest and determination to exert all efforts to preserve regional security and stability, and to find peaceful solutions to all questions in the region. At the conclusion of the meeting 50 agreements and cooperation protocols were signed in various fields. The two sides agreed to hold the Second Meeting of the Council in Turkey in 2010.

Despite the enormous pace of improvement, the future development of Syrian-Turkish relations will still have to face several challenges. The way these challenges are dealt with is critical for the sustainability of this relationship. Particularly two traditional issues of conflict between the two states, namely the Hatay and water issues, largely remain intact. In the course of the development and deepening of these relations, Syria assured Turkey that it wanted to resolve the border issue, but stressed that time would be needed to explain this to the Syrian people. In fact, the Hatay issue was dropped from the official lexicon as well as disappearing in the media. Yet Hatay continues to be shown as part of Syria on many Syrian maps. There have been also some positive developments in the water issue, making an effort to de-politicize this issue and tackle it more as a technical one. A joint protocol was signed in August 2001, calling for cooperation in training, study missions, technology exchange, and stating new projects. Nevertheless, the worsening of environmental conditions and the increasing drought in the region are putting pressure on these countries and straining cooperation. In short, although the language of water politics is changing, the problems are becoming more complicated as both Syria and Turkey are having problems with Iraq on this issue.

2.2. Turkish-Iraqi Relations

Historically Turkish-Iraqi relations have been more cooperative. During the reign of pro-Western monarchy in Iraq, right after independence, the two countries cooperated closely and institutionalized this cooperation under the Baghdad Pact, which was established in 1955. When the Arab nationalist regime that toppled the monarchy came to power it decided to pull out of the Pact, but relations between the two countries did not deteriorate. Ankara and Baghdad shared a common interest in containing Kurdish nationalism. Like Syria, Iraq was also critical of Turkey's GAP project, but the water issue did not come to the surface as Iraq was dependent on Turkey for its connection to the world during the Iran-Iraq War (1980-88). The Kirkuk-Ceyhan pipeline, which was opened in 1977, was expanded by building a parallel pipeline in the 1980s and became Iraq's largest crude oil export line. Such an outlet was very significant for Iraq, which has an extremely narrow coastline in the Gulf. Furthermore, Turkish trade with Iraq boomed in the 1980s.

The developments in Iraq since the Gulf Crisis, however, have transformed Turkey's relations with this country. Iraq has become one of the most difficult cases for Turkey as the developments there had a direct bearing on Turkey's Kurdish problem. Thus Turkey's Iraq policy was a subject of intense debates in Turkish domestic politics.[4] Furthermore, after Turkey's decision not to support the US war effort in Iraq, Turkey for some time ceased to have any effective influence in that country. In this new context its relations with the Kurdish leaders in the north of Iraq deteriorated amid a "war of words." Despite these negative

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[4] For the difficulties of Turkey's Iraq policy see Altunisik-Benli, Meliha: "Turkey's Iraq Policy: The War and Beyond", *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, vol. 14, no.2 (2006), pp.183–196; Cetinsaya, Gokhan: "Turkey and the New Iraq", *Insight Turkey* (April-June 2006), pp. 105-116.

conditions Turkey has been able to change its policy towards Iraq, starting in 2008, and has begun to play increasingly constructive roles. Even before that, 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 significant step for the effectiveness of the political process in Iraq.

Turkey has also been able to develop more cooperative relationships with all the communities in Iraq, including the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG). Turkey was able to come to a point of cooperation on PKK issues with the US and Iraq in 2008. The central Iraqi government was already more inclined to eliminate the PKK as a negative factor in Turkish-Iraqi relations. The Iraqi Prime Minister Nuri el-Maliki reiterated this position during his visit to Ankara in December 2008 and said the "PKK's actions are designed to create problems in Turkish-Iraqi relations"[5]. Nevertheless, there were limitations to what the central government could do as long as the KRG refused to cooperate. Thus it was quite significant that Turkey and the KRG were able to develop a working relationship on this issue. Faced with the reality of US withdrawal and the increasing power of the central government under Maliki, the KRG realized that it would no longer gain by using the PKK against Turkey. On the contrary, it needed Turkey as an outlet to the world. Thus, the KRG ended its hostile rhetoric against Turkey and started to limit the PKK's room for maneuver in its region.

Despite improvements in Turkish-Iraqi relations, they remain fragile. The political process in Iraq is wrought with instabilities. The country faces the challenges of the planned US withdrawal, formation of a government after the elections in March as well as the effects of regional struggles. These instabilities also threaten Turkish-Iraqi relations.

2.3. Turkish-Iranian Relations

Turkish-Iranian relations have been quite complex and characterized by geopolitical and ideological competition as well as a level of pragmatism that fosters cooperation. Balance of power considerations have been a significant element in bilateral relations. Thus any attempt by one of the countries to alter the balance to its own advantage disturbed the other. During the Pahlavi era Iran and Turkey generally enjoyed close relations. They were then two important pro-Western states in the region and shared an interest in containing the Soviet Union. Within the context of the Cold War they became regional allies as members of the Baghdad Pact, Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) and Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD). However, Ankara became suspicious when in the 1970s Tehran embarked on an ambitious militarization program and an assertive foreign policy fuelled by the oil boom and supported by the US Twin Pillars Policy.[6]

After the Iranian Revolution the relations became more complicated as ideological rivalry became an important part of the bilateral relationship. Although the revolutionary zeal that propagated the 'export of the revolution' lost some of its steam and Tehran largely turned towards pragmatism in its foreign policy, the ideological element never completely disappeared. Particularly in the 1990s relations deteriorated, given Turkey's accusations against Iran for supporting the PKK and Islamic radicalism in Turkey. Furthermore, the two countries also engaged in geopolitical competition over Central Asia and the Caucasus as well as in Iraq.

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[5] *Hürriyet*, 19 December 2008.
[6] Calabrese, John: "Turkey and Iran: Limits of a Stable Relationship", *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 25, no. 1 (1998), p. 77.

In the 2000s two factors particularly affected Turkish-Iranian relations. First, the new strategic context that emerged in the wake of the 2003 Iraq War. It helped to create common threat perceptions and contributed to a rapprochement on security issues. Second, the general evolution of Turkish foreign policy towards the Middle East under the AKP government led to an improvement in relations with Iran as well. The AKP government's comprehensive policy on the Middle East included the desire to have "zero problem with neighbors" as well as an emphasis on diplomacy and economic interdependence. Thus, Turkey started to adopt a policy of engagement and dialogue with Iran. Efforts were also made to improve economic relations. As a result, by 2008 Turkey's exports to Iran reached two billion US dollars.

The US invasion of Iraq in 2003 once again changed the political and strategic context of Turkish-Iranian relations. The developments in Iraq after the invasion, particularly the increasing role and autonomy of Iraqi Kurds, had strong implications for both countries. In Turkey the PKK ended the unilateral ceasefire it had declared after the capture of its leader Abdullah Ocalan in 1998 and started its attacks in 2004. In the same year an Iranian branch of the PKK, the Party of Free Life in Kurdistan (PJAK), was created. In fact the Kurdish population located in northwest Iran became more restless, starting in early 2005[7]. In response to these developments Iran and Turkey intensified their cooperation against the PKK and PJAK. The first signs of the changing Iranian attitude became clear in July 2004 during the Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan's visit to Tehran. At the end of that visit the two countries signed a Memorandum of Understanding on Security Cooperation. One visible consequence of the new level of cooperation was the revitalization of the Turkey-Iran High Security Committee, which was established in 1988 but largely remained ineffective in the following years. The statement issued after the meeting declared that: "The increase in some terrorist movements in the region damages both countries, and the most influential way to battle this outlawed problem is the exchange of intelligence and security cooperation"[8]. To further explain the Iranian position the head of the Iranian delegation, the Iranian Deputy Interior Minister Abbas Mohtaj stressed that "the two countries fight against terror and cooperate with each other, and Iran looks at the PKK and the PJAK as a single terrorist organization under two different names. We want to increase cooperation with Turkey against the terrorist organizations"[9].

In the meantime, Turkey and Iran started to deepen their energy cooperation. There was already a natural gas pipeline from Tabriz to Ankara that had become operational in 2001. As a palpable result Iran has become Turkey's biggest supplier of natural gas after Russia, 20 percent of its gas imports come from Iran. Later, in May 2007 Turkey and Iran agreed in principle the construction of a dam and a power station and electricity trade. In July 2007 the two countries signed a deal to use Iran as a transit for Turkmen gas and also agreed to develop Iran's South Pars gas field to facilitate the transport of gas via Turkey to Europe as part of the Nabucco project[10]. In August 2007 the Turkish Energy Minister visited Iran and concluded a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) for the establishment of a joint company to carry up to 35 cubic meters of Iranian gas to Turkey and the construction of three thermal power plants by a Turkish company in Iran[11].

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[7] For instance there were reports of clashes in Kurdish regions in Iran that started over protests by Kurds on the anniversary of the capture of Abdullah Ocalan. *Turkish Daily News*, 20 February 2006.

[8] *Hurriyet*, 17 April 2008 cited in Sadik, Giray: "Iran and Turkey Move Closer on Counter-Terrorism Cooperation", *Global Terrorism Analysis*, vol. 5, no. 16 (22 April 2008), at http://www.jamestown.org/terrorism/news/article.php?articleid=2374118 .

[9] *Hurriyet*, 15 April 2008, cited in *Ibid*.

[10] *Today's Zaman*, 20 August 2007.

[11] *The Economist*, 23 August 2007.

Deepening energy cooperation reflects the general ambiguities in Turkish-Iranian relations. On the one hand there are clear economic and political benefits for Turkey for engaging in these projects. The cooperation in the energy field helps Turkey to meet its energy needs, to diversify its natural gas imports and to increase its role as a transit country to the EU. Politically, closer economic relations also fit Turkey's policy of developing its ties with its neighbors as well as supporting strategic cooperation with Iran. On the other hand, however, there are limitations to this policy. First, Turkey's increasing dependence on Iranian gas increases Iran's leverage over Turkey. This was acutely observed when Iran stopped gas supplies twice in 2008. Turkey aims to balance this relationship by increasing Turkish investments in Iran but so far this has not been carried out. Secondly, the deepening of Turkish-Iranian energy cooperation meets the US opposition and thus makes it difficult for Turkey to balance its regional and global policy.

In the meantime, Turkey has been concerned about the growing influence of Iran in Middle Eastern politics in recent years. Turkey opted to deal with this not through a strategy of isolating Iran or balancing it by becoming part of counter alliances. In fact, Turkey crafted itself a position that is above the dividing lines in the new "Middle East Cold War" and worked to bridge differences in regional politics. Turkey's policy of engaging Syria, its mediation in the Israeli-Syrian conflict, its role in political reconciliation in Lebanon, its efforts to bring the leaders of Syria and Saudi Arabia together, attempts to mend fences between Iraq and Syria, can all be considered within this context. More importantly, the transformation of Turkish Iraqi policy which led to an opening with all the parties in Iraq, including the Shiite ones, aimed to introduce a balance in the new Middle Eastern power configuration in general and in particular in Iraq.

However, the possibility of a nuclear Iran imposes limitations on Turkish-Iranian relations. Turkey is disturbed by possible Iranian nuclear capability because it could completely disturb the bilateral and regional balance of power. This would also be against the Turkish position of having a WMD-free Middle East zone. However, Turkey is also concerned by the escalation of the conflict between its Western allies and Iran. The lack of diplomatic solutions and a possible military operation against Iran is a minefield from Turkey's perspective. All the possible scenarios, such as chaos in Iran or Iranian retaliation, would have enormous economic, political and strategic repercussions for Turkey and the region. Therefore, although Turkey feels threatened by the possibility of a nuclear Iran and is concerned about the altering of the balance of power between the two countries, it is equally threatened by the imposition of economic sanctions and/or the use of military force against Iran. Without a doubt, Turkey is concerned about Security Council sanctions on Iran.

First of all, Turkey, as a neighbor of Iran with extensive energy and trade relations, will suffer immensely from sanctions. This situation is like déjà vu for Turkey as it went through a similar ordeal with the imposition of years of sanctions on Iraq after the Gulf Crisis in 1990.

Secondly, Turkey is skeptical about the utility of sanctions. Again the Iraqi case is an example that demonstrates that sanctions rarely work. Although there is the talk of "smart sanctions" that would not hurt ordinary people as much, this is very difficult to achieve.

Finally, Foreign Minister Davutoglu complained after the Nuclear Security Summit that as a temporary member of the Security Council they were not informed about the proposed content of the sanctions regime and he said that Turkey cannot be expected to approve a sanction package in advance unless the details of the package are revealed. Turkey is even

more concerned about any possible military action against Iran. Turkey fears that this could spread the same chaos that was witnessed in Iraq to a number of countries in the region. This could also upset the already fragile political situation in Iraq, with direct repercussions in Turkey.

In order to resolve the crisis over Iran's nuclear program Turkey has been calling for the continuation of diplomacy before resorting to other means. Within this context Turkey has been calling on Iran to enter full and transparent cooperation with the IAEA. At the same time, Ankara has many times offered to mediate in this matter. Recently Foreign Minister Davutoglu once again visited Iran to discuss possibilities, such as a "fuel-swap", with the Iranian authorities.

Thus although Turkish-Iranian relations have improved in recent years, they face serious challenges, mainly because of the nuclear crisis. As there is a growing convergence between the US and the EU on this issue, the divergence of Turkey's position with its allies will create problems in Turkey's relations with the EU and the US. Turkey's temporary membership in the Security Council further complicates the situation and forces Turkey to take a clear position. What is more important is that at times Turkey also seems to be not totally convinced that the Iranian nuclear program is in fact a military one. Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan's speeches and interviews in recent months clearly demonstrate this. This different approach constitutes the most important divergence between Turkey and its Western allies.

3. Turkey´s Third Party Roles in the Middle East

Eagerness to play third party roles is a relatively new aspect of Turkey's Middle East policy and contrasts with Turkey's long-held policy of not getting involved in regional conflicts. Again the changing geostrategic environment and increasing instability in the region began to have repercussions for Turkey and forced Ankara to become more involved in the management of conflicts. The protracted conflicts led to radicalization and a constant threat of war in the region. The continuation of the Arab-Israeli conflict also allows some states to exploit the conflict to increase their power and influence in the region. For instance, the Palestinian conflict has allowed Iran to increase its power and influence beyond its immediate neighborhood and made it effectively a Mediterranean power. These developments upset the regional balance of power and thus are issues of concern for Turkey. In addition, the current AKP government has also been particularly eager to play third party roles in the region. The government believes that due to its historical ties with this region, Turkey cannot be indifferent to what happens there. The involvement in the resolution of such conflicts was seen as a way to ease Turkey's re-entry into the Middle East as well as to help building prestige for Turkey in the Middle East and in the West.

The examples of Turkey's third party roles are many. The involvement in the Israeli-Syrian situation as well as in the Palestinian issue will be discussed in detail below. Yet Turkey has also been involved in Lebanon. Turkey is participating in UNIFIL II, which was created after the Lebanon War in 2006. Together with Qatar, Turkey was also instrumental in brokering the Doha Agreement that ended the political stalemate in Lebanese politics. Similarly, as mentioned above, Turkey has been trying to facilitate the resolution of the Iranian nuclear issue.

Turkey also tried to play constructive roles in Iraq. In 2003, Turkey initiated Iraq's Neighbors Forum, which later was expanded to include Iraq. The Forum met at the level of Foreign and Interior ministers and aimed to tackle the Iraqi issues on a regional basis and to foster confidence building measures in this sub-region. Similarly Turkey organized a meeting in Istanbul with the participation of Sunni leaders from Iraq to convince the Sunnis to participate in the 2005 elections.

3.1. Mediation between Israel and Syria

Following the gradual improvement of its relations with Syria after the October 1998 crisis Turkey began to pass messages to both Syria and Israel that it would be ready to bring them together if they were ready to do so. After the collapse of Syrian-Israeli talks in 2000 and the deterioration of US-Syrian relations under the Bush administration, the US was not on the scene to restart the negotiations. Turkey was the only country in the region with good ties with both sides that could play such a role. Ankara believed that the resolution of the Israeli-Syrian conflict would not only bring peace and stability to the region, but also engage Syria more constructively into regional politics. Thus, with these considerations in mind, the Turkish government had been announcing its willingness to play the role of a mediator when the parties were ready. These efforts started as early as 2004. It is said that Prime Minister Erdogan was personally involved in this rapprochement and had conveyed messages to both sides.

However, Turkey's efforts in this regard were frustrated at that time, as was corroborated by then Foreign Minister Abdullah Gul in 2004 when he said that Turkey would not play the role of a mediator between the two sides for now. Ankara continued to search for a possibility of mediation and these efforts began to bear fruit in the second half of 2007 when the situation for both sides became ripe. Syria proposed indirect talks with Turkish mediation. Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert finally decided to take up the offer and informed the Turkish side during his visit to Turkey in February 2008. It is clear that Olmert, with the support of the security establishment in Israel, perceived engagement with Syria as critical for regional strategic reasons. Israeli talks with Syria were going to include the cutting of Damascus's ties with Hamas and Hezbollah as well as moving away from Iran. Such a combination was seen as of major importance for Israel. Prime Minister Olmert also got the acquiescence of the Bush administration which declared that it would not stand on the way of talks. In Israel, however, there was some criticism from those who did not believe that Israel should negotiate with Syria, including members of the government. Olmert was also accused of trying to divert attention from several charges of corruption he was facing. In any case, with Olmert's interest the time was ripe to start indirect negotiations between the two sides.

In February 2008 a secret mini-conference was held in Istanbul to establish the framework of the negotiations and its content. In May 2008 a public statement announced that Israel and Syria had begun indirect peace talks under Turkish auspices. The third and the fourth round of negotiations followed in June and July respectively. The continuation of negotiations increased hopes for a breakthrough. During the indirect talks Turkey encouraged the two sides to restart direct negotiations. In the meantime upcoming elections in the US and a possibility of a Democrat Party victory, led the parties, particularly Syria, to wait for a future US involvement in direct negotiations.

The fifth round of talks that was planned in September was postponed due to the resignation of the Israeli prime minister's top diplomatic aide, who had been involved in the negotiations. Although this was the official reason there were concerns about some difficulties

in the process. In order to ease the process the French President, Nicholas Sarkozy, also got involved. A summit meeting in Damascus was convened with the participation of Sarkozy, Erdogan and the Amir of Qatar, Shaikh Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani. Finally the fifth round took place in Istanbul during Olmert's visit. The meeting lasted four hours and Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan called the Syrian President Assad to relay messages to and from Olmert. After Olmert's return to Israel, the Turkish side then began to wait for an explanation of the discussion from the Israeli side. Four days later, however, Israel began its offensive in Gaza. The Turkish Prime Minister felt betrayed by Olmert and Israel. The Gaza crisis ended the Turkish-mediated peace talks and led to a deterioration of Turkish-Israeli relations due to the harsh criticism of the Israeli operation by the Turkish government.

3.2. Israeli-Palestinian Issue

Historically Turkey has been concerned about the Palestinian problem and for long argued for a negotiated settlement based on a two-state solution. Thus Ankara supported the Peace Process that started with the Madrid Conference in 1991. Turkey headed the ACRS (Arms Control and Regional Security) multilateral group within that context and became part of the Temporary International Presence in Hebron which was formed in 1997. Turkey has also been providing development and humanitarian aid to the Palestinians. Since the Paris Protocol of 1996 Turkey has provided a total of 10 million US Dollars in the fields of health, education, public administration, institutionalization, security, tourism and agriculture.

In terms of capacity and institution building activities, Turkey has supported the political reform process and Turkish experts participated in the constitutional and administrative reform efforts made by the Palestinian Authority. Similarly the Turkish Foreign Ministry conducted the Young Palestinian Diplomats' Training Program. Another such attempt has been the TOBB-BIS Industry for Peace Initiative, which has been led by the Turkish Chambers and Commodity Exchanges. Part of this initiative is the Ankara Forum, consisting of the representatives from the Chambers of Commerce of Israel, Palestine and Turkey, based on the understanding that private sector dialogue is good for confidence building. The Forum has so far had five meetings. Another aspect of this initiative is to focus on the specific project of the Erez Industrial Zone. After Hamas's takeover in Gaza it was decided to move the project to the West Bank. This project also is based on the understanding that there is a close correlation between economic development and peace and thus aims to contribute to the Palestinian economy by creating up to 7,000 jobs. The project also offers profit for the Turkish companies and security for Israel on its borders. Thus it is a win-win project for all the parties involved. However, the implementation of the project has been slow, due to the worsening security situation in the area and the problems of signing a security protocol with Israel. In addition to the TOBB Initiative, projects for pipelines for energy, water and power supply are also under discussion.

With the eruption of the al-Aqsa Intifada and increasing violence and instability in the region Turkey has supported activities to end the hostilities. Former President Suleyman Demirel was part of the Mitchell Commission, which was formed after the eruption of violence in 2000. Turkey formed the Jerusalem Technical Committee to investigate whether the excavation works by Israel are detrimental to Haram al-Sharif. Turkey also supported the Quartet and its Road Map.

After the victory of Hamas in the legislative elections Turkey also took a bold step in its role as a third party in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and invited Khaled Mishal, the Hamas leader who is currently residing in Damascus. The Turkish government later

announced that Mishal was called to convey the message that now that it had won the elections it should act in a reasonable and a democratic way. However, Mishal made no announcement of moderation or change in policy while he was in Turkey and thus the whole saga served only to give legitimacy to him. The visit thus created a debate in Turkey and raised doubts about the previous involvement of the Foreign Ministry in the whole affair. The visit of Mishal on the other hand demonstrated how far the AKP government was ready to go in its third party role. In this case Turkey was walking a very fine line that could hurt its longstanding role as an honest broker. More than the idea of talking to Hamas, which could be a valuable third party role for Turkey, it was a question of form. The way it was done was problematic.

Disappointed by post-Annapolis inaction and the negative impact of the embargo on the Gaza population, the Turkish government emphasized the volatility of the situation throughout 2008. Prime Minister Erdogan referred to Gaza as an open prison and apparently asked the Israeli government to lift the blockade. When the cease-fire between Hamas and Israel ended, Ankara supported Egypt's efforts to extend it.

The Israeli attacks against Gaza created a harsh response from the Turkish government. Prime Minister Erdogan immediately started a regional tour, where he paid visits to Jordan, Syria, Egypt and Saudi Arabia. He also had talks with the President of the Palestinian Authority, Mahmoud Abbas. Then the Turkish diplomats got involved as brokers in shuttle diplomacy to achieve a ceasefire.

The government's response to the Gaza attack, however, seemed to tarnish Turkey's image as an honest broker in the conflict. The Prime Minister's approach to the issue was quite emotional. Erdogan was very critical of Israel and yet silent on Hamas's share of responsibilities in the whole saga. The overall Turkish attitude during the crisis gave the impression that Turkey acted as a spokesperson for Hamas. Although this attitude has become popular in Turkey and in the Middle East, it has created tensions in Turkish-Israeli relations. Relations were strained further when Erdogan clashed angrily with Israeli President Shimon Peres in Davos and stormed out of the meeting.

On the other hand, the new setting also created some opportunities for Turkey to be influential over Hamas and to convince it to behave as a legitimate political party. Turkey has also been active in reconciling Fatah and Hamas, which seems essential for any progress in the peace process. However, so far this new mode of facilitation has not borne any results.

In sum, Turkey has increasingly been involved in the management and resolution of conflicts in the Middle East, and its role has been accepted by different regional and external actors. However, it is clear that Turkey needs to study and think more about its goals and the suitability of its various methodologies. In doing so, Turkey must assess its own capabilities and connections to the conflicts, as there is a danger of having an expectations-abilities gap. There is also the danger of overextension, as Turkey remains eager to play third party roles. Another lesson from the Turkish experience as a third party so far has been the issue of impartiality. Studies in third party intervention generally show that the mediator's perceived impartiality is of the utmost relevance to its chances of success. This is particularly important for non-power mediators like Turkey. Turkey was quite close to Israel in the 1990s, which damaged its image as an impartial third party to some extent. Now Turkey is trying to reintroduce some balance to its relations with Israel and the Palestinians. However, this time Israel seems to have doubts as to the AKP's policy in the region and about its impartiality. Thus official policy in Israel is not very eager about the political involvement of Turkey and

its role as an actor in between. Turkey has to effectively deal with this problem of perception if it wants to act as an effective third party. Here the important thing is not to be necessarily neutral about the issues, and yet act in an impartial manner in terms of principles and involvement.

4. Turkey´s Booming Economic Ties with the Region

Interest in expanding economic ties with the region has become an important element of Turkish foreign policy towards the Middle East in recent years. Kemal Kirisci has argued that economic motivations have influenced the desire to have "zero problems with neighbors" as Turkey increasingly becomes a "trading state"[12].

The Turkish economy has developed considerably in recent years. Two trends particularly became apparent. First, there has been the spread of industry throughout Anatolia together with diversification and regionalization. Second, before the recent world economic crisis, Turkey had rapid growth in its industrial and service sectors[13]. These developments meant the increasing importance of regional trade. As a result the geographical composition of Turkey's trade has started to change: in 1996 the share of the EU in Turkey's trade was 56 percent; in 2008 it dropped to 44 percent. In 1996 the share of Turkey's trade to the Middle East was almost 9 percent; in 2008 it increased to 19 percent. Turkey's trade with the Middle East became critical in the wake of the world economic crisis and helped Turkey to ease the negative impact of the crisis on its trade balance. Furthermore, apart from Qatar and Iran, Turkey's trade balance with the Middle Eastern countries is all in Turkey's favor. At the same time "Turkey is both partner and a model to the development of the private sector in the region"[14].

The idea to promote economic interdependence with Turkey's neighbors, including the Middle East, has been institutionalized in Turkish bureaucracy. In addition, the business community in Turkey has become a vocal advocate of development of economic ties with the region. Business interest groups, such as the Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen's Association (TUSIAD), which represents mainly Istanbul-based businesses, the Independent Industrialists and Businessmen's Association (MUSIAD), which represents the Anatolian-based businesses, and the Turkish Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges (TOBB), became influential in foreign policy. Moreover, chambers of commerce in border cities to the Middle East openly lobbied for increasing contacts with the Middle Eastern countries [15].

On the other hand, an increasingly expanding group of states in the Arab world became interested in developing economic relations with Turkey. Among these are Syria and Iraq, in particularly the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG), which perceives Turkey as not only an economic partner, but also as a gateway to the world. Turkey is also considered as a source of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in the neighboring countries. Turkish investment in Egypt also has become quite important recently. Many Turkish textile factories have been

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[12] Kirisci, Kemal: "The Transformation of Turkish foreign policy: The rise of the trading state", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, vol. 40 (2009), pp. 29-56.

[13] Sak, Guven: "TEPAV presentation in Arab-Turkish Dialogue Forum", *Global Political Trends, Center for Arab Unity Studies, Arab Democracy Foundation*, Istanbul (21-22 November).

[14] *Ibid*.

[15] Kirisci, Kemal; Tocci, Nathalie and Walker, Joshua: "A Neighborhood Discovered: Turkey's Transatlantic Value in the Middle East", *Brussels Forum Paper Series* (2009), pp. 21-22.

relocated in Egypt and have contributed to job creation. On the other hand, Turkey has also increasingly been seen as a target for FDI as well, particularly in the Gulf countries. Turkey has signed Free Trade Agreements with Egypt, Syria and Jordan. As a result of these developments, in addition to the states, a burgeoning business community in the Arab world has an interest in developing ties with Turkey.

5. Conclusion

In recent years the level and the importance of Turkey's involvement in the Middle East have changed. Turkey gradually improved its relations with its neighbors, undertook several third party roles in regional conflicts and expanded its economic relations with the region. These developments can be explained partially by the ruling AKP's attempts to develop a comprehensive Middle East policy and its interest in the region. The AKP is interested in being actively involved in the region due to its emphasis on historical and cultural ties with the Middle East as well as to the expectations of economic and political benefits. The AKP policy, however, only partially explains Turkey's recent involvement in the Middle East. The structural factors, especially in terms of new opportunities, provided the context of Turkish engagement in the region. In fact, some of the policy initiatives of the AKP government were developed by earlier governments but could not be implemented, mainly due to the domestic or regional environment. The sustainability of current policies will largely depend on the continuation of this environment.

TURKISH-SYRIAN RELATIONS – WHERE ARE WE GOING?

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Abstract:

2009 witnessed a series of developments showing the depth of the relations between Turkey and Syria. Not only in the political and security fields but in the economic relations as well the two countries deepened their relations at an unprecedented level. Just to name a few of the remarkable developments over the last year, the two countries held a joint military exercise, signed a technical military cooperation agreement, established a Turkish-Syrian High Level Strategic Cooperation Council and lifted the visa requirement. These developments were unthinkable only a decade ago. Considering that the two countries came to the brink of war in 1998, the advancement and deepening of the relations to such a level in a decade is impressive as well as interesting. This article aims at looking at the dynamics of the relationship between Turkey and Syria. It argues that not only the common security concerns over the developments in the region, especially the impact of the Iraqi War but also domestic concerns played an important role in the deepening of the relationship. On the Syrian side the coming to power of Bashar Asad, the need for economic development in the country and its international isolation has been important. On the Turkish side, the coming to power of the Justice and Development Party with a new vision for the Middle East has especially been significant.

Keywords: Turkey, Syria, Iraqi war and the Middle East, economic integration, Justice and Development Party's foreign policy.

Resumen:

2009 fue testigo de una serie de acontecimientos que mostraban la profundidad de las relaciones entre Turquía Siria. Ambos países profundizaron sus relaciones hasta un nivel sin precedentes, no sólo en los ámbitos políticos y de seguridad, sino también en sus relaciones económicas. Sólo por mencionar algunos de los acontecimientos más destacables del año pasado, los dos países llevaron a cabo ejercicios militares conjuntos, firmaron un acuerdo de cooperación técnica militar, establecieron un Consejo de Cooperación Estratégica de Alto Nivel y suprimieron la obligación de visado. Tales desarrollos parecían impensables sólo una década atrás. Teniendo en cuenta que en 1998 ambos países estuvieron al borde de la guerra, los progresos realizados y la profundización en las relaciones hasta tal nivel en sólo una década, son tan impresionantes como interesantes. Este artículo persigue analizar las dinámicas detrás de las relaciones entre Turquía y Siria. Se argumenta que no sólo las preocupaciones comunes en el ámbito de seguridad por los últimos cambios acontecimientos en la región, en particular en impacto de la Guerra de Irak, sino que también factores de política doméstica tuvieron una influencia determinante en la profundización de la relación. Por un lado la llegada al poder de Bashir Al-Asad, la necesidad de potenciar el desarrollo económico y romper el aislamiento internacional, fueron muy importantes en Siria. Por otro lado, en Turquía, especialmente significativa ha resultado la llegada al gobierno del Partido de la Justicia y el Desarrollo y su nueva visión sobre el Oriente Próximo.

Palabras clave: Turquía, Siria, la Guerra de Irak y el Medio Oriente, la integración económica, la política exterior del Partido del Desarrollo y Justicia.

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1. Introduction

Turkish-Syrian relations have gone through a very troubled period. The two countries were adversaries within the Cold War rivalry, had to manage bilateral problems, a legacy of the Ottoman past, and the stereotypical images of each other[2], Hatay issue and the water problem – the dispute over the appropriation of the waters of the Euphrates and Tigris. The PKK terror was added to the picture in the 1980s as the PKK found shelter in Syria and the Syrian dominated Bekaa Valley in Lebanon. The PKK terrorist activities, mainly operating from Syria and PKK's head Abdullah Öcalan's residence in Damascus constituted the most important reason in the escalation of tension between the two countries during the 1990s. The water issue also became linked to the terror issue during this period. In 1995, the then Foreign Minister Deniz Baykal's words were demonstrative of this: "Syria as a neighbor country should stop being the headquarters of a terrorist organization. It can be thought that hands with the blood of terror could be washed with more 'water'. However, Turkey will never bargain the use of terror for water."[3]

As the efforts to find a diplomatic solution to resolve the issue of Syrian support of the PKK failed in 1998, consensus emerged among the Turkish policymakers to toughen Turkey's stance against Syria.[4] The problems have escalated to such a level that on 30 September 1998, the National Security Council ratified a plan of action against Syria which was put forward by the Chief of Staff General Hüseyin Kıvrıkoğlu and as a result an additional 10,000 troops were mobilized along the border. In a speech on the following day, Kıvrıkoğlu stated that "an undeclared state of war" already existed between Turkey and Syria. The same day, President Demirel in his inaugural speech in the Parliament declared that Turkey was running out of patience and that Syria would have to live with the consequences of its support for the PKK.[5] A week later the Turkish government issued a final ultimatum to the Syrian government. The outcome was a complete success for Turkey: Damascus yielded to pressure by expelling Öcalan and closing down PKK activities on its territory in accordance with an agreement, the Adana Accords, signed on 20 October 1998.

The general idea regarding the reasons why Syria stepped back and expelled Öcalan was that Syria was helpless in the face of Turkish military might and that it had no other choice but to surrender to Turkish demands. In contrast with this view, Bashar Asad, in a recent interview said that looking back to those years the reason why Syria expelled Öcalan and entered into a cooperative relationship with Turkey was "not out of fear but because we preferred you. We would either be friends with the Turkish people or prefer the Kurds and lose you. Because our preference was with you, we sent Öcalan out"[6]. Despite this statement, considering Syrian military weakness at the time and the intense cooperation between Turkey

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[2] Alliance of the Arabs with the Western powers against the Ottoman Empire during World War 1 affected the mindset of the Turks against the arabs for a long time. As a result of this experience Turks refered to arabs mainly treacherous and untrustworthy while the held the idea that Arab underdevelopment was a result of centuries-long Ottoman domination of the arab lands. For details see, Aras, Bülent and Köni, Hasan: "Turkish–Syrian Relations Revisited", *Arab Studies Quarterly,* vol. 24, no. 2 (2002), pp. 47–60.

[3] *Hürriyet,* 31 December 1995.

[4] Aykan, Mahmut Bali: "The Turkish–Syrian Crisis of October 1998: A Turkish View", *Middle East Policy,* vol. 6, no. 4 (1999), p. 177.

[5] *Milliyet*, 2 October 1998.

[6] Birand, Mehmet Ali: "İsrail'e ve Avrupa'ya Sırtını Dönmüş bir Türkiye Cazip değil", *Posta,* 8 November 2009.

and Israel, this at best seems a preference out of necessity, not out of will. Fred Lawson shares this point by looking at Syrian policy towards Turkey before the Adana Accords and the following three years. Lawson underlines that Damascus's pursuit of better relations with Ankara from the autumn of 1998 to the end of 2001 grew out of a conjunction of developments that sharply increased the cost of armed conflict with Turkey.[7] Although Israel made sure to remain out of the conflict as Turkey was mobilizing troops along the Syrian border, Turkish-Israeli alignment leaving Syria subject to a possible coordinated military assault maintained its importance in this picture. Considering the Syrian military weakness, this factor becomes more significant. The Syrian military equipment acquisition halted with the collapse of the Soviet Union, and Syria was considered to be "in dire need of modern weapons systems and intelligence gathering systems but is constrained by economic problems that are not likely to resolve for many years, if at all".[8] Thus, after 1998 Syrian officials "took the risk of lowering their guard and adopting a conciliatory posture toward the country's long-term northern adversary".[9]

In the aftermath of the Accords, it was interesting to see how quickly the bilateral relations developed and the "undeclared state of war" was left behind by both parties. The quick recovery of the relations show from the Turkish perspective the primacy of domestic security concerns. Once the threat to domestic security was eliminated through Syrian compliance, Turkish-Syrian relations began to normalize. What is interesting though is that the relations did not only return back to their normal stance prior to the conflict but rather went to unprecedented levels of cooperation in less than a decade. There was a general expectation at the time that relations would become normal, but this normalization will be followed by Turkey's traditional policy, in Mufti's words, "a steady retreat toward the correct but aloof and neutral postures of the past".[10] Despite the regionally based foreign policy approach of the Ecevit government during this time closer relations that in the future could lead to economic integration or strategic cooperation with Turkey's southern neighbors was not on the agenda. Mufti quotes the words of General Kemal Yavuz on the possibility of Turkey's active involvement in the Middle East and the formation of a strategic axis with Israel and Jordan and possibly other Arab states. Yavuz says: "Ismet İnönü put it very well: 'Getting into a sack with the Arab is like getting into a sack with a snake. You never know when it will bite you.' . . . It is not possible to enter into such an agreement with Arabs . . . they kiss you on both cheeks and then stab you in the back."[11]

This article argues that despite such an expectation of a return to Turkey's traditional approach towards the Middle East, relations with Syria deepened in a very short time due to several reasons at the international, regional and domestic levels. On the one hand, the radical change in the region with the 'regime change' strategy of the US and the subsequent Iraqi War brought the two countries together. On the other hand, the domestic reasons in both countries worked for deeper relations – on the Syrian side the change of leadership bringing Bashar Asad to power in 2000, the need for economic development and Syrian international isolation and on the Turkish side, the change in Turkey's politics with the coming to power of the Justice and Development Party (Adalet Ve Kalkınma Partisi – AKP) in 2002. The article

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[7] Lawson, Fred H.: "The Beginning of a Beautiful Friendship: Syrian Turkish Relations since 1998" in Lawson, Fred H. (ed.) (2009): D*emystifying Syria*, London, Middle East Institute in SOAS, pp. 184-185.

[8] "Shifting Sands, "Changing Prospects", *Jane's Weekly Defense,* 2 November 2000.

[9] See Lawson, *op. cit*., p. 188.

[10] Mufti, Malik: "From Swamp to Backyard: The Middle East in Turkish Foreign Policy", in Freedman, Robert O. (ed.) (2002): *The Middle East Enters to Twenty-First Century*, Gainesville, University Press of Florida, p. 106.

[11] *Ibid*.

does not neglect the change in Turkish foreign policy towards the Middle East after the Adana Accords and capture of Abdullah Öcalan from 1998-99 onwards and the regionally based foreign policy approach under İsmail Cem's foreign ministry. However, the reasons for the deepening of the relationship at the domestic level on the Turkish side could be seen more explicitly with the Justice and Development's Party's vision and policy regarding the Middle East.

2. The Biginnings of the Rapproachement: 1998-2003

Following the signing of the Adana Accords, there were developments in Turkish-Syrian relations in a very short time. The immediate result of the agreement was the closing down of the PKK training camps in Syria and the termination of the logistical support for the organization. The two parties agreed that "a direct telephone link would be established, special representatives would be appointed in each country's diplomatic missions, and a system of monitoring of security enhancing measures and their effectiveness was to be initiated"[12]. Regular meetings were held by the Joint Security Committee. They comprised military officials from both sides, and there was an increase in diplomatic visits at various levels.[13]

Until 2000, we can talk about a period of trust-building in the relations. With June 2000, Turkish President Ahmet Necdet Sezer's attendance at Hafiz al-Asad's funeral ceremony the relations were symbolically enhanced between the two countries. After Sezer's visit, it was clear that the two sides wanted to deepen their relationship. A couple of months later, in September, the two countries signed a security cooperation agreement. Syrian Vice President Abd al-Halim Khaddam visited Ankara in order to "turn over a new leaf" in bilateral relations.

In Syria, at the societal level there was an opening towards Turkey as well. First of all, there were economic developments. In 2000, the trade volume between Turkey and Syria was only $724 million[14], and both parties were showing willingness to increase the economic relations. Although prospering under the shadow of security and political developments, Aydın and Aras underline that after the signing of the Accords, a variety of measures were adopted to encourage commercial expansion and a memorandum of understanding was signed restarting the Joint Economic Committee inactive since 1988.[15] During this time, in Syria there was not only a willingness to increase trade as can be seen in *Daily Tishreen* that was writing about the opportunities of further economic relations with Turkey and talking about a potential of $4 billion trade volume[16] but also there was an effort to leave the past behind. For example, it was during this period that for the first time in Syria there was a panel titled 'Ottoman State: Contemporary Readings". The panel was held in line with the spirit of the time, signifying a new Syrian approach:"the legacy of the past did not constitute an

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[12] Altunışık, Meliha and Tür, Özlem: "From distant neighbors to partners? Changinf Syrian-Turkish Relations", *Security Dialogue*, vol. 37, no. 2 (June 2006), p. 226.
[13] *Ibid*.
[14] See the web page of Turkish Directorate of Foreign Trade. By clicking on Syria, figures can be reached at http://www.dtm.gov.tr/dtmweb/index.cfm?action=detay&yayinID=244&icerikID=347&dil=TR.
[15] Aydın, Mustafa and Aras, Damla: "Political conditionality of Economic Relations Between Paternalistic States: Turkey's Interaction with Iran, Iraq and Syria", *Arab Studies Quarterly*, vol. 27, no. 1&2 (Winter/Spring 2005), p. 33.
[16] See the transcription of Syrian writer's column in el-Hayat on 30 May 2002 in Turkish Daily Radikal. Elarnavut, Muhammed M.: "Türkiye-Şam Hattı Düzeliyor", *Radikal*, 19 June 2002.

impediment for the relations and a new political thinking in bilateral relations was on the agenda as an alternative to ideologies"[17].

On the Turkish side, there was also a willingness to improve relations with Syria. However, despite this willingness especially the Hatay issue complicated the matter. The military, while at times adopting a pragmatic approach, emphasizing cooperation on security matters and leaving water and border issues without a pressing timing brought up the Hatay issue in 2001. During the meeting bringing together the countries' generals in charge of military planning, there was a discussion whether the two countries could hold joint training exercises. The possibility was averted as the Turkish military side "insisted that the authorities in Damascus in return [for the exercises] relinquish all claim to the province of Hatay. This, the Ba'thi regime adamantly refused to do so."[18] The Turkish Foreign Ministry also shared the same position. Foreign Ministry underlined the importance of solving the water issue and the border issue – Hatay – between the two countries first and prepared a declaration of principles that included respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of each country as a prerequisite for the advancement of relations.[19] The Syrian Foreign Ministry was reluctant to accept the foreign ministry's declaration of principles, as in the previous example. As a result of this reluctance, Syrian President Bashar's expected visit to Turkey was postponed. Eventually, however, the Syrian side assured Turkey that they were willing to resolve the border issue, but they stressed that they would need time to explain this to the Syrian public and remained cautious about pushing it to the top of the agenda. This position was accepted by the Turkish Foreign Ministry. Bashar will agree to accept Hatay as a part of Turkey in 2004.

November 2002 brought the Justice and Development Party (AKP) to power in Turkey. The Justice and Development Party's vision regarding the Middle East has especially been important in improving relations with Syria further. Just like the panel held in Syria on revisiting the Ottoman past, with the AKP's ascendance to power a new Middle East policy was put into effect that stemmed from Turkey's historical responsibility, the Ottoman rule in the region, and its experience. In this new vision, the legacy of the past, the Ottoman era, and the culture not only "make it easier for Turkey to be involved in the region but also compels Turkey to be a part of it".[20]

3. Deepening of the Relations: The Iraqi War and the Common Security Concerns

As there was a willingness at the political level on both sides to foster relations, the post-September 11 developments created a favourable environment that drew the countries closer and the Iraqi War and its impact deepened the relations between Turkey and Syria by creating common security concerns. Before the Iraqi War, Turkey and Syria's similar concerns over a possible war in the region and especially the future of Iraq, regarding the need to maintain the territorial integrity of Iraq, brought the countries together. Going beyond this concern Syria was worried about its own fate within the US plans to remake the Middle East. In Hinnebusch's words, "The US conquest of Iraq threatened the Syrian regime's very

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[17] *Ibid*.
[18] See Lawson, *op. cit*., p. 184.
[19] See Altunışık and Tür, *op. cit*., p. 227.
[20] Altunışık, Meliha: "World Views and Turkish Foreign Policy in the Middle East", *New Perspecitves on Turkey*, no.40 (Spring 2009), p. 186.

survival"[21]. The growing anti-US sentiment in both countries, but more importantly the concern about the Kurdish issue and the implications of a possible independent Kurdish state in Northern Iraq as a result of a US-led War led to a deepening of the relations.

Syrian President Bashar al-Asad's visit to Turkey on 6–8 January 2004, became an important turning point. Bashar's visit was important not only because this was the first visit to Turkey ever by a Syrian president but also because it was during this visit that Bashar put his signature on documents explicitly recognizing Turkey in its current borders, therefore accepting Hatay as a part of the Turkish Republic. During the visit economic issues were also discussed. The two sides decided to open up a consulate in Gaziantep and border centers in several Turkish cities to facilitate trade in the border regions. Demining of areas in the border territories to permit organic agriculture was also agreed.

During Bashar's visit important regional security issues were brought to the agenda one of which was the Kurdish question: how best to deal with the effects of Kurdish autonomy in Northern Iraq. During his visit, Bashar underlined the existence of common views and threat perceptions within Syria and Turkey in relation to Iraq. In reference to Turkey's previous announcements that the establishment of a Kurdish state would be unacceptable and thus constitute a red line for Turkey, Bashar stated that "a Kurdish state would violate our red line too".[22] In addition to Iran–Syria–Turkey trilateral meetings, Syria became part of the 'Iraq's Neighbors Initiative' started by Turkey.

As told above, Turkish-Syrian relations were deepening as a result of similar security concerns in the region. While concern over Iraqi War was shared, so was the concern over Israeli actions. As early as 1999, despite the continuing cooperation with Israel, Prime Minister Ecevit had blamed Israel for committing genocide against Palestinians. With the collapse of the Peace Process and the al-Aqsa intifada, the Palestinian issue began to constitute a more important place in the political agenda of Turkish governments under the AKP. In May 2004 Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, pointing to the Israeli operation in a Palestinian refugee camp in the Gaza Strip in which dozens of civilians were killed, said that these operations escalated to the point of state terror. Erdoğan asked: "what is the difference between a terrorist who kills civilians and Israel which kills civilians?"[23] While this statement strained the relations between Turkey and Israel, there was also concern in Turkey over the news on Israeli activities in Northern Iraq. Seymour Hersh in an article in The New Yorker wrote that the Israeli secret forces, disguised mainly as businessmen, had been operating in Northern Iraq even before the War started and they were helping and even preparing the Kurds towards independence.[24] Some analysts regarded that these developments would lead to the dismantling of the long maintained Turkish-Israeli alliance.[25] These statements came during the same period of Israeli insistence to Syrian authorities to expel all representatives of radical Palestinian organizations. These criticisms were turned into Israeli actions in Damascus as well. For example, in September 2004 Israel claimed responsibility for the killing of a member of Hamas near his house in Damascus.[26] Thus not only growing anti-US sentiments, the possible implications of the Iraq partition and the formation of a

[21] Hinnebusch, Raymond: "Syria: Defying the Hegemon", in Fawn, Rick and Hinnebusch, Raymond (eds.) (2006): *The Iraq War – Causes and Consequences*, London, Lynne Rienner, p.129.
[22] See Altunışık and Tür, *op. cit.,* p. 229.
[23] *Foreign Broadcast Information Service*, 27 May 2004, FBIS-NES-2004-0527.
[24] Hersh, Seymour M.: "Plan B", *The New Yorker*, 28 June 2004.
[25] Kibaroğlu, Mustafa: "Clash of Interest over Northern Iraq Drives Turkish-Israeli Alliance at the Crossroads", *Middle East Journal*, vol. 59, no.2 (Spring 2005), p.1.
[26] See Lawson, *op.cit.*, p. 191.

Kurdish state but also the growing concern over Sharon governments policies pushed Turkey and Syria closer to each other.

The relations reached another level with Prime Minister Erdoğan's visit to Syria in December 2004. The visit was important as it opened up negotiations over the water issue and led to the signing of a Free Trade Agreement between the two countries. As the visit came right after the decision to start EU-Turkey accession negotiations one of the issues on the agenda became Turkey's EU membership. Regarding the water issue what was interesting was to see that the problem of sharing the waters of the rivers was left behind and began to be seen as a technical issue. Erdoğan said that Syria could use more water from the Tigris River for their increased needs. Syrian Prime Minister Otri announced this as 'good news' to the population and to the question, 'whether Turkey and Syria were leaving the traditional water problem behind' during the press conference, Erdoğan answered, "From now on we have agreed. We are aiming development and cooperation. Other issues are forgotten." [27]

The Free Trade Agreement which would come into force in 2007 was also signed during this visit. Syria and Turkey signed this agreement with the understanding that it should be expanded to the regional level and ensure the cooperation and interdependence in the region.

There was emphasis on the Syrian side regarding Turkey's EU accession process. Bashar, in praise of Turkey's foreign policy has announced that Syrians were watching Turkish foreign policy with admiration and taking it as a model for themselves. Underlining how glad they were for Turkey's EU negotiations and how important it was for Syria and the region, Bashar said that as Turkey would enter the EU, Syria would be a neighbor to the EU and they were watching the process with a great interest and enthusiasm.[28] The importance of Turkey's EU accession will be underlined during the future visits as well. How Turkey will be the gate of Syria to the European markets and how Syria would be Turkey's gate to the Middle East and the value of Turkey for Syria as a country within the EU negotiation process with a possible accession will be underlined by the Asad regime. Bashar would go as far as saying that Turkey that has turned its back to Israel and Europe will not be attractive for Syria.[29] Also Turkey's possible mediation in the peace talks between Syria and Israel came to the agenda during this visit. However, this will be materialized only in the later years.

4. Sezer´s 2005 Visit and Breaking the Syrian Isolation

Turkish President Ahmet Necdet Sezer's visit in April 2005 was especially meaningful for the relations, mainly for the Syrian side as it came at a time when Syria was increasingly being cornered over the events in Lebanon. Turkish government sent positive messages to Damascus and became an important country that supported the Syrian regime that was under increasing pressure after the assassination of the Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri and the possibility of Syrian responsibility in the act. The visit of President Ahmet Necdet Sezer in 2005, further underlined the support Ankara was giving to Damascus at such a critical moment. Although there were no agreements resulting from the visit, this stood as an important gesture to Syria and the will of Turkey to deepen the relations despite criticism.

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[27] "Ekonomik Partner Olduk", *Hürriyet*, 23 December 2004.

[28] *Hürriyet*, 23 December 2004.

[29] See Birand, *op. cit.*

The importance of Sezer's visit to Syria, despite growing pressure of the international community to isolate Syria, should be underlined not only as a message of support for the Bashar regime at the highest level, but also showing the extent of the relations. The visit was criticized before it was realized especially by the US regime. The US Ambassador Edelman said in response to a question regarding Sezer's visit that "the US, EU countries and Egypt were in a consensus with putting sanctions on Syria and that they were expecting Turkey to support the decisions of the international community". Edelman underlined, in an implicit manner that, in case Sezer went to Damascus, Turkey would be marginalized by the international community. Edelman added that "Of course it is up to Turkey to act in line with the international community or not".[30] Whether Turkey was acting on its own in defiance of the hegemon in its relations with Syria or whether this was a part of a coordinated policy between US and Turkey became much of a debate during this period. Some writers underlined that Turkey's policy of supporting Syria, at a time when isolation of Syria was pursued risked the future of Turkish-US relations and thus was a limitation on the deepening of the relationship with Syria. As Oktav underlines, "Turkey's stakes in its relationship with the United States appear to be too high to be completely risked for the sake of improving bilateral relations with Syria. No government in Turkey, including the AKP government, has been willing to forfeit its 'alliance' with the United States".[31] Uzgel, on the other hand, argues that despite the visibility of US opposition to Turkey's relations with Syria, implicitly US supports closer relations between the two countries. Uzgel notes that US supports such a development as Syria allying itself with Turkey, a Western ally, would pull Syria away from Iran, which would obviously be in line with US and Israeli interests in the region[32]. Uzgel notes that thinking about Turkey's policy of close relations in the Middle East at large and Syria in particular are in line with the US policy. Rather than risking defying the hegemon, Turkey actually acts with it according to this perspective. Considering that calls for engaging Syria began to be heard in the US especially after the Lebanese War of June 2006 and ideas of seperating Syria from Iran began to be written in newspapers[33], the second idea seems to prevail. Since then how to normalize relations with Syria, and involve Syria in regional developments has been on the agenda of the US and thus, Turkey finds no difficulty in deepening the relations with Syria.

Sezer's visit was met very positively not only at the political level but also by the Syrian population, bringing the two societies further together. During the Lebanese crisis, Erdoğan's role was also praised by some Syrian writers. Erdoğan was thought to be "keeping silent […] in contrast to most US allies after the passing of the UNSCR 1559[…]".[34] Bashar said regarding Turkey in the same month, "Turkey has become one of the friendliest countries toward Syria in the region, and not only pursues good relations at a bilateral level but also cooperates with Syria on a number of regional issues".[35]

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[30] "ABD: Suriye'ye Bastırın", *Radikal*, 15 March 2005.

[31] Oktav, Zeynep Özden: "The Limits of Change: Turkey, Iran, Syria" in Ateşoğlu Güney, Nurşin (ed.) (2007): *Contentious Issues of Security and the Future of Turkey*, Aldershot, Ashgate, p. 93.

[32] Uzgel, İlhan: "Dış Politikada AKP: Stratejik Konumdan Stratejik Modele", in Uzgel, İlhan and Duru, Bülent (eds.) (2009): *AKP Kitabı – Bir Dönüşümün Bilançosu*, Ankara, Phoenix, p. 364.

[33] See for example the column of Thomas Freidman in *The New York Times* in July 2006. Friedman, Thomas: "Talking Turkey to Syria", *The New York Times*, 26 July 2006, at http://select.nytimes.com/2006/07/26/opinion/26friedman.html?_r=1&scp=6&sq=Thomas+Friedman+Syria&st=nyt.

[34] Moubayed, Sami: "Turkish-Syrian Relations: The Erdoğan Legacy", *SETA Policy Brief*, no. 25 (October 2008), p. 3.

[35] "Esad ile Özel Röportaj" , *CNNTürk,* 6 April 2005.

Turkish support has actually been significant in bringing Syria back in from the cold. As argued above, the fact that engaging Syria evolved as an idea in the West as well, Turkish government took the credit in the following years for the support it was giving to Syria. For example, when the French president, Nicholas Sarkozy, eventually broke the international boycott and visited Syria in 2008, Bashar met him accompanied by Erdoğan.

5. Turkey´s role as a Mediator: Syrian-Israeli and Syrian-Iraqi Mediation

As mentioned above, Turkey's role as a mediator in the conflict between Israel and Syria came to the agenda in 2004. According to Israeli sources, it was Israel that waited and that "it took Israel three years to accept the offer"[36]. But by 2007, the public opinion matured and the ground for indirect talks was prepared. Bengio, underlines that there emerged a willingness by that time in Israel to talk to Syria. Until that time there was the concern that what would come after the peace talks with Syria could only be a 'frozen peace'; Israel giving up Golan but receiving nothing in return[37]. Despite this fear the negotiations started. During this period the declining importance of the bilateral relations was palpable. There was a tension in the political scene due to Turkish Prime Minister's messages of 'state terror' and the primacy of the Palestinian issue on the Turkish political agenda. However, Turkey was still seen as a mediator in the negotiations. Despite the crisis, the idea that unlike Turkey of 1990s, Turkey of the 2000s, under the AKP having close relations with both Israel and Syria could play such a mediation role was emphasized. Negotiations started and continued under Turkish mediation; however they were halted after Prime Minister Erdoğan's "One Minute" show in Davos in 2009. The mediation effort is especially important in showing the level of trust between Syria and Turkey. There has been willingness on the Syrian side to resume the negotiations, but the Israeli side has been reluctant to start the talks since then. What is important here is that Syria has given messages of full support to Turkey's mediation role. If negotiations are to resume, Syria sees Turkey as a reliable partner in the process.[38] Turkey also showed its willingness for such a role despite no progress in the issue.

Bashar told in an interview that they valued Turkey's support of Syria highly and that Turkey could communicate Syria's messages to any party. He said: "We have full trust for Turkey. Let me give you an example, even if we do not ask them [Turkey] talks about us to Washington, tells our opinions. This is very important. Besides, the role it played in negotiations with Israel was very important. Because of this, relations came to a point that Turkey can talk for us."[39]

Turkey also played a mediator role in Syria's troubled relations with Iraq after a series of bombs have exploded in the Green Zone in Baghdad in August 2009. The Maliki government has blamed the Syrian government for the bombings and held Damascus responsible for supporting terrorist activities and aiming at destabilizing Iraq. The Iraqi Ambassador was also called back as a result. As the tension escalated, Turkish Prime Minister Davutoğlu traveled to Baghdad and Damascus to "learn about the opinions of both parties over the developments and to communicate Turkey's position within this context". Davutoğlu proposed to Iraq, "tell us every message you want to be communicated to Syria

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[36] Interview with Alon Liel, who was a part of the Israeli negotiating team. Jerusalem, 22 November 2008.
[37] Interview with Ofra Bengio, Tel Aviv, 23 November 2008.
[38] "Esad: Türkiyesiz Masaya Oturmayız", *Sabah,* 18 Mayıs 2009; "Suriye Görüşmeler için İstekli", *Habertürk,* 17 Mayıs 2009.
[39] See Birand, *op. cit.*

and give us all the evidence and information and we will pass it onto the Syrian side."[40] In the period that followed, Turkey brought the Foreign Ministers of Iraq and Syria together in Istanbul. In the meeting Turkey not only mediated the crisis but also offered both countries to establish a tripartite border security mechanism. This mechanism will aim at combating PKK, El-Qaida and Ba'thist forces in Iraq[41]. The tension was eased in the following period as a result of this effort.

6. Economic Relations

Economic aspect of the relationship has been important from the very beginning of the normalization of relations after the signing of the Accords. As mentioned above, the economy developed under the shadow of the political developments. Although calls for an "economy not affected by politics but politics affected by economics"[42] were made, generally the trend continued to work otherwise. For the Syrian part, Turkey's economic power has especially been important. As Lesch underlines, economy stands out as a test case for "the success or failure of Bashar's tenure. The problem is that Bashar cannot afford for much longer a disappointing economic performance".[43] The over-grown public sector has provided for decades an important source of legitimacy and a support base for the ruling regime in Syria and whether Bashar could revitalize it by a successful reform process becomes an important question for the future of the regime in the country. The deepening of the relations with Turkey came at such a critical timing for the Syrian regime, like in other aspects of the relationship, when it was feeling economically stuck as a result of its need to make 'selective reform' in accordance with the broadening of the ruling coalition in the country[44] and the worsening of the peace talks in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Turkey's accession negotiation process with the EU increased the economic value of the relationship further.

Turkey is seen by Syria not only as an important market but is also seen as an example in terms of economic development. Turkey also portrays itself as a model for Syria in this aspect. Erdoğan, in a visit to Damascus in April 2007 attended the Syrian-Turkish Business Council meeting after the entering into force of the Free Trade Agreement in 1 January 2007. In the meeting Erdoğan called the Syrians to follow the Turkish reform process. He said: "Our exports were at $36 billion and then reached $114 billion over a period of five years. This can easily be done in Syria. All you need is will power and only then will you be able to extract milk even from a male goat! We are willing to put our hand in yours".[45] In 2000, trade volume between the two countries was $724 million; it reached $1.8 billion in 2008 and the target is set for $5 billion for 2012. Erdoğan said that he was not satisfied with the current volume and aiming to bring the figure to $5 billion in three-four years. "We talked about this

[40] "Davutoğlu Devrede", *Milliyet*, 1 September 2009.
[41] Ergan, Uğur: "Türkiye-Suriye arasında Üçlü Mekanizma Kurulacak", *Hürriyet*, 17 September 2009.
[42] This was the slogan of the Turkish-Syrian Business Council, see *Hürriyet*, 3 February 2003.
[43] Lesch, David W. (2005): *The New Lion of Damascus – Bashar al-Asad and Modern Syria*, New Haven, Yale University Press, p. 208.
[44] Hinnebusch, Raymond: "The Politics of Economic Liberalization: Comparing Egypt and Syria", in Hakimian, Hassan and Moshaver, Ziba (eds.) (2001): *The State and Global Change – The Political Economy of Transition in the Middle East and North Africa*, Richmond, Curzon, pp. 111-134.
[45] See Moubayed, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

with my brother Otri" Erdoğan said, "There is a political will for this. We will succeed in this, God willing"[46].

Turkey and Syria has built a Turkish-Syrian Regional Cooperation Program that became operational in 2006, aiming to develop technical, economic, cultural and scientific cooperation. It aims at facilitating a regional development by financing projects that will create employment as a priority. The program publishes a monthly report in Turkey– the last one was published in November – December 2009. It is interesting to see in this report the short stories on the back cover almost teaching the readers to love each other and to share. The title of the second issue of the journal was: Love and sharing starts at your vicinity. The program encourages integration of the two countries' economies and aims at a joint development of the region at large.

Since the implementation of the Free Trade Agreement, not only the level of trade have jumped between the two countries, but also there has been substantial investment from Turkish companies – particularly in Aleppo – and numerous joint infrastructural projects have been started. Despite the positive gains there also seems to be a negative side of the issue for the Syrian regime, which should be considered. The free trade agreement has started to put out of business some old Syrian manufacturing families that couldn't compete with superior Turkish imports[47]. Moreover, the fact that Syria remains very much the junior partner to Turkey in the economic relations carries the potential of turning into a problem in the future.

7. 2009 and Beyond: Lifting of the Visa Requirement, Economic Integration and High Level Strategic Cooperation Council

The relationship turned to a new phase with the lifting of the visa requirements between the two countries. The decision to lift the visa requirements were taken during the meeting in September 2009. This meeting became very significant for the relations as it carried the cooperation between the two countries to a level of economic integration. It was also during this meeting that the decision to form a High Level Strategic Cooperation Council was taken.

Regarding the lifting of visa, Foreign Minister Davutoğlu said: "I would like to address the Syrian people. Turkey is your second country and Turkish people are waiting for you with open arms without a visa"[48]. The lifting of visas is seen as the materialization of the first step of unification between the two countries. The artificiality of the border between the two countries began to be underlined much more during this period. Thus, Foreign Minister Davutoğlu said "We are lifting the borders which were artificially put and becoming the people of one hinterland. We are turning the economic cooperation to an economic unity. We are hoping that this will be a model for all our neighbours."[49]

Erdoğan in a speech he made to the Turkish-Syrian Business Council in Syria underlined some important points on the issue as well. He said that the relations were

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[46] See Erdoğan's Speech in Syria, at the Turkish-Syrian Business Council. "Başbakan Erdoğan Suriye'de, Türkiye-Suriye İş Konseyinde İşadamlarına Seslendi", 23 December 2009, at
http://www.akparti.org.tr/basbakan-erdogan-turkiye-suriye-is-konseyinde-isadamlari_6551.html.
[47] Phillips, Chris: "Turkey: Syria's Best Friend", *The Guardian*, 1 October 2009.
[48] "Türkiye ile Suriye Arasında Vize Kalktı", *CNNTURK,* 17 September 2009, at
http://www.cnnturk.com/2009/turkiye/09/16/turkiye.ile.suriye.arasinda.vize.kalkti/543804.0/index.html.
[49] Gürcanlı, Zeynep: "Türkiye-Suriye için Fransız-Alman Modeli", *Hürriyet*, 13 October 2009.

normalizing between the two countries. The separation of the two peoples with a border was artificial and abnormal and that they were "building the communication and cooperation that should exist between brothers and relatives". Referring to the ongoing debate in Turkey whether Turkey was shifting its axis in the foreign policy, Erdoğan said that the focus was not shifting but rather the focus of Turkish foreign policy was normalizing. Erdoğan said: "When I watch Syria from my own country I get emotional. For example I am affected when the Saudi King comes to Syria, but also equally I get affected when my brother Bashar Asad goes to Saudi Arabia. Now, in a similar manner I am waiting to see my brother Bashar Asad's visit to Lebanon. With all these [developments] in this region unity, togetherness and cooperation will bring us to a bright future. I have always longed for this and now we are succeeding in these. Is it possible not to feel the excitement of these beautiful days?"[50]

As the steps for economic integration was being materialized, so were initiatives for closer political and military relations. During the same meeting that decision on the lifting of the visa was taken, the decision to form High Level Strategic Council between the two countries was also put into effect. Within the context of this mechanism, at least once every year the Prime Ministers will host together a meeting composed of important ministers of each state. Accordingly, the ministers responsible for Foreign Affairs, Energy, Trade, Public Works, Defense, Interior Affairs and Transportation will meet at least twice every year to build a common action plan. This action plan will then be discussed in details in the Ministerial Council and then will be executed under the joint leadership of the two Prime Ministers. This Council is indicative of the extent and depth of the relationship.

On the military front as well, there has been impressive improvement. Turkey and Syria held a military exercise in April 2009. The Turkish military announced that the aim of the exercise was "to boost friendship, cooperation and confidence between the two countries land forces and to increase the ability of border troops to train and work together".[51] The drill was especially important for the Syrian forces, whose military weakness was mentioned above. The drill also attracted concern from Israel mainly due to the possibility of technology transfer that Turkey received from Israel into Syria. Although there was no such sign of leakage, Israeli concern persisted on the issue.

8. Conclusion

Turkish-Syrian relations have reached unprecedented levels in a decade time. This article argued that a combination of international, regional and domestic dynamics have been important in this development. International and regional developments after September 11 and the Iraqi War have brought the two countries together. Concern over Israeli policies and the Palestinian issue have been important in this context as well. Domestically, Bashar's coming to power and the new regime's economic and military weaknesses as well as its international and regional isolation made Syria turn to Turkey. Deepening the relations with Turkey in such a context became an important asset for the Bashar regime. Turkey's EU accession negotiation process also added to the importance of relations with Turkey for Syria as Turkey could be a gate for Syrian goods to European markets. For the Turkish side, the impact of the AKP governments in the deepening of the relationship has been vital. It could

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[50] "Başbakan Erdoğan Suriye'de, Türkiye-Suriye İş Konseyinde İşadamlarına Seslendi", 23 December 2009, at http://www.akparti.org.tr/basbakan-erdogan-turkiye-suriye-is-konseyinde-isadamlari_6551.html.
[51] "Turkey Brushes off Israel Concern over Syrian Drill", at
http://www.ynetnews.com/Ext/Comp/ArticleLayout/CdaArticlePrintPreview/1,2506.

be argued that any government in Turkey would have cooperated with Syria, mainly for security and economic reasons. The Iraqi War would have compelled Turkey to pursue an active foreign policy and thus would have brought the two countries together anyway. However, the deepening of the relations to such a level of "common destiny, common history and common future" with such an emotional discourse of unity seems to be the contribution of AKP to the relations that would otherwise not be seen. Whether these developments would manage to build strong constituencies in both countries that would sustain the relationship in the long term is still yet to be seen.

TURKEY'S CAUCASUS POLICIES

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Abstract:

The emergence of newly independent states in the Caucasus at the end of the Cold War presented challenges to Turkey, while enlarging its role. The collapse of the Soviet Union removed the century-old Soviet/Russian threat, while at the same time created a power vacuum on Turkey's borders. In this environment, Turkey became an important actor in the region as a result of its strong historical connections. While Turkey had traditionally avoided involvement in regional politics, it has since been drawn into the volatile new politics of the region. After twenty years, Turkey has become one of the important players in a region where its involvement has particularly increased since August 2008 with its suggestion to establish a Caucasus Cooperation and Stability Platform. Although its attempt to further engage Armenia is halted now and, economic and political conditions in the region are unlikely to stabilize for some years, it is without doubt that Turkey will continue to create new networks of interdependency between Ankara and the regional capitals.

Keywords: Turkish policy, Caucasus, geopolitics, Stability Platform, rapprochement with Armenia, energy policies.

Resumen:

La aparición de los nuevos estados independientes del Cáucaso al final de la guerra fría, presentaba un desafío a Turquía, a la par que le abría las puertas a un papel más extenso. El derrumbe de la Unión Soviética eliminaba la antigua amenaza soviético/rusa, pero al mismo tiempo creaba un vacío de poder en las mismas fronteras de Turquía. En tal escenario, Turquía se conviertió en un actor importante como resultado de sus fuertes vinculaciones históricas. Si bien Turquía evitó implicarse en la política regional, se ha visto irremediablemente envuelta en las volátiles nuevas dinámicas políticas de la región. Tras veinte años, Turquía se ha convertido en uno de los jugadores más importantes en la región donde su implicación ha aumentado especialmente desde agosto del 2008 con su propuesta de establecer una Plataforma de Cooperación y Estabilidad en el Cáucaso. Aunque sus intentos de mejorar las relaciones con Armenia se ven bloqueados y, la situación económica y política en la región no es susceptible de mejorar en los próximos años, no cabe duda de que Turquía seguirá creando nuevas redes de interdependencia entre Ankara y las capitales regionales.

Palabras clave: Política turca, Cáucaso, geopolítica, Plataforma de Estabilidad, acercamiento con Armenia, políticas energéticas.

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1. Introduction

The end of the Cold War with the dissolution of the Soviet Union brought challenges and opportunities for regional and global powers at the beginning of 1990s. Once an outpost of the West against the Soviet Bloc, Turkey found itself at the epicenter of the rapidly changing Eurasian geopolitics and has been cited as an important actor because of its strong historical, cultural, ethnic and linguistic bonds with the newly independent states of Eurasia. The positive role it might play was discussed not only within Turkey but also in the West, whose fear that radical Islam, instigated and/or supported by Iran, might fill the power vacuum that the collapsing Soviet Union left behind in Eurasia, led to a strong encouragement to the newly independent states to adopt a "Turkish model" of secular democracy, combined with a liberal economy.

On the other hand, while the emergence of liberal democracies in Eastern Europe created a buffer zone between Western Europe and Russia, Turkey still felt threatened by the lingering uncertainties regarding its immediate neighborhood, especially in the Caucasus. At this juncture, the emergence of newly independent states beyond its Caucasian border was a challenge. Thus, Turkey felt the urgency of new openings in its foreign and security policies based on advantages of its geo-strategic location bordering the region. After almost two decades of practice, the main lines of Turkish policy that emerged in the first half of 1990s, though not changed much, have started to evolve recently based on a more complex understanding of the regional dynamics. Nevertheless, if one needs to understand basic counters of the current Turkish policies towards the region, the analysis should start from the basic parameters developed earlier.

First of all, Turkey, from the beginning, has strongly endorsed the sovereignty and independence of all the three Caucasian countries. This included calls for reinforcing their political institutions, building up their economic welfare, outside autonomy and internal social accord. Rather than being a simple rhetoric, this was seen as a strategic priority for Turkey's Caucasian policy, closely related to the strategic importance of these states for Turkey, the fears emanated from the competition of external forces for influence over the region, and the fact that any instability there could have easily spilled over into Turkish territory. It has been clear that Turkish decision makers had assumed that if these countries could be empowered enough to resist outside pressure and interventions, then Turkey's historical, political, economic, and strategic regional pull will gently push them towards Turkey's orbit.

Secondly, strengthening national unity and territorial integrity of the three South Caucasian countries were emphasized. Conceiving itself as a *status quo* power, Turkey approaches any change in its surrounding regions as undesirable challenges. As a country that emphasizes unitary state formation internally, Turkey is keen to see surrounding countries to behave in similar fashion. Thus, even peaceful evolutions towards federative structures in its neighborhood are watched apprehensively. Moreover, as a country that is sensitive about its borders and territorial integrity of its nation-state, Turkey opposes changes of borders either through force or otherwise. Finally, as a country that is content with the long-established balances around its borders, Turkey is very sensitive towards attempts to challenge those balances. As most of these balances are based on international agreements or treaties signed in early 1920s, frictions can emerge between Turkey and its neighboring countries that wish to contest the continued validity of these agreements.

As independent countries, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia create a buffer zone between Turkey and its historic rival in the Caucasus: Russia. It was the Czarist Russia and

the Soviet Union the country that threatened Ottoman Empire and Turkey for centuries. At the end of the Cold War, however, for the first time in history, Turkey found itself not sharing a land border with its big neighbor in the north and believed that the best way to reinforce this position was to support the independence, stability and territorial integrity of the newly independent Caucasian states. For similar reasons, Turkey opposed moves from the Russian Federation to stage a political come back to the region, either through socio-economic inroads it had been able to develop or in the form of Russian soldiers on Turkish borders. It was also understood that, so long these states were able to keep their independence and political stability, it would be difficult for the Russian Federation to have a domineering influence over them near the Turkish border. As a result, when the Caucasian countries declared their independence from the Soviet Union, Turkey extended its recognition immediately.[2]

There has also been an understanding in Turkey that stability in these countries, bordering Turkey, would affect Turkey's own security and stability. There is an acute realization that if any of the Caucasian countries scum to instability, it could, if not spill over into Turkey, easily affect its trade and transport relations with a number of countries in the east. It became clear during the early 1990s that, even if Turkey did not wish to be involved in regional conflicts, it was almost impossible for her to be completely aloof from the developments as many Turkish citizens had Caucasian ancestry, thus remained interested in the region, and Turkish public had developed a sense of close kinship especially in the case of Azerbaijan.

Another priority for Turkey has been to turn itself into an energy and transport hub, mainly but not limited to, facilitating transfer of Caspian oil and gas to Europe through shipments from Ceyhan port and via pipelines, as well as air passengers through Istanbul airport. Turkish Airlines was the first international company that started its regular direct flights to regional capitals, and is still the most used company for air passengers towards the west. Besides, the renovation and opening of Batumi Airport, operated by a Turkish company, with Turkish Airlines using it as a national point for Turkish passengers who could fly to and from Batumi without passports on their way to and from nearby Turkish towns, is a novel approach for cooperation in the region.

On the other hand, Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) oil and Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum (BTE) gas pipelines, as well as Blue Stream natural gas pipeline from Russia and all the other planned connections (Kazakh oil to BTC, Turkmen, Iranian and Iraqi gas, further Russian gas through Blue Stream II, and connecting all this to Europe through Nabucco) are aimed making Turkey a regional energy player. However, Turkey has not been alone in the competition. It is not only the oil and gas transit revenues that heighten the interest countries to have pipeline routes pass through their territories. They have been seen by many players as one of the key factors in securing and maintaining influence throughout the region. US determination to undermine Russian influence was a clear strategic goal of the US administration during the BTC negotiations.[3] Moreover, though the shortest pipeline route from Azerbaijan to the Mediterranean is through Armenia, the unresolved Nagorno-Karabakh

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[2] Aydin, Mustafa: "1990–2001 Kafkasya ve Orta Asya'yla Iliskiler," [Relations with Central Asia and the Caucasus, 1990–2001], in Oran, Baskin (ed.) (2002), *Turk Dis Politikasi, Kurtulus Savasindan Bugune Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar*, [Turkish Foreign Policy, Facts, Documents and Comments since the War of Independence], Istanbul, Iletisim, p. 406.

[3] For American policy towards the region and its implications for Turkey, see Erhan, Cagrı: "ABD'nin Orta Asya Politikalari ve 11 Eylul Sonrasi Acilimlari" [US Policy towards Central Asia and Changes since September 11], in Aydin, Mustafa (ed.) (2004): *KüreselPolitika'da Orta Asya* [Central Asia in Global Politics], Ankara, Siyasal.

conflict made this route unrealizable. Coupled with the US opposition to passing the pipeline through Iran, this left Georgia as the only possible route for the western pipeline. While the historical and cultural ties facilitates establishment of closer economic and political relations between Turkey, Azerbaijan and Georgia, they have become strategic partners with the pipeline politics.

Beyond deriving economic benefits from hosting outlets for the region's hydrocarbon reaches, Turkey hoped that such connections would create interdependences in the region that could strengthen Turkey's standing in this troubled neighborhood. Moreover, the Caucasus was also considered as an important gateway of Turkey to Central Asian Turkic world and beyond, thus needed o be secure and stable.

Another aim has been to encourage the economic, political, social and security sector transformation of the Caucasian countries and their integration into the wider European (western) structures. It was thought that this would create inroads for Turkey in the region and with its economic weight, would eventually position Turkey as the more influential regional player. In fact, with the support of its strong construction companies that are busy building roads, airports and other infrastructure, as well as trading and operating companies, Turkey has already become the biggest trade partner of both Georgia and Azerbaijan. It has also become the second biggest investor in Georgia, having build road networks and a couple of airport terminals, as well as investing in a glass factory, cell phone and airport operation businesses, and numerous small-to-medium scale companies. Although the land border with Armenia is currently closed to traffic, trade is booming between the two countries, mainly through Georgia. According to reports in the Turkish press and by Armenian sources, approximately 400 trucks per month passing to Georgia are actually destined to Armenia, and there are about 10.000 Armenians engaged in so-called "luggage trade" with Turkey, as well about 40.000 Armenians working in Turkey, mostly illegally, and sending back remittances.

Development of bilateral relations also had a vital importance to Turkey in order to increase its benevolent influence in the region. Linking to the region as much as possible could have brought Turkey strategic and economic gains as well as increasing its prestige in world politics. Moreover, when Turkey proceed to establish closer bilateral relations with the regional countries, it became immediately clear that Turkey had much in common with them, not only with the Azerbaijanis but also with Georgians and Armenians. Thus, even though historical, cultural and in same cases linguistic connections, real or imagined, were the driving forces behind Turkey's earlier active involvement in the region, Ankara's attitude was thus based more on pragmatic economic and foreign policy considerations.[4]

In its policy towards the region, another important element for Turkey to take into consideration has been the position and policies of the Russian Federation. Although Russia was briefly out of the games played in the Caucasus, its 'near abroad' policy, announced at the end of 1993, had clearly indicated its continuing interests in the former-Soviet states of Central Asia and the Caucasus, and its later economic and political recovery brought Russia back into the play.[5] Turkey, on the other hand, while it had the support of the West, especially of the US, did not possess the adequate economic resources and political power to compete

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[4] Aydin, Mustafa: "Foucault's Pendulum: Turkey in Central Asia and the Caucasus," *Turkish Studies*, vol. 5, no. 2 (Summer 2004), p. 4.

[5] Tuncer, Idil: "Rusya Federasyonu'nun Yeni Guvenlik Doktrini: Yakin Cevre ve Turkiye" [The New Security Doctrine of Russian Federation: Near Abroad and Turkey], in Ozcan, Gencer and Sule Kut (eds.) (2000): *En Uzun Onyil, Turkiye'nin Ulusal Guvenlik ve Dis Politika Gundeminde Doksanli Yillar* [The Longest Decade; 1990s in Turkey's National Security and Foreign Policy Agenda], Istanbul, Buke, pp. 435–460.

with Russia. As a result, Turkey, since 1994, became more conscious of the dangers of confrontation with RF and adopted a policy of stressing the benefits of cooperation and co-existence with Russia, with increasing trade and political connections following.[6]

2. AKP Government and Turkey´s Relations with the Caucasian Countries

In the general elections of 3 November 2002, Justice and Development Party *(AKP–Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi)* got the 34.28% of the general votes and 363 seats in the parliament. Even though the general lines of Turkish policy towards the Caucasian states remained unchanged, domestic and global developments affected the priorities of the AKP government and its attitude towards the region. When it came to power, questions were raised about Turkey's commitments towards the region. There were speculations that AKP would not be as strongly predisposed towards closer relations with the Caucasian and Central Asian republics as their predecessors had been because of its holistic Islamic rhetoric. Indeed, instead of highlighting the historical and cultural ties with the region, the AKP government has since preferred to focus on the development of economic relations especially on pipeline projects.[7] However, it also has become clear that the apparent non-interest of the AKP government towards the region was prompted by the intense agenda of the government with international and domestic developments such as the US intervention in Iraq, ups and downs in Turkish-EU relations, Cyprus-related domestic discussions, the PKK terror, Kurdish issue and lastly the possibility of closure of the AKP.

Only one area in which the AKP government was seen interested in was the energy issue where it pursued an active policy to bring alternative resources to Turkey for both Turkish consumption and in transit to Europe through Turkey. The idea of Turkey becoming a "regional energy hub" was given much support and Turkey undertook policies designed to strengthen its connections to Caspian resources through Georgia and Azerbaijan.

Another idea that affected AKP's Caucasian policy has been the initiative that Turkey, among others, should have its own "neighborhood policy" based on "zero-problem with neighbors" and "region-based foreign policy" principles. These were formulated towards the middle of the first AKP government and came to signify its foreign policy understanding. Accordingly, Turkey's foreign policy under AKP has seen a refocusing on regional matters from 2006 onwards. In this, Turkey's inability to make a substantial progress in the negotiations with the EU, American operation in Iraq and its repercussions, as well as AKP's own general preferences have played a role. In the end, there has been a substantial activity in Turkey's policies and involvement in the Middle East in general but a clear lack of activity in other regions, including the Caucasus, until after the July 2007 general elections.

With this background, 2007 was an interesting and difficult year for the Turkish politics in terms of both domestic and international developments. In addition to general and presidential elections, relations with the EU, developments in Cyprus and the Middle East continued to occupy the political agenda of the Turkish policy-makers.

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[6] Aydin, "Foucault's Pendulum…", op. cit., pp. 8–9.
[7] His supporters cite Recep Tayyib Erdoğan's visit to Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan in January 2003 even before becoming prime minister, as proof of his interest in the region. See Katik, Mevlut: "Turkish Party leader Seeks favor in Central Asia," *EurasiaNet Business and Economic*, January 14, 2003, at http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/business/articles/eav011403_pr.shtml.

Presidential elections, related political and constitutional crisis, and the following early general elections kept Turkey busy for most of the 2007. A severe political crisis started in the Parliament in April 2007 with the candidacy of Abdullah Gul, then the foreign minister, for presidency that led to the general elections of July 22. It ended with the victory of the AKP, obtaining 46,7 % of the total votes[8] After the elections, multiple political crises continued to rock the country one after another, culminating in a closure case against the AKP at the Constitutional Court, which took another 8 months to resolve. As a result of these multiple domestic political crises, the government became hesitant to take pretentious steps in foreign policy, including towards the Caucasus, throughout 2007.

However, once these multiple crises were somewhat contained and especially after the August 2008 crisis between Georgia and Russia, which showed once again the very volatile nature of the region, Turkey started to pay more attention to the regional developments and came with its own initiative regarding the future of the Caucasus: The Caucasus Stability and Economic Cooperation Platform, bringing together Turkey and Russia with the three Caucasian states. Although it was not an altogether new idea, the Platform initiative has been the only proposal since the end of the hostilities that took a long term view and region-wide approach. Almost impossible to realize in the short term due to hot scars in the region, it provided necessary background to Turkey's opening towards Armenia in 2009.

There was one important initiative that took place in 2007 despite AKP government's general inactivity in the Caucasus. The lack of political relations between Turkey and Armenia and the closed situation of Turkish-Armenian border since 1993 have been creating problems for Turkey's relations with the Caucasus and its link with Central Asian countries. However, it has also forced Turkey to search alternative ways for the development of its ties with the rest of the Caucasian and Central Asian countries. The routes of the BTE natural gas and BTC oil pipelines were chosen as a result of this search and appeared as successful projects. Obviously, the realization of these projects had effects on regional development and security going far beyond the energy sector.[9] In the same lieu, another project had been developed and an agreement was signed between Turkey, Georgia and Azerbaijan to construct an international railroad connection between them, bypassing Armenia and linking Turkey with these countries as well as Central Asia.

In fact, a railroad corridor linking Europe to Asia had already existed passing through Turkey and Armenia and brunching out to three different lines from then onwards.[10] However, this railroad link was disused as a result of border closure and thus the railroad connection between Turkey and Asia was routed through Iran, which created many logistical problems as well as political complications. Thus to establish a rail connection between Kars and Tbilisi was proposed as an alternative first in July 1993 during a Turkish-Georgian Transportation Commission meeting in Ankara.[11] Azerbaijan joined in the meetings of the Commission from 2004 onwards and the project was enlarged to become Kars-Tbilisi-Baku railroad connection.

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[8] Merkezi, Haber: "Gül'ün Cumhurbaşkanlığı Neler Getirecek?", *Bianet,*28 de agosto 2007, at http://www.bianet.org/bianet/kategori/bianet/101422/gulun-cumhurbaskanligi-neler-getirecek.
[9] Gaudiano, M.: "Can Energy Security Cooperation Help Turkey, Georgia, and Azerbaijan to Strenghten Western Oriented Links?", *NATO Defense College Academic Research Branch Research Note,* no. 5 (June 2007), pp. 1–2.
[10] Kanbolat, Hasan: "Kafkasya'da Demir Ipek Yolu" [Iron Silk Road in the Caucasus], *Stratejik Analiz* (March 2007), p. 63.
[11] Kanbolat, Hasan: "Turkiye Kafkasya'ya Demir Aglarla Baglanacak mi?" [Will Turkey be bound to the Caucasus by Iron Networks], *Stratejik Analiz*, no. 65 (September 2005), p. 57.

The project aimed to create direct railroad transportation between Turkey, Georgia and Azerbaijan in order to facilitate and increase the overland transportation between Turkey and the Caucasus and between Europe and Asia through Turkey without the need to pass through Iran. The strongest opposition to the project understandably came from Armenia and Armenian Diaspora around the world since the project would have further isolated Armenia in the region both strategically and economically. The Russian Federation was not also in favor of the project since it would have contributed to the development of economic and strategic relations between Turkey, Georgia and Azerbaijan as well as increasing Turkey's influence in the regional politics. Nevertheless, the trilateral declaration of intention to build the Kars-Tbilisi-Baku Railroad Connection was signed in Baku on May 25, 2005 by the heads of states of Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey.[12] Although the implementation of the project was somewhat slowed down as a result of financial and political obstacles, the framework agreement was finally signed in February 2007 by the Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan and the heads of states of Azerbaijan and Georgia, aiming to conclude the project by 2010.[13]

In the meantime, BTE gas pipeline became operational in March 2007 with the delivery of gas from Shah Deniz of Azerbaijan, which effectively ended Georgia's gas dependency on Russia and provided an alternative source to Turkey.[14] In fact, natural gas that was destined to Turkey was initially diverted to Georgia, in agreement with Turkey, when Georgia was experiencing gas shortages due to its heightened tension with Russia and latter's retaliation with stopping delivery of gas in the winter of 2007.

In addition to advantages the project brought to the relations of the three countries and their strategic importance to each other, it also showed an important alternative route for gas transportation to Europe and enabled Turkey to start dreaming about becoming an energy corridor. In this, Turkey was also emboldened by the construction and operation of the BTC oil pipeline, which had became operational in 2006 even before the BTE. Under the BTC project, which had the support of the US from the very beginning with the prospect that "it would secure Turkey's role as a major player in the Caspian region" as well as providing an alternative route for the Caspian oil bypassing both Russia and Iran, oil entered Turkey on 17 November 2005 and the first export from Ceyhan was realized on 4 June 2006.[15]

Another pipeline project that captured the attention of the world at large has been the *Nabucco* project linking natural gas resources of Azerbaijan and possibly Iran, Iraq and Turkmenistan to Europe. After many delays and discontent, an intergovernmental agreement and a joint declaration was signed between Turkey, Austria, Bulgaria and Hungary, and witnessed by the representatives of other countries on 13 July 2009, providing a legal framework and highlighting the intention of these countries to build the pipeline.[16] The planned 3.300 kilometer pipeline, expected to cost some 7.9 billion euros and to carry 31 billion cubic meters of gas annually by the end of the decade, is planned to come online in 2014.

[12] Kanbolat, "Kafkasya'da Demir Ipek Yolu...", *op. cit.,* p. 66.

[13] "Bakü-Tiflis-Kars Demiryolu Canlanıyor", *Haber,* 19 september 2007, at http://www.haberler.com/baku-tiflis-kars-demiryolu-canlaniyor-haberi/

[14] *USAK Stratejik Gündem,* at http://www.usakgundem.com/haber.php?id=11034; and *Turkish Weekly,* at http://www.turkishweekly.net/news.php?id=45736.

[15] Aydin, Mustafa (2000): *New Geopolitics of Central Asia and the Caucasus*, Ankara, Center for Strategic Research, p. 70. For detailed information about the historical progress of the BTC pipeline project, see Http://www.btc.com.tr/proje.html.

[16] "EU Countries sign geopolitical Nabucco agreement", *EurActiv*, 14 July 2009, at http://www.euractiv.com/en/energy/eu-countries-sign-geopolitical-nabucco-agreement/article-184062.

Although the Nabucco agreement was hailed as an alternative gas route bypassing Russia in the wider energy game, the picture convoluted again when Turkey signed several agreements with the visiting Russian premier Vladimir Putin on August 7, 2009, witnessed also by the Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi who came just for the occasion.[17] With these agreements Turkey allowed Russia to start a feasibility study on Turkish economic zone in the Black Sea regarding the South Stream gas pipeline project, which many consider as direct competitor to proposed *Nabucco* line. There was also an agreement to build a new oil pipeline between Black Sea and Mediterranean costs of Turkey to transport Russian oil to the Mediterranean on to Israel, Red Sea and eventually to carry it to India.

Although the picture regarding energy deals signed by Turkey or proposed pipelines going through or around Turkey looks rather confusing, as a result of all these projects, Turkey, by the middle of 2009, was able to position itself successfully once again between the energy producing countries of the east and energy hungry countries of the west. The political implications of these projects and their effects in Caucasian politics would no doubt be felt in coming years if not in months.

3. Recent Developments and Repositioning of Turkish Policies

The August 2008 crisis has affected Turkish politics towards the Caucasus in multiple ways and has forced it to reconsider its approach. The conflict showed clearly that the "frozen" conflicts of the Caucasus were not so frozen and could ignite at any moment. Thus, given the heavy military procurements of involved parties, simply waiting the problems to solve themselves out was not an option. Moreover, Russia gave a clear indication of its intentions regarding regional hotspots in case of opening a second round of warfare. Finally, Turkey realized that, unless it became active and somehow pacify the region, the Caucasus will easily succumb to instability and oblivion, a situation that does not tune with Turkish political, economic and security interests.

Although Turkey's bilateral economic and political relations with Azerbaijan and Georgia continue to improve, its overall Caucasian policies seem to be convoluted by the developments beyond Turkey's control.

3. 1. Bilateral Relations with Georgia

Turkey's relations with Georgia since its independence continued to develop within the framework of good friendship and strategic partnership. The two countries had formed the skeleton of gas and oil pipelines which have became alternatives to the routes passing through either Iran or Russia. By providing more secure alternative routes for Europe and the US, and contributing to the stability of the region, development of bilateral relations between Turkey and Georgia in every field have been supported by the West. Since its establishment, Turkey has been supporting Georgia's territorial integrity, stability, independence, as well as modernization and strengthening of its ties with the West. Since the "Rose Revolution", Georgia's relations with NATO have improved rapidly under the Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP) which laid out the detailed program of cooperation between NATO and

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[17] "Yuzyilin anlasmalari imzalandi" [Contracts of the century were signed], *HaberTürk* daily, 7 August 2009, http://www.haberturk.com/ekonomi/haber/163699-Yuzyilin-anlasmalari-imzalandi.aspx.

Georgia.[18] Turkey has been one of the countries supporting Georgia's NATO membership as well as helping Georgia to reform its armed forces to match the NATO standards.

Besides their political relations, economic relations between Turkey and Georgia have improved rapidly, with Turkey becoming both biggest trade partner and second biggest investor in Georgia, leading to a Free Trade Agreement between the two countries in 2007.[19] Moreover, Turkish companies took an important role in developing Georgian infrastructure, forming 23 % of the total foreign investment to that country.[20]

Since 2004, the foreign investments in Georgia also started to show a sharp rise as a result of economic reforms and privatization of state assets; thus the foreign direct investment in 2007 reached to $ 1.5 billion from $ 1 billion of the previous year.[21] Turkish companies took an important role in this increase. In 2004, their investment in Georgia formed the 23 % of the total foreign investment to that country, most of which were in the fields of telecommunication, manufacturing, harbor management, glass packaging and water bottling.[22] Since 2006, Turkish companies stepped up their operations in Georgia adding important construction bids to their portfolio.[23] In addition to direct investments, Turkish businesses contribute to the Georgian economy "no less than $500 million annually in value added tax, no less than $ 200 million in income tax and no less than $ 200 million on income tax on the payroll."[24]

The increasingly vital and close economic and political relations reached a new level in March 2007, when the movement of people between the two countries was enhanced by lifting visa application for 90 day-stays and opening the Batumi airport, which was built and will be operated by a Turkish company (TAV) for the next 20 years, as a domestic destination for the Turkish citizens. According to the agreement, Turkish Airlines will fly to Batumi from Istanbul, and then Turkish passengers will be transported by bus to nearby Turkish towns passing the border without a passport or visa. Moreover, Sarp/Sarpi border gate between the two countries was started to be renovated and expanded, which was expected to finish in a year time, allowing increased and easier connection between Turkish and Georgian societies as well as increasing tourism.

While economic and political relations between Turkey and Georgia continued to improve, the uneasy situation in Georgia caused by the Abkhazia dispute stayed unsolved and somewhat colored Turkey's relations with Georgia. Even though Turkey continued to support the territorial integrity of Georgia, it also pushed for a peaceful resolution of the dispute. Even tough Turkey attempted to bring to sides together and offered alternative openings, the existence of both Georgian and North Caucasian origin Turkish citizens complicated Turkey's stance, creating suspicions on both sides, thus preventing repeated Turkish attempts to create

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[18] For detailed information about Georgia–NATO relations, see http://www.nato.int/issues/nato-georgia/index.html.
[19] http://www.state.gov/e/eeb/ifd/2008/100871.htm.
[20] Yalcin, Serkan: "Turkish Investments in Georgia and Azerbaijan: Recent Trends and Future Prospects", *Caucaz* (03 September 2006), at http://www.caucaz.com/home_eng/breve_contenu.php?id=259.
[21] "FACTBOX - Georgia's foreign investment booms", *Reuters* (06 January 2008), at http://uk.reuters.com/article/topNews/idUKL0354894120080106.
[22] Yalcin, Serkan: "Turkish Investments in Georgia and Azerbaijan: Recent Trends and Future Prospects" http://www.caucaz.com/home_eng/breve_contenu.php?id=259.
[23] For the detailed investment graphics of foreign investors in Georgia, see: *Investor,* no. 1 (February-March, 2008), at http://www.investor.ge/issues/2008_1/08.htm.
[24] *Ibid.*

a platform for peaceful resolution to bear fruit. What is more, Turkey faced an increasingly volatile home ground as both Georgian and North Caucasian Diasporas living in Turkey have become more vocal in recent years in their demands from the successive governments to take action benefitting their kin across the border in the Caucasus. This forced Turkey to be even more cautious in its dealings with Georgia.

The August 2008 crisis showed the weaknesses and limitations of Turkey with regard to these problems. When Georgia and Russia started exchanging fires, Turkey found its policy options limited on three grounds. First of all, Turkish government was lobbied by Turkish citizens of Georgian and North Caucasian origins, both sides wishing to stir Turkey towards their supported causes. An interesting development was to see both sides demonstrating on Turkish streets about something that Turkey did not have much to resolve. Secondly, Turkey was pressed between its strategically important partner Georgia and economically and politically important neighbor Russia. Territorial integrity of Georgia was important to and was propped up by Turkey for various political, strategic, psychological and historic reasons, while Russia has become an important trade and political partner to Turkey in recent years. Thirdly, Turkey was squeezed between the demands of its newly emerging partner, Russian Federation, and long-term allies, the US and NATO countries. Faced with all these pressures, Turkey's initial reaction to the crisis was quite mute, while it became rather active later on with Prime Minister Erdogan's direct involvement and his Platform idea. Though the idea did not make much headway, it prepared the ground for Turkish-Armenian reconnection. The crisis also showed once again that the volatile nature of the Caucasus could at any time create further hot conflicts and exacerbated the old ones while making it harder all the time to Turkey to remain aloof or develop and implement alternative policies.

3.2. Bilateral Relations with Armenia

Armenia has been the only Caucasian country with which Turkey's bilateral relations, up until very recently, did not show serious improvement. While there was an understanding on both sides to develop relations in the early 1990s, it is replaced by the mid-1990s with a suspicion and distrust as a result of regional and domestic developments on both sides and the historical baggage that the two countries bring into their current relationship. As a result, the land border between them remains closed and the diplomatic relations has not yet been established, although air connections expanded significantly in recent years and dialogue on the civil society level has lately started to develop.

The already complex nature of the relations between the two countries is further complicated by the fact that third parties have a stake in the continuation of the stalemate. On the one hand, Armenian Diaspora, having developed a group identity around the 1915 events, continues in its effort trying to isolate Turkey internationally, Azerbaijan on the other hand resents any move on the Turkish side to improve its relations with Armenia so long as the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict remains unsolved.

However, after the assassination of Hrant Dink, a prominent and outspoken Turkish citizen of Armenian origin, on 19 January 2007, an interesting thawing process in the relationship, similar to the rapprochement experienced in Turkish-Greek relations after the earthquakes hit both countries in 1999, started to develop.[25] Even though a successful solution of the disagreements between the two states did not yet come out of this thaw, important

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[25] Deveci Bozkus, Yildiz: "Hrant Dink Suikasti Sonrasi Turk-Ermeni Iliskilerinde Olasi Gelismeler" [Possible Developments in Turkish-Armenian Relations after Hrank Dink Assassination], *Stratejik Analiz* (March 2007), p. 10.

human-to-human connections and dialogue between the Turkish and Armenian civil societies appeared. Continuation of Nagorno-Karabakh dispute, mystery surrounding the (non)recognition of the border between the two states as it was drawn with the Kars Treaty of 1921, closure of the border crossing, claims and counter-claims regarding the 1915 events, and the activities of the Armenian Diaspora with the support of the Armenian government for international recognition of these events, as genocide continue to color the relations between the two states.

Although Armenia countered Turkish proposal to establish an international history commission to investigate the events of the turn of the century with its own proposal to establish alternative commissions to discus various outstanding issues between the two countries once the diplomatic relationship has been normalized, neither side by the end of 2007 agreed to other's proposals. Opposing voices of Armenian Diaspora and Turkish nationalists were enough to stall the process, though both sides seemed to be in agreement in continuation of often rumored secretive talks between the low level officials of their foreign ministries. Moreover, discussions over Turkish history in general and Turkish-Armenian relations in particular have tentatively started in Turkey among academics and experts, which would no doubt in time help to further the understanding between the two peoples.

Another interesting development took place in 2007, when Turkey decided to restore and later, in March 2007, open the historical Armenian Church in Akdamar, Van, as a museum at the end of restoration works. For the opening ceremony of the museum, an Armenian committee came to Turkey through Georgia, though expected visit of the Armenian Foreign Minister or the Minister of Culture to commemorate the opening did not take place, thereby loosing another chance to further the thawing process.[26] The Armenian Patriarch in Istanbul, Mesrob Mutafyan, on the other hand expressed his pleasure for the restoration of the church in its original form and called again for the improvement of the relationship between the two countries.[27]

The problematic relations with Turkey and Azerbaijan as well as its isolation from the enhanced cooperation in the region have been negatively affecting the economic recovery of Armenia. The worsening conditions send many Armenians to search employment in the neighboring countries. As a result, even though the land border still remained closed, some forty thousands Armenians came to Turkey by the end of 2006 for employment.[28] By the end of 2007, Turkish officials were regularly quoting a figure of seventy thousand regarding Armenian citizens working illegally in Turkey.[29] Besides providing jobs and livelihood for the families of these workers, this illegal but "condoned" immigration has further created opportunities of contact between ordinary Armenians and Turks.

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[26] There were news on te Turkish press that this kind of a high level attendance by an Armenian minister to the opening cermony was expected by the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a tit-for-tat response for Turkey's "goodwill gesture" to restore and open the former church as a museum. When the Armenian side did not reciprocated in kind, it created a bitter taste as it strenghtened the hands of those groups that oppose any kind of improvement of relations with Armenia and also led to a perception within the Foreign Ministry that Armenia was not at the time interested in improving the relaionship. See: "Akdamar Kilisesi'nin açılışı yapıldı", *NTV;MSN; NBC,* 30 March 2007, at http://arsiv.ntvmsnbc.com/news/403946.asp.
[27] *Ibıd.*
[28] *Economist,* 17 November 2006.
[29] http://www.cagdaskitap.netteyim.net/haber/Siyaset/turkiyede_kac_kacak_ermeni_isci_var-haberi-11356.html; and "Ermeniler: Türk patronlar iyi", *Milliyet,* 18 Kasim 2006, at http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2006/11/18/siyaset/siy09.html.

In addition, although, according to Turkish official sources, there is no trade connection between the two countries, trade through third countries is steadfastly increasing. Especially trade through Georgia seemed to reach significant levels, indicating that if the border between the two countries is opened for direct connections, the trade would substantially increase and Turkey might easily become, as in Georgia and Azerbaijan, the biggest trade partner of Armenia. It is argued that the indirect trade volume through third parties have already reached over $100 million, and according to Turkish-Armenian Business Development Council, in case of development of political relations, could easily reach $ 400-500 million.

Under these circumstances, the political relations has taken an interesting turn when newly elected Armenian president Serzh Sarkisyan invited president Abdullah Gul to watch the football game between Turkish and Armenian nationals team played in Yerevan on 6 September 6 2008. President Gul's acceptance of the invitation and later his travel to Yerevan in a first-ever visit of a Turkish Head of State marked an interesting watershed in Turkish-Armenian relations, raising hopes for reconciliation and supplying necessary political push for the long time secretive talks between Turkish and Armenian officials to normalize the relationship. The initiative seemed to pave the way to Turkish-Armenian framework agreement towards reconciliation on 22 April 2009. The brief statement, posted on web sites of both Turkish and Armenian foreign ministries said that "the two parties have achieved tangible progress and … have agreed on a comprehensive framework for the normalization of their bilateral relations."[30] However, Azerbaijani reaction towards opening the Turkish-Armenian border without improvement on Karabakh created a strong backlash in Turkey, forcing Prime Minister Erdoğan to put a break to developments when he visited Baku on 13 May 2009, and announce that Turkey will not proceed to open its land border with Armenia unless the latter end the occupation of Azerbaijani territory.[31] By the time Turkey and Armenia were ready to announce on 31st August that they agreed on two protocols and would sign them in due time, it seems that Turkey was able to explain its position better to Azerbaijan. As a result the Azerbaijani reactions were more muted this time round and Turkey signed the protocols on 10 October 2009, though it was made clear inside the country that the government would not try to force the ratification of the protocols by the Turkish Parliament, where majority still opposed such a move unless positive developments were seen towards the solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute.

After the signature of the protocols, President Sarkisyan of Armenia visited Turkey, attending the second football game between Turkish and Armenian national teams on 14th October. Apart from creating an opportunity to further engage with his Turkish counterpart, Sarkisyan became the first Armenian President to officially visit Turkey since President Ter Petrosian came to Turkey in 1993 attend the funeral of late Turkish President Turgut Ozal. After the signature of the protocols and Sarkisyan's trip to Turkey, the two sides started to engage their own publics and tried to explain what the protocols contained. On the Armenian side, the "public" also included Armenian Diaspora in various countries. In their efforts, while Turkey was trying to show that the improvement of the relationship was internally linked to movement on the Karabakh issue, Armenia was adamant in proving that there was no connection whatsoever. These two positions obviously did not match and it was inevitable

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[30] Recknagel, C.: "Turkey, Armenia Announce Framework For Normalizing Ties", *RFE/RL*, at http://www.rferl.org/content/Turkey_Says_Agrees_Framework_For_Ties_With_Armenia/1614312.html; and Sheridan, M. B.: "Turkey and Armenia in Broad Accord", *Washington Post*, 23 April 2009, at http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/04/22/AR2009042203888.html.

[31] "Prime Minister Erdogan puts Baku's Armenia concerns to rest", *Today's Zaman,* 14 May 2009, at http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/detaylar.do?load=detay&link=175222.

that the process would be halted if no other way out could be found. The process was further dealt a blow by the decision of the Armenian Constitutional Court on 12 January 2010, which, according to Turkish side, undermined the spirit of the protocols. Then on February 25, the Armenian Parliament passed a resolution allowing its President to withdraw his signature from any agreement he had signed. Finally, the process were officially halted when in late April Armenian side announced that they would withdraw the protocols from the Parliament and would not submit them again until Turkey had approved them.

3.3. Bilateral Relations with Azerbaijan

Like the relations with Georgia, Turkey's relations with Azerbaijan have been rapidly developing since its independence. Having cultural, linguistic and historical ties as important driving forces, Turkish-Azeri relations have easily developed not only in terms of strategic, economic and military relations deriving from national interests but also in terms of cultural and social relations of the two societies, putting a sense of reality to late Heydar Aliyev's pronouncement that Turkey and Azerbaijan came to constitute one nation-two states.

First of all, Turkey and Azerbaijan have been strategic allies in the region since the latter's independence, which was enhanced by the establishment of Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum Gas Pipeline and Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Oil Pipeline connections. In addition, Azerbaijan's cooperation with Georgia and Turkey for the enlargement of the railroad form Tbilisi to Baku clearly shows its eagerness for further development of strategic and economic relations between the three.

Turkey's political standing in Azerbaijan in recent years seemed to improve with the strong support that Ilham Aliyev's government received from Turkey, as well as Turkey's continuing supportive position regarding the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. Upon passing away of former Azerbaijani President Heydar Aliyev, Turkey came to realize that stability in Azerbaijan would better be served by a continuity of the regime and thus supported, alongside the US, his son's elevation to power. Since then Ilham Aliyev proved to be a willing partner in further improving the relationship between two countries. He even went as far to allow direct flights from Baku to Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus when a showing of an international support for Turkish case was needed.

Economic relations have also been booming, with the trade volumes recording an average yearly increase of 40% since 2003 that reached over $1.2 billion in 2007, making Turkey the biggest trade partner of Azerbaijan.[32] While the trade volume increases generally favors Turkey, its import of oil and gas from Azerbaijan have been steadily increasing and Turkey has become the biggest investor in Azerbaijan in non-energy fields. Turkish investments in non-energy fields in 2007 reached to $ 2,5 billion while the investments in energy sector is also around those volumes which brings total Turkish investment in Azerbaijan close to $ 5 billion.[33] 1200 Turkish companies work in various sectors in Azerbaijan from telecommunication to transportation, confection, marketing, furniture, banking, and building construction. An interesting development in 2007 to watch was the settlement of a former Azerbaijani shipping magnet, Mubariz Mansimov, into Turkey together

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[32] "Türkiye-Azerbaycan Ekonomik İlişkileri", *Turkey's Ministry of Foreign Affairs,* at http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-azerbaycan-ekonomik-iliskileri.tr.mfa
[33] *Ibid.*

with planning to move his business headquarters to Istanbul after receiving Turkish citizenship.[34]

Turkish-Azeri relations have also been developing in education and cultural fields. Azeri students are coming to Turkey for education, and young diplomats are receiving training in Turkey organized by the Turkish Ministry for Foreign Affairs.[35] Turkey was a strong supporter of the program to re-introduce the usage of Latin alphabet in Azerbaijan, preparing and sending textbooks, thus bringing two countries' usage of the "Turkish" language even closer. While Turkish TV channels are easily and widely followed in Azerbaijan, there already exist 15 middle schools and 11 high schools as well as a university in Azerbaijan opened with direct Turkish investment and contribution.[36] These types of cultural activities encourage closer relations between general publics, contributing and supplementing political relations.

However, the relationship has increasingly came under stress from April 2009 onwards as Turkey's opening towards Armenia started to take shape, creating constraints in Turkish-Azerbaijani relationship. As indicated above, after various shows of displeasure by Azerbaijan, Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan visited Baku in May 2009 and assured his Azerbaijani hosts about Turkey's intentions and overall support to their position on Karabakh problem.[37] Although this visit and following political developments in Turkey and the region have hampered Turkey's rapprochement with Armenia, the relationship with Azerbaijan, which could still be classified as strategic partnership, is stabilized. Having cultural, linguistic and historical affinities as important driving forces, Turkish-Azeri relations have easily developed not only in terms of strategic, economic and military relations deriving from national interests but also in terms of cultural and social relations of the two societies.

4. Conclusions

The collapse of the USSR has been a mixed blessing for Turkey. While the century-old Soviet/Russian threat to Turkey's security has disappeared, the vacuum created by this departure in the Eurasia has become the breeding ground on Turkey's borders for potential risks and threats for regional security, because of the deep tensions between mixed national groups, contested borders, economic difficulties, and competition of outsiders for influence.

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[34] With his 129 ships, Mansimov's company Palmali is rumored to be within top five operators in world maritime transportation. His group's main operation area though appears to be oil transportation and Palmali handles 75% of all Russian oil transportation between Black Sea and the Medditerranean. Apart from moving his headquarters of maritime operations, Mansimov is reported to preparing to invest in health, education, trousim, construction and avitiation sectors in Turkey. See http://www.patronlardunyasi.com/news_detail.php?id=34674. (12.07.2008). Mansimov was not only Azeri-origin businessmen though to operate in Turkey. For details see "Arap ve Ruslar'dan sonra Azeri petrodoları da akıyor", *Star,* 26 Ocak 2008, at
 http://www.stargazete.com/ekonomi/arap-ve-ruslar-8217-dan-sonra-azeri-petrodolari-da-akiyor-84251.htm and "Türkiye`nin Abramoviç`i olma yolunda", *Tümgazateler,* 19 May 2008, at
http://www.tumgazeteler.com/?a=2861627.
[35] http://azerbaycan.ihh.org.tr/uluslararasi/azerbaycanturkiye.html .
[36] *Ibid.*
[37] "Prime Minister Erdogan puts Baku's Armenia concerns to rest", *Today's Zaman,* 14 Mayıs 2009, http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/detaylar.do?load=detay&link=175222.

It is clear that Turkey has undergone a dramatic shift away from its traditional policy of isolationism since the end of the Cold War, and that Turkish foreign policy is increasingly focusing on the Caucasus, alongside other surrounding regions. Even if Turkey's initial vision towards wider Eurasia proved somewhat unrealistic, the effects it generated did set the tone for Turkish policy for the rest of the 1990s and early 2000s. While Turkey has not necessarily become the model to which the new states of Eurasia aspire, its thriving private sector, its secular approach toward religion and its functioning democracy continue to have their appeal in the region.

The emergence of independent republics in the Caucasus represented a turning point in Turkey's regional role and policies. Turkey has become one of the important players in a region where it previously had only a marginal influence and no active involvement. Although economic and political conditions in the region are unlikely to stabilize for some years, it is without doubt that Turkish policymakers will continue with their efforts to create new networks of interdependency between Ankara and the regional capitals. It is also clear that the tensions in the region will continue to be a contributing factor for Turkish security planning.

There are a number of challenges that need to be tackled before any country, including Turkey, could operate fruitfully in the region. In view of continued potential for conflicts and overarching difficulties, Turkey tries to follow a multi-layered and multi-dimensional policy in the region in order to realize its stated goals. Whether Turkey will be successful in its new opening and retuning of its policies towards the region is still an open question and will depend on various regional and international developments, sometimes beyond the control of Turkey or the regional countries. In this limited opportunity environment, Turkey, by creating innovative solutions to regional problems and by putting the region into a wider context, can contribute to a creation of a larger geography where stable countries cooperate with each other in multilateral conventions as well as in their bilateral relationships. Various Turkish initiatives in and around the Black Sea and the Caucasus promises to do so. Their positive results will have multiplying impact all around, just as negative results will have repercussions in much wider area.

THE RUBIK´S CUBE OF TURKEY – ARMENIA RELATIONS

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Abstract:

"Secret talks" and diplomatic efforts towards "normalizing relations" – which is a term commonly used to refer to the establishment of diplomatic relations and the opening of the common border – have continued on and off between Turkey and Armenia since the latter's independence in the Fall of 1991. These efforts culminated with the signing of two protocols in October 2009, establishing diplomatic relations and paving the way to start examining their troubled history. The initiative attracted much public attention and came close to change the nature of the bilateral relations. This article examines the main sticking points between the two countries, the incentives for reconciliation on both sides, and the reasons why the recent efforts came as far as they did – as well as why a stalemate has ensued since then.

Keywords: Turkey, Armenia, "normalizing relations", "secret talks".

Resumen:

Las "conversaciones secretas" y los esfuerzos democráticos para la "normalización de relaciones" (que es un término comúnmente usado para referirse al establecimiento de relaciones diplomáticas y la apertura de la frontera común) han proseguido intermitentemente entre Turquía y Armenia desde la independencia de ésta última en otoño de 1991. Tales esfuerzos culminaron con la firma de dos protocolos en octubre del 2009, estableciéndose relaciones diplomáticas y estableciendo el camino para empezar a examinar su turbulenta historia. La iniciativa atrajo mucha atención pública y estuvo cerca de cambiar la naturaleza de las relaciones bilaterales. Este artículo examina los principales puntos de encuentro entre los dos países, las iniciativas de reconciliación a ambos lados y las razones por las que los esfuerzos actuales llegaron tan lejos (así como por qué se asiste a un bloqueo desde entonces).

Palabras clave: Turquía, Armenia, "normalización de las relaciones", "conversaciones secretas".

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1. Old Tensions and New Problems

The Nagorno Karabagh conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan had been brewing since the Armenian-majority parliament of the enclave expressed its intention to secede from Azerbaijan in 1988. The following tension turned into a full fledged military confrontation in the winter of 1991/92. With Armenian forces occupying districts beyond Karabagh in Azerbaijan proper and more specifically with the occupation of Kelbajar in April 1993, Turkey decided to halt its ongoing talks with Armenia to establish relations. The train that had run once a week during the Soviet era between Gyumri in northwest Armenia and Kars in Turkey was also stopped. Turkey has since kept the border with Armenia closed, hoping 'to level the playing ground' by leveraging the prospect of an open border as an "incentive" for Armenia to reach a compromise at the negotiating table for the solution of the Karabagh conflict with Azerbaijan. Though a ceasefire was signed between Armenia and Azerbaijan in 1994, various attempts to bring about resolution of the problem, most notably by the OSCE Minsk Group, have not yielded tangible results.

Besides the closed border and Karabagh problem, *history* is a major stumbling block for normalization of ties between Armenia and Turkey. Clashing narratives on how and why Armenians were driven out of Anatolia by the Union and Progress government of the crumbling Ottoman Empire runs deep in both countries' conceptions of their history. Whether the massacres and deportations of Armenians in 1915 should be referred to as 'genocide' or not is still a very emotionally and politically charged issue. The pursuit of international "genocide recognition" campaigns is largely viewed as a hostile act in Turkey.

The third issue of contention between the two countries is the recognition of Turkey's border. The declaration of independence of the Republic of Armenia which states that "The Republic of Armenia stands in support of the task of achieving international recognition of the 1915 Genocide in Ottoman Turkey and Western Armenia"[2] complicates the bilateral relations. According to the mainstream Turkish perspective, the use of the term "Western Armenia" (referring to Eastern Anatolia) implies territorial claims. Though officially Armenia has not expressed territorial claims from Turkey, for Armenian politicians there is a "political cost" in explicitly recognizing the common border with Turkey due to expectations in the Armenian society regarding their "historical homeland." The direct and indirect involvement of the Armenian Diaspora in Turkey-Armenia relations has rendered the bilateral relationship even more complex.

The thorny issues in the Turkey-Armenia relationship have remained more or less the same over the years: history – the pursuit of genocide recognition by Armenian groups and the Turkish state's efforts to prevent this-, the occupation of Azerbaijani lands by Armenia and Turkey's support to Azerbaijan to prevent this from turning into a *fait accompli*, and the recognition of Turkey's borders by Armenia. These three issues have been weaved together by Turkey, Azerbaijan, Armenia and the US over the years in an effort to break the intertwined deadlocks in a way that serves their own interests: Ankara holds in its hand cards such as its strategic position and ability to open the border with Armenia; Baku leverages its energy resources and close ties with Turkey; Yerevan utilizes the resource of its Diaspora and the districts of Azerbaijan it occupies; and Washington comes to the brink of recognizing the 1915 events as genocide on an annual basis.

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[2] "Declaration of Independence", *Armenian Foreign Ministry* (23 August 1990), at http://www.armeniaforeignministry.com/htms/doi.html.

2. The Taboos and Domestic Politics of Bilateral Relations

The approach for decades of the Turkish state to the tragedy experienced by Armenians during World War I in the Ottoman Empire has entrenched the problems between the two nations substantially. Generations of Turks have been educated with little or no information about this page of Turkish history, and laws have been used to penalize different interpretations of that era as an "insult" to "Turkishness".

Turkey, in particular after it was granted candidacy status by the EU in 1999, has taken significant democratization strides. The increased freedoms have been reflected positively in the intellectual debate pertaining to Armenia as well. Improvements in both the legal and social arena have allowed historians to challenge the official versions of the history of Armenians in Anatolia. One example that stands out is the conference titled "Ottoman Armenians during the Decline of the Empire: Issues of Scientific Responsibility and Democracy" held on 24-25 September 2005 at Bilgi University. The participants discussed the fate of the Armenians during the final days of the Ottoman Empire with previously unimaginable openness. Another event that shook the debate in Turkey was the assassination of Turkish-Armenian journalist Hrant Dink on 19 January 2007 by a 17 year old nationalist who was arrested thereafter. Founder and editor-in-chief of the weekly *Agos*, Dink was a voice calling for change in Turkey and appealing to the hearts and minds of not just intellectuals but ordinary Turks. He had been targeted by nationalist circles for years, receiving death threats and prosecuted under article 301 of the Turkish penal code. Following the assassination, over 100.000 Turks gathered in front of *Agos* newspaper to mourn his loss and protest the incident, carrying banners of "we are all Hrant Dink, we are all Armenian" as a sign of solidarity. Dink's funeral on 23 January 2007 was attended by several thousands of people.

A third development shaping the debate in Turkey in a new direction was the signature campaign launched by Cengiz Aktar and other liberal Turkish intellectuals on 15 December 2008, with the following text: "My conscience does not accept the insensitivity showed to and the denial of the Great Catastrophe that the Ottoman Armenians were subjected to in 1915. I reject this injustice and for my share, I empathize with the feelings and pain of my Armenian brothers and sisters. I apologize to them." Increased contact between Turks and Armenians fostered through bilateral NGO projects also positively influenced the mutual perception and understanding between the two nations.

Bilateral NGO projects began on a systematic basis in 2001 with the support of the US State Department funds coordinated by the American University Center for Global Peace. The resultant 13 projects lasted until early 2005. Of these, the most high profile was the Turkish Armenian Reconciliation Commission (TARC) that existed between 2001 and 2004. An evaluation report of the implemented projects was prepared by the Yerevan based International Center for Human Development (ICHD) in 2006 with Eurasia Foundation support.[3] David Phillips (who was not only the facilitator of TARC, but also led the planning phase of the rest of the projects that the American University subsequently supervised) authored a book focusing primarily on the experiences of TARC (*Un-silencing the Past: Track Two Diplomacy and Turkish-Armenian Reconciliation*) in 2005. The second round of multiple parallel projects was again funded by the US State Department (USAID) and

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[3] "Track 2 Diplomacy, Armenian-Turkish Track 2 projects: Assessment of Best Practices", *International Center for Human Development (ICHD),* (2006), at http://www.ichd.org/files/pdf/T2D_Book.pdf .

implemented this time by the Eurasia Partnership Foundation,[4] beginning in fall 2007. In recent years, the range of donors for bilateral projects widened to include the Swiss and British Embassies, the German foundations (such as Friedrich Naumann and Friedrich Ebert), and Open Society Institute.

Constructive steps taken by the Turkish government complemented this changing atmosphere. On 29 March 2007, the restoration of an ancient Armenian Church on the Ahdamar Island of Van province, Surp Khach built in the 10th century was celebrated with a ceremony. An amendment to the Foundation Law of Turkey in 2004 lifted some of the restrictions to the restoration of other Armenian churches in Turkey and increased the rights of the Armenian minority living in Turkey. While article 301 of the Turkish Penal Code, restricting freedom of speech on the grounds of "insulting Turkishness" was amended to limit instances of prosecution on the basis of such grounds, charges were dropped against many who were facing trial for statements they had made regarding the 1915 events. Though in the early 2000s orchestrated intimidation of Turks who challenged the nationalist conceptions of history took place, including court cases being opened against intellectuals such as Elif Safak and Orhan Pamuk, these initiatives subsided with the arrest in 2008 of the key figures of the ultranationalist networks in Turkey.[5]

These positive developments were overshadowed by "politically incorrect" statements from leading members of the Turkish government that aggravated Armenian distrust and the perception of an unchanging Turkey. For example in February 2008 Prime Minister Erdogan said: "The character of this nation does not allow it to commit such crimes," then in December 2009 he said: "my ancestors can not have committed genocide". Using the existence of Armenian illegal labor migrants in Turkey to "prove" Turkish goodwill and threatening to deport them as the Prime Minister did in mid March 2010 has been seen to reduce the perception of his sincerity. Moreover, Turkish Defense Minister in November 2008 made an improper comment implying that had the Greek and Armenian minorities stayed in Anatolia, the creation of a Turkish nation state would not have been possible in the early 20th century. While in May 2008, the then Economy Minister said, "We don't need them, they (the Armenians) need us."

Besides rhetoric, there are continuing institutional arrangements in Turkey that do not conform with the progressive developments, though reactions to such acts from the Turkish society have been strong and effective, and this has instilled confidence on a sustainable change. Though there is still deep distrust in Armenia towards Turks[6], and this is regularly exploited by Armenian opposition parties, the positive changes in Turkey have come a long way in breaking the monolithic view of Turks in Armenia.

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[4] Eurasia Partnership Foundation can also be referred to as EPF or Eurasia Foundation or Eurasia throughout this file.
[5] Detailed information available at www.esiweb.org ("Noah's Dove Returns, Armenia, Turkey and the Debate on Genocide", *European Stability Initiative (ESI)* (21 April 2009), at http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=156&document_ID=108).
[6] Depicted also in ESI research of Armenian press coverage of the apology campaign, Surp Khach church renovation, and the murder –and then funeral - of Hrant Dink

3. The Context of the Football Diplomacy

The most recent round of talks which began in August 2007/April 2008 was Swiss mediated. These negotiations are also known as "football diplomacy" because they gained a high public profile with the trip of Turkish President Abdullah Gul to Yerevan for a World Cup qualifying match between the two countries' national football teams on 6 September 2008.

The motivating factors on the Turkish side for venturing into an ambitious attempt for reconciliation was the result of a number of separate dynamics that coincided. In view of the changing realities of Turkey's neighborhood, the AKP government that had come to power in 2002 conceptualized a new foreign policy. The party program laid out the approach as follows: "The dynamic circumstances brought about by the post cold war period have created a suitable environment for developing a foreign policy with several alternatives. In this new environment Turkey must […] rearrange and create its relations with centers of power with alternatives, flexibly and with many axes."7 The vision of the foreign policy set out in the AKP platform was "multifaceted", "free from prejudices and obsessions", "based on mutuality of interests", "promising more initiatives in solving regional crises, advancing regional cooperation, and increasing […] attempts to maintain good relations with its neighbors."8 Our goals, said Gul in 2005, are "to promote good neighborly relations with all, to replace disagreement with cooperation, to seek innovative mechanisms and channels to resolve regional conflicts, to encourage positive change in our region, and to build cross-cultural bridges of dialogue and understanding."9 The motto "zero problems with neighbors" has been frequently used by the AKP government to communicate their motivations. To maximize its influence in the Caucasus and to play a role in the resolution of the Karabagh conflict, Turkey needed to normalize its relations with Armenia.

Another development that from a Turkish perspective could make a contribution in the reconciliation process was the change of president in Armenia with the February 2008 elections. Though Serzh Sarkisian had been the favored candidate of the outgoing president Robert Kocharian, his name did not carry a "negative charge" in Turkey. Kocharian, who served as President of Armenia from 1998 to 2008 had headed Karabagh's defense and security structures and served as Karabagh's Prime Minister and President. Once he became President of Armenia, contrary to the position adopted by his predecessor President Levon Ter Petrosian, the international recognition of the 1915 events as "genocide" became one of Armenia's foreign policy aims. Serzh Sarkisian, like Kocharian, was from Nagorno-Karabakh and his track record did not set him apart from the "establishment". He had been involved in the Karabagh movement to secede from Azerbaijan, had led the Karabagh defense forces and served as Defense Minister and Prime Minister of Armenia (during Kocharian's presidency). Nevertheless, from the start, Sarkisian took a more proactive and bold role in reaching out to Turkey. Some analysts have argued that this was because he needed a foreign policy victory to compensate for his waning legitimacy due to his inability to deliver the economic and political benefits expected by the society.10

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7 "Party Programme", *Justice and Development Party (AKP),* at
http://eng.akparti.org.tr/english/partyprogramme.html.
8 *Ibid.*
9 Gül, Abdullah: "Other Statements and Messages by Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Abdullah Gül", *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey,* at
http://www.mfa.gov.tr/data/BAKANLIK/BAKANLAR/AbdullahGul_Speecheskisaltilmisversiyon.pdf.
10 Armenian analyst Richard Giragosian has made this point in a number of speeches and articles.

The first high profile initiative from President Sarkisian trying to reach out to Turkey was the speech he made in Moscow on 23 June 2008, in which he said:

"Armenia's position is clear: In the 21st century borders between neighboring countries must not be closed. Regional cooperation could be the best means of supporting stability. The Turkish side offers to form a commission that would study historical facts. We don't oppose the creation of such a commission, but it should happen when the border between the states is open. Otherwise, it could become a matter of delaying the issue for years and a means of abuse. In the near future I am intent on taking new steps furthering the Armenian-Turkish relations. Most probably, I will invite the Turkish President Abdullah Gul to Yerevan so that we could together watch the football match between Armenia and Turkey."

This was followed by an official invitation to Turkish President Abdullah Gul from President Sarkisian to the football match scheduled for 6 September 2008. This set into action the high profile diplomatic exchanges which followed. However it was the August 2008 war between Georgia and Russia over South Ossetia and the hurried Ankara proposal, announced on 13 August 2008 by Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan in Moscow for a "Caucasus Stability and Cooperation Platform" (CSCP) that provided the justification for Abdullah Gul to accept this invitation. The visit was presented to the Turkish public primarily as an opportunity to discuss the CSCP.

But the responses from different Turkish political and social ranks to Abdullah Gul's acceptance of this invitation were not all positive. The leader of the Nationalist Action Party (MHP) said that Gul's travel to Yerevan would damage Turkey's honor. The head of CHP (Republican People's Party) summed up his party's concerns with the following statement: "Did Armenia recognize Turkey's borders, did it abandon genocide claims, is it pulling out of the Karabagh lands it occupies? If these things did not happen, why is he going?" Nevertheless, the visit of Abdullah Gul to Yerevan went relatively smoothly. The Dashnak Party (ARF) organized protests along the avenues which the Gul's motorcade crossed. Security measures were intense. The visiting Turkish press reported many human stories. Psychologically it was an important turning point. The visit infused an added sense of normalcy and legitimacy in Turkey towards those working on reconciliation in the civil society or media sectors.

The next development contributing to Turkey's incentives to move along the rapprochement was the US elections in December 2008 which brought Barack Obama to the White House. During his campaign Obama had been unequivocal in his support for labeling the 1915 events as "genocide". Leading figures of Obama's administration have been on record recognizing the 1915 events as genocide, including the Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Vice President Joe Biden. And Obama announced during his campaign that "as President I will recognize the Armenian Genocide."[11]

In the first few months of 2009, an intense diplomatic traffic between Turkish and Armenian Foreign Ministers took place. Azerbaijan, increasingly nervous, reminded Turkey of its strategic value by signing a memorandum for selling natural gas to Russia, raising concerns on the feasibility of the Western-favored Nabucco natural gas pipeline. There were

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[11] "Noah's Dove Returns…", *op. cit.*

in the meantime statements and signals emanating from the US administration that Washington would caution against taking any steps that might disrupt the ongoing efforts of Turkey and Armenia to reconcile and normalize. This meant for the most observers that the word genocide would not be uttered if "the process" was ongoing. As anticipated, such linkages have given Turkey an incentive to demonstrate that the process is ongoing, but it was not a sufficient incentive to actually bring the process to fruition.

On 6-7 April Obama visited Turkey in his first bilateral trip abroad after his inauguration. In Turkey, Obama said that his views on the Armenian genocide "had not changed and were on the record." While Turkey was under pressure from the US to make concrete commitments to normalize relations with Armenia, the reverse pressure was coming from Azerbaijan. Expressions of strong concern from Baku for the blow to Azerbaijan's national interests followed. Already, Azerbaijani diplomats argued, there were indications that Armenia was hardening its position at the negotiation table. The point was that Yerevan had gained an upper hand with the prospect of normalization with Turkey. Moreover, the leaders in Baku resented the fact of not being properly briefed by Turkey. President Ilham Aliyev's refusal to attend the Alliance of Civilizations Summit in Istanbul on April 6-7 grabbed the spotlight in Turkey and was covered extensively by the press. Given the sense of solidarity latent in the majority of the Turkish public towards Azerbaijan, the revelation of a serious problem between the Turkish and Azerbaijani governments put pressure domestically on the AKP government.

The Turkish Prime Minister and other leading figures of the government underlined time after time in the next two weeks that Turkey would not normalize relations with Armenia until an agreement on Nagorno-Karabakh was reached between Armenia and Azerbaijan. This reflected a shift in the political rhetoric. Azerbaijan played its hand effectively, tapping into two marked aspects the foreign policy conduct of the AKP government: Its desire to turn Turkey into an energy hub and, as a consequence "indispensable" for the energy security of its partners particularly in the West, and its receptivity to public opinion. Azerbaijan's displeasure was strongly represented in the Turkish press and struck a chord among wide segments of the society. Yet, the foreign ministries of Turkey and Armenia managed to issue the following joint statement on 22 April 2009:

> "Turkey and Armenia, together with Switzerland as mediator, have been working intensively with a view to normalizing their bilateral relations and developing them in a spirit of good-neighborliness, and mutual respect, and thus to promoting peace, security and stability in the whole region. The two parties have achieved tangible progress and mutual understanding in this process and they have agreed on a comprehensive framework for the normalization of their bilateral relations in a mutually satisfactory manner. In this context, a road-map has been identified. This agreed basis provides a positive prospect for the on-going process".

No details were provided, leaving much room for speculation. The statement had clearly been timed to give justification to President Barack Obama to abstain from labeling the 1915 events as "genocide" in his April 24 Armenian Remembrance Day message. Washington had passed the message that progress in Turkey-Armenia reconciliation could prevent the "US recognition of genocide" at least for one more year. Indeed, on April 24, Obama referred to 1915 events as the *Meds Yeghern*, or Great Catastrophe in Armenian. Yet, both Turks and Armenians wrecked havoc by the wording choice of Obama. The leadership in Armenia was

accused by many Armenians around the world for having created a context (i.e. the appearance of an ongoing rapprochement) which supposedly justified Obama's abstinence from pronouncing the G-word. Frustration among Armenians hiked when in May 2009 Prime Minister Erdogan visited Baku and delivered a powerful speech in the Azerbaijani Parliament assuring his audience that the Turkish-Armenian normalization was linked to the resolution of the Azerbaijani-Armenian conflict over Karabagh. President Sarkisian was under immense pressure not to continue the Turkey-Armenia rapprochement. He therefore announced that he would not come to the re-match between Turkish and Armenian national football teams scheduled for October 2009 in Turkey unless there was a concrete progress in the rapprochement with Turkey.

On 31 August 2009, two protocols that had been initialed by the two countries' Foreign Ministers were released: "Protocol on establishment of diplomatic relations" and "Protocol on development of mutual relations". The two documents were signed on the same day, and in the words of the Armenian constitutional court "they regulate interrelated and complementary matters" and "are linked through cross-references and prescribe mutual obligations." The release of the protocols to the public was timed to narrowly "save the day," allowing 6 weeks of public debate before a signing ceremony which would take place in Zurich on 10 October 2009, just in time to display positive momentum which could justify Sarkisian's attendance to the soccer game which was scheduled for 14 October 2009.

4. The Protocol Formula

While one of the protocols confirms "the mutual recognition of the existing border between the two countries as defined by the relevant treaties of international law" and relates the "decision to open the common border" as well as to establish diplomatic relations, the other foresees the establishment of an intergovernmental bilateral commission with seven sub-commissions (for political consultations, transport, communications, energy infrastructure and networks, legal matters, science and education, trade, tourism and economic cooperation, environmental issues, and the historical dimension). Though the content of the two protocols offered a general framework towards establishing and developing diplomatic relations between Armenia and Turkey, it left the thorniest issues vague and open to interpretation. Eventually such ambiguities did not prove to be constructive, as they led to exaggerated fears and unreasonable expectations on both sides.

From an Armenian perspective, the most problematic aspect of the protocols was the "sub-commission on the historical dimension to implement a dialogue with the aim to restore mutual confidence between the two nations, including an impartial scientific examination of the historical records and archives to define existing problems and formulate recommendations, in which Armenian, Turkish as well as Swiss and other international experts shall take part." Given the sensitivity of the debate on history, this convoluted wording induced a fierce debate. How were the historians going to be selected? Were they meant to represent the official perspective of their countries? Would they try to decide if the "1915 events" could be qualified as "genocide"? The answers to these types of questions were crucial, particularly for many Armenians who feared that the history sub-commission was a tool Turkey would use to declare to the world that even Armenians were engaged in a study that aimed to determine the facts of 1915. This, they feared, would constitute a setback for genocide recognition campaigns. Indeed, certain statements that the Turkish government representatives made in defense of the protocols against the Turkish opposition exacerbated this Armenian concern.

A more healthy debate about the pros and cons of a history commission was needed. Expectations from the Turkish side that dialogue about history would prevent campaigns among the Armenian Diaspora for genocide recognition reflected a lack of understanding of the dynamics of the Armenian communities around the world. And the outright rejection – without suggesting formulas that might be more effective- by many Armenian groups was unfortunate. Ultimately, though "official assignment" for joint history research might indeed be tricky, it is evident that both nations can only benefit from more serious research on their controversial history, and from a deeper understanding of the role of different actors as well as the diversity of the tragedies which occurred in different regions of the ailing empire.

Another "catch" in the protocols was the issue of the border. Because the 1921 Kars treaty which defined the mutual border was not explicitly mentioned in the protocols, critics in Turkey claimed that the protocols did not ensure that Armenia recognize the border. On the other hand, hardliner Armenians interpreted the wording as a recognition of the border and accused the Armenian authorities of compromising the Armenian "historic homeland."

The third element of the protocols that led to divergent interpretations was the absence of any mention of Karabagh. This ambiguity allowed the Armenian leaders to claim that progress in the resolution of the Karabagh conflict was not a "precondition," while the Turkish side argued that the two processes were "synchronized." It was stipulated in the protocols that they would come into force not when they were signed but on the "first day of the first month following the exchange of instruments of ratification." The Turkish side thus assumed it could sign the protocols but not ratify them in parliament until satisfied with the movement towards the resolution of the Karabagh conflict.

While President Sarkisian claimed the two processes were not linked, Azerbaijan was assured by Ankara that they were. This doubletalk was not sustainable, given the blatant contradictions which observers quickly spotted. When confronted, Turkish leaders spelled out the fact that Turkey would not ratify the protocols until "the occupation of Azerbaijan" ended. It is still not clear what this exactly means. Would for example Armenia's withdrawal from all or some of the districts surrounding Karabagh be enough? Or, for example, would an agreement between Armenia and Azerbaijan on the principles of an eventual agreement suffice? Lack of clarity set the stage for misunderstandings in the highly sensitive environment of the Turkey-Armenia-Azerbaijan triangle.

With the benefit of hindsight, it can be argued that the protocols and the scheme for their implementation was based on a few miscalculations and ungrounded assumptions. The effort to avoid clarity on the most controversial issues inflated the situation of mistrust and did not facilitate the process. The widespread perception among both Armenians and Turks that the protocols could deliver Turkey the upper hand in "genocide diplomacy" was misfounded, The truth is that Yerevan authorities can not prevent this campaign even if they wanted to – and would drastically lose ground domestically if they tried. Another questionable assumption was that the solution of the Karabagh conflict was imminent and that the prospect of an open border with Turkey would empower Sarkisian and motivate Armenians to follow through with necessary compromises at the negotiation table with Azerbaijan. Turkey's brinkmanship backfired. The resistance to Karabagh-related compromise among Armenians was in fact exacerbated by the perception that this compromise might be part of a trade-off with Turkey. And finally, the extent of negative reactions from Azerbaijan appears to have been underestimated.

In defense of the protocols, they did lay out some ground-rules upon which a future relationship can rest and the debate they stimulated made the respective positions of various segments of the societies in both countries known. The discussion about the protocols was a learning process that permitted both countries to develop more realistic understanding of their respective maneuver space.

5. The Negative Spiral

Between the time when the protocols were released on 31 August 2009 and the signing of the protocols on 10 October 2009, a fierce debate ensued in Turkey, in Armenia, and among Turkish and Armenian Diaspora around the world. The leaders of the two countries used this period for informative exchanges in their respective societies. The Armenian side arguably took this mission more seriously than their counterparts in Turkey. In the Armenian parliament, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF) which has 20 seats, and the Heritage Party, with its 7 seats took negative stances against the protocols, while the biggest opposition bloc with no seats in the parliament, the Armenian National Congress, was also critical. Former Minister of foreign affairs, Oskanian, advocated against the protocols as well. The ruling coalition, made up of the Republican Party with 65 seats, Prosperous Armenia with 24 seats and the Rule of Law with 9 seats were supportive of the protocols and in total had enough seats to pass it in the Parliament.

The ARF statement on 1 September 2009 stated that the protocols "call into question the fact of the Armenian Genocide and nullify the timeless rights of the Armenian people." The statement continued to point out that Turkey conditions the Armenian-Turkish process with the Karabagh issue. Under heavy rain, the ARF organized a protest rally in the center of Yerevan on 2 September 2009 with posters that read "No concessions to Turkey" and "Armenian spirit will never surrender." Armenian National Congress leader former President Ter-Petrosian underlined the potential harms of a joint history commission saying that this enabled Turkey to "stop the danger of the US recognition".[12] Members of the Armenian National Congress argued that carrying the issue of history to any state discourse or initiative would inevitably set any normalization up for failure. Heritage Party stated that the recognition of current borders "deprives Armenia of the right to speak about the historical facts of Turkey's seizure of its homeland," and Former Foreign Minister Oskanian stated that "when we say that we recognize today's Turkey's borders, we note that we have no territorial claim towards Turkey."

The Armenian President held discussions not only with political parties and NGO's in Armenia to discuss the protocols but also met with leading groups in the Diaspora. In early October 2009, he went on a weeklong tour to major Armenian communities in the Diaspora to discuss and promote the process ongoing with Turkey. Paris was his first stop, followed by New York, Los Angeles, Beirut, and Rostov-on-Don in Russia. The president was met with massive protests, but also received the support of some important Diaspora organizations. On of the most controversial aspects of the process was the plan to pursue joint work on history. Closing the door to claims towards parts of eastern Turkey was seen to be an unacceptable concession in particular for ARF affiliated groups. Sarkisian went out on a limb with his defense of the protocols, arguing that the history work would "help the Turkish people to be

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[12] Ter Petrossian, Levon, "speech in front of Matenadaran", (18 September 2009).

more unbiased in going through the pages of their own history."[13] Eventually, the Armenian General Benovolent Union (AGBU), the biggest and oldest Armenian Diaspora organization, and the Washington based Armenian Association of America (AAA) expressed support for the protocols while the ARF affiliated Armenian National Committee of America (ANCA) strongly opposed.

A comparison is useful in this regard. In Turkey, Foreign Minister Davutoğlu met with a limited number of NGOs and the government made less of an effort to publicize the logic of the decisions it had signed off. Opposition parties in Parliament criticized the protocols, mirroring the Armenian opposition's criticism, claiming that Turkey gained neither a promise that genocide recognition campaigns would end nor a commitment from Armenia to end its occupation of Azerbaijani lands. Moreover, the non-mention of the Kars treaty defining the common border was interpreted by the Turkish opposition as an unreasonable concession. Meanwhile, Turkish enthusiasts applauded and expected an unreasonably rapid resolution of all the thorny issues between the two countries.

The protocols' signing ceremony on October 10th was witnessed by the Swiss, US, Russian and French foreign ministers and was ridden with tensions due to the mini-statements that were to be delivered by both sides. It was obvious that what each side meant by its signature was not synchronized. Nevertheless, Sarkisian did attend the football game in Bursa, where he and the Turkish President Gul displayed warm relations. After that, the protocols were sent to the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Turkish Parliament to be were kept there until such a time that a step towards the solution of the Karabakh problem could justify its ratification.

On 12 January 2010, the Armenian Constitutional Court declared the conformity of the protocols to the constitution and it attached a text that stated that the protocols could not be interpreted in a way that would contradict the declaration of independence. Though the language of the prepared text of the Armenian Constitutional Court was likely to be geared to the Armenian public opinion, it raised even more questions in Turkey. This decision was interpreted as the confirmation that Armenia would stick to references of "Western Armenia" and pursuit the genocide recognition campaigns. The response of the Turkish Foreign Ministry came in six days, noting that, "it has been observed that this decision contains preconditions and restrictive provisions which impair the letter and spirit of the Protocols. The said decision undermines the very reason for negotiating these Protocols as well as their fundamental objective."

Turkey in a sense seized the constitutional court decision of Armenia as an "exit strategy" and many columnists in the mainstream press jumped on the bandwagon with what appeared to be an orchestrated reaction. In February 2010, the parliament of Armenia passed an amendment to the law on international treaties, making it possible to suspend or terminate agreements signed before they enter into force. Thus Yerevan was prepared to annul the signing of the protocols in case Turkey delayed their ratification. The next development that stirred the debate about the protocols and their possible derailment was the vote schedule in the Foreign Affairs Committee of the US House on the HR 252, for "genocide recognition."[14]

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[13] Smbatian, Hasmik and Stamboltsian,, Gevorg: "Sarkisian Cotinues Diaspora Tour" (05 October 2009), at http://www.armenialiberty.org/content/article/1843752.html.

[14] For a full text of the resolution: "Affirmation of the United States Record on the Armenian Genocide Record", *US House of Representatives, H. Res. 252* (17 March 2009), at http://www.govtrack.us/congress/billtext.xpd?bill=hr111-252

6. Washington Tightening the Knot

When writing this paper, the 2010 replay to the annual flurry of the nearing Remembrance Day on April 24th was in full force. On March 4th, the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee voted 'yes' with 23-22 votes to HR 252.[15] This development reignited the debates in Turkey about the possible consequences of US genocide recognition, the chance of salvaging the stalled "normalization process" between Turkey and Armenia, as well as the hypothetical calculations of the opportunity cost of Turkey downgrading strategic relations with Azerbaijan, Israel, or the US. Much effort was spent by the Turkish diplomatic machine to prevent the recognition of genocide in America – either by Congress or in the annual statement of the President on April 24th. Before the vote, 2 Turkish parliamentary delegations, totaling 9 MPs visited Washington. The Turkish Ambassador to Washington was recalled immediately after the vote. Both officials and the press responded harshly. On 5 March 2010 Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan responded as follows: "This is a comedy. For God's sake, can history be looked at like this? Is it a politician's job to look at history? Can those who gave a 'yes' vote in that assembly find Armenia's place on the map? …The decisions that are made there do not bind us. With its history, its culture, its civilization, Turkey is a very big state. This country is not a tribal state. I am saying openly, the decision of the foreign affairs committee will not hurt Turkey at all. But it will hurt countries' bilateral relations and interests to a large degree. We will not be the ones who lose. Those who think small will. Those who act with revenge and hostility will lose."

Many leading names in the Turkish press took a doomsday approach, sounding fears that such a resolution in the US can lead to territorial compensation to Armenians and will empower other countries to pass such resolutions, qualifying the vote as a blow to Turkish pride, calling on the AKP to realign its foreign policy to the expense of the US, predicting that Armenian and Turkish nationalists will be empowered and the Turkish-Armenian reconciliation process will be derailed, and stirring up anti-Americanism in the Turkish society.[16]

As much as a US Congress resolution recognizing genocide would be unfortunate, the fears of legal consequences are overrated. [17] Ironically, the consequences of a prospective US genocide resolution are likely to be determined mostly by the reaction of the Turkish government to such a development.

The posturing and "leveraging game" played out each year by Turkey, Azerbaijan, the US and Armenia as April 24 nears is based on faulty logic. At the end none of the 'punishments' in store are in the interests of the countries which threaten to deliver them. Azerbaijan and its balanced foreign policy will not be better off if its relations with Turkey or the US are severed. Neither the US nor Turkey will be better off if US Congress passes a genocide resolution which leads the Turkish government to realign its foreign policy or derail the reconciliation process with Armenia. Furthermore, the US will not benefit from the domestic and regional consequences if Turkey were to proceed with the protocols to appease Washington.

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[15] *Ibid.*
[16] An analysis of Turkish press reactions is available at: *European Stability Initiative (ESI),* at http://www.esiweb.org/rumeliobserver/, dated 12 March 2010.
[17] "Turkey's friends and the international debate on the Armenian Genocide", European Stability Initiative (ESI), *ESI newsletter* (12 March 2010), at http://www.esiweb.org/index.php?lang=en&id=67&newsletter_ID=45.

A more information-based discussion of the consequences of these resolutions would go a long way in taking the emotional edge out of the Turkish public reaction and create certain "immunity." For this and other destructive elements in the debate in Turkey, a consistent political leadership is important.

7. Conclusion, and Looking Forward

Allowing Turkish citizens to voice their opinions about history freely, maximizing the rights and freedoms of the Armenian minority in Turkey, intensification of links between Turks and Armenians in many areas of scholarship, culture and media is a win-win path forward. Such steps are not only important for Turkey's democratization but also for building confidence among Armenians around the world and preparing both nations for any future diplomatic normalization track. On the other hand, geopolitical moves such as opening the border with Armenia is a separate issue, subject to a wide range of strategic considerations. Moving forward on this front would present challenges for the Turkish government domestically, and could risk shaking some of the basic pillars Turkey's regional strategic vision rests upon. In short, with the realization that the protocol-based normalization process will neither end genocide campaigns nor necessarily boost the Karabagh solution forward, Ankara's cost/benefit analysis of following through with the initiative at this time appears to have tipped to the negative. On the other hand, as long as the process is in limbo, it costs the Armenian leadership political capital. A debate has therefore been ongoing in Armenia on whether to withdraw from the process to prevent Turkey from reaping PR benefits.

With Turkish parliamentary elections scheduled for 2011, Armenian parliamentary elections in 2012 and presidential elections in 2013, and then the 2015 climax of the 100th year anniversary of 1915 looming, expecting another ambitious normalization process in the near future could be unrealistic. In the absence of progress on the Karabagh front, which has the potential of setting into action a virtual cycle in the region, Turkey and Armenia may need to resign themselves to taking baby steps. Efforts on finding common ground in the diplomatic arena may need to continue behind closed doors, protected from the stresses of managing public opinion. Meanwhile, at the level of civil society, education, media and culture, activities abound and continue to create a "normalcy" at the people-to-people level. The mutual understanding developing through civil dialogue and exchanges is fundamental in that it will contribute to building a much more solid foundation upon which, eventually, full normalization can rest.

TURKISH-GREEK RELATIONS AND THE CYPRUS QUESTION: QUO VADIS?[1]

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Abstract:

It can be claimed that the most disruptive factor in the intransigent relations between Turkey and Greece is the absence of a platform for dialogue and negotiation where constructive relations might be developed. The efforts made towards dialogue and negotiation, initiated from time to time, were inadequate given the absence of trust and security between the two countries. The process of moderate dialogue and confidence building measures initiated after the crisis of the 1990s created the basis for the bilateral détente in 1999. During this period, once the EU conferred candidate status on Turkey, the questions between Turkey and Greece were moved from the traditional sphere to the European platform. In other words, relations and disputes were "Europeanized". In the post-1999 period, bilateral relations were developed under the axis of conditionality and Europeanization. Even though this situation created an appropriate basis for the development of dialogue and cooperation, it was not able to mark an improvement in solving the fundamental questions. In particular, the acceptance of the Greek Cypriots into the European Union despite their rejection of the Annan Plan altered the balance against Turkish Cypriots and Turkey, and thus Turkish criticism of the European Union increased. The détente process reinforced the opinion that it was possible to live with the over-securitized problems of the past and increase the level of tolerance in bilateral realtions. However, tense relations which the "European anchor" can prevent at present might take shape in the foreseeable future, if the European Union cannot provide full membership to Turkey.

Resumen:

Se puede afirmar que el factor obstructivo en el curso general de las relaciones entre Turquía y Grecia, marcadas por la intransigencia, es la ausencia de una base para el diálogo y negociación donde se puedan establecer relaciones constructivas. Los esfuerzos de diálogo y negociación que se han ido iniciando de un tiempo a otro han sido improductivos por la falta de una base de confianza y seguridad entre ambos países. El proceso de diálogo moderado y medidas de confianza que se pusieron en marcha tras la crisis de los 90 lograron formar una base para la distensión bilateral de 1999. Al mismo tiempo, al conferirle la Unión Europea el estatus de candidato a Turquía, los contenciosos entre Turquía y Grecia pasaron de la esfera tradicional al ámbito europeo. En otras palabras, las relaciones bilaterales y sus disputas se "europeizaron". En la fase posterior a 1999, las relaciones bilaterales se vertebraron alrededor del eje de la condicionalidad y la europeización. Aunque tal situación creó una base apropiada para el desarrollo del diálogo y la cooperación, no fue posible lograr una verdadera mejora en lo que a la solución de los problemas fundamentales se refiere. En especial, con la aceptación de la parte griega de Chipre en la Unión Europea a pesar de su rechazo del Plan Annan, se ha alterado el equilibrio desfavorablemente para los turco-chipriotas y para la misma Turquía, aumentando por ello las críticas hacia la Unión Europea. El proceso de distensión está reforzando la opinión de que es posible estar a la altura de los problemas de supra-securitización del pasado. Sin embargo, nuevos problemas están poniendo a prueba el nivel de tolerancia de las relaciones. Las relaciones, que el "ancla europea" evita que degeneren, podrían entrar en tensión en caso de que la pertenencia a la Unión Europea no se materializase en el futuro.

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1. Introduction

After the Cold War, the relations between Turkey and Greece reached a new dimension. They were perceived as a new source of risk in a new environment where regional crises endanger peace and stability by spilling over. The 1990s witnessed many crises between the two countries where the risk of war was present.

In the management of the above mentioned crises, the existence of right-minded decision-makers was influential, as was the intervention of the US administrations. It can be argued that in the post 1999 period bilateral relations started to be handled in a different way. In this process, bilateral relations and issues of dispute have moved away, both in Turkey and Greece, from the classical "security" sphere and now there is an understanding in the sense that the previously "securitized" disputes can be negotiated. Without a doubt, this change reflected the change of understanding in the decision-making mechanisms of both countries. However, at the same time it was the expression of a specific change of platform for discussion. The claim that the European Union is the platform in which bilateral relations could be handled, even though this claim is based on different rationales and priorities, was a correct perception of a seachange accepted by both Turkey and Greece. Greece provided support to Turkey in the 1999 Helsinki Summit when the EU decided on the Turkish candidacy, thus renouncing the policies of obstruction that had been maintained for many years.

So, while for years traditional Turkish-Greek disputes have been handled in a bilateral platform, in the new process, disputes started to be evaluated in the EU framework and the EU increasingly became one of the main actors which shaped relations[3]. In this article, the foreign policies of the two countries will be examined in terms of policies pursued at the bilateral level and of the Cyprus issue. The new policy, which started in 1999, will be evaluated, questioning whether it is a neutral, rational and acceptable ground for "problem solving", and the possible risks for the coming process will be identified. The general course of relations, based on moderate dialogue and détente, will be explained. The fundamental question is whether the parties achieved considerable progress in the solution of existing problems and whether a margin of optimism exists concerning the future.

In this context, our main argument is based on two assumptions: the first is that while confidence-building measures help and relieve tensions, the lack of dialogue between the two countries makes these measures inadequate in themselves for solving the bilateral problems. The other assumption is that the Europeanization of the disputes using the EU platform is insufficient for solving problems and may even contribute to making the problems more difficult to manage.

When evaluated in this framework, moderate dialogue and détente, which probably will continue, taught the parties to face up to these questions. In this learning process, the fundamental problems are frozen and the parties try to develop cooperation in other "soft" areas. In this respect, partial success has been achieved. Together with this, both the changes

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[3] It can be said that Turkey developed a relationship of conditionality with the organization in the process of EU membership. For an analysis of the impact of this relationship of conditionality on Turkish foreign policy and Turkish-Greek bilateral relations see, Aydın, Mustafa and Açıkmeşe, Sinem A.: "Europeanization through EU Conditionality: Understanding the New Era in Turkish Foreign Policy", *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans,* Vol. 9, No. 3 (2007), pp. 269 – 272.

in the internal environments of the parties and the changes at the regional and international level make the start or continuation of negotiations on the fundamental problems increasingly more difficult. Moreover, on the issues, which fundamentally affect national sovereignty, it is very difficult to conduct a negotiation. As a result, if in the following process a solid ground of reconciliation is not created between the parties then it can be argued that the détente and dialogue process might collapse.

In the post-Cold War period, relations with Turkey and Greece might be analyzed in three phases in the 1990-2010 process;

- 1990-1999 is the premise of détente,

- 1999-2005 is the period of détente,

- 2005-2010 might be regarded as the period where détente lost its momentum

2. From Tension to Détente

Within the framework of the general course of Turkish-Greek relations, the issue of minorities was the main area of dispute between the two countries until the 1950s.[4] After the 1950s, with the weakening of British sovereignty in Cyprus, a disagreement appeared about the status of Cyprus. Even though with the 1960 treaties a *status quo* was formed, which communities in Cyprus, Britain, Turkey and Greece agreed upon, this *status quo* was broken with intercommunal violence starting in 1963. The period between 1963 and 1974 witnessed unstable relations given the intercommunal clashes, and after the 1967 crisis the peaceful cohabitation of the communities became even more difficult. In this period, it was considered that the Turkish community was excluded from constitutional-bureaucratic mechanisms, which were established in the 1960 treaties, and thus they increasingly started to form their own administrative bureaucratic mechanisms.

Even though a relatively peaceful period was witnessed after the 1967 crisis, this did not last long and a new crisis originated at the beginning of the 1970s. With Turkey's military intervention in the island as a guarantor state after the *coup d'etat* against Makarios with the support of the Greek Junta in 1974, a new period in bilateral relations started. In the post 1974 period, Turkish-Greek relations witnessed other problems besides minorities and the Cyprus issues. In particular, the territorial waters, continental shelf, the violation of the de-militarized status of the islands, air space and the FIR problems in the Aegean Sea started to dominate the bilateral agenda. After Greece left the NATO military structure in 1975, the debates of NATO command-control in the South Eastern wing of NATO were added to these problems.

It can be said that a functional dialogue existed until the 1980s despite the issues in dispute helping to make relations tense. With the collapse of the Colonels' Junta in 1974 in Greece, and subsequently with the Karamanlis government, democracy was reestablished. The Greek governments started to provide civilian order and democracy while trying to solve the disputes with Turkey. In this context, the process started with the Brussels Declaration of 1975, continued with the Bern Agreement of 1976[5], and bilateral negotiations were developed

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[4] For a detailed study of Turkish-Greek relations and the issues of disputes see, Aksu, Fuat (2001): *Türk Yunan İlişkileri,* Ankara, SAEMK Yayınları.

[5] For Bern Agreement, at http://www.turkishgreek.org/bern.htm.

in Montreux in 1978. The Bern Agreement, which was signed in this process, is important in the sense that it contained the obligation for both countries to refrain from unilateral initiatives until a common aggreement was reached and thus established a kind of moratorium. On the other hand, Aegean air space was opened in February 1980 to civilian air traffic with the mutual abrogation of Turkish NOTAM 714 and Greek NOTAM 1157, which had been in force since 1974. However, with the military coup of 12 September 1980 in Turkey, and the PASOKs led by Andreas Papandreou coming to power in Greece, political relations were broken and a period of non-dialogue started which continued during the 1980s.

The impact of the military coup in Turkey on Turkish-Greek relations was disclosed when Greece returned to the NATO military structure. On 20 October 1980 Turkey lifted the veto on Greece's return to the NATO military structure within the Rogers Plan[6]. Despite this, Andreas Papandreou's perception of Turkey as the main source of threat[7] and his refraining from dialogue avoided progress in the negotiations, which had started before the 1980s.[8] Relations were strained because the pressures on the Western Thrace Turkish minority were increased[9], and tensions spilled over to the Aegean as there was an attempt to include Lemnos Island, previously militarized, in NATO defense plans. Bilateral relations were strained once Greece declared that the 1976 Bern Agreement was invalid and that Greece would drill for oil outside Greek territorial waters in the Northern Aegean. The consequence of this declaration was immediate and armed conflict was avoided when Papandreou proclaimed that the Bern Agreement was valid and the exploration would be done within Greek territorial waters[10]. After this crisis, a "Davos Spirit" immediately started between Özal and Papandreou. However, it was not possible to establish a functional dialogue process between the parties. Despite this, during the Özal Government, the visa requirements applied against citizens of Greece were abolished and the application of the Decree of 1964 was terminated. In addition, both countries witnessed reconciliation efforts made by intellectuals and some civil society organizations[11]. Nevertheless, it can be said that the ingrained lack of dialogue in Turkish-Greek relations continued between 1990 and 1999.

The clashes of 1990-1999, which emerged especially after the the collapse of Yugoslavia in the Balkans, threatened the stability and security of the region, and this fact pushed Turkey and Greece to adopt opposite positions in terms of policy. Both the disagreements on traditional bilateral questions and their approaches to regional crises made the development of relationships based on confidence increasingly difficult. Greece

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[6] For a detailed examination of this topic see, Güldemir, Ufuk (1985): *Kanat Operasyonu,* İstanbul, Tekin Yayınevi.
Güldemir, states that the decision regarding Greece's return to the military wing of NATO was taken directly by President of the State (General) Kenan Evren without informing either the Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs or Permanent Representative in NATO. Güldemir, *op.cit.,* pp.81-83.
[7] According to Andreas Papandreu the sole threat against Greece came not from the Warsaw Pact but from Turkey in the Aegean. For details see, Aksu, *op.cit.,* pp. 175-187.
[8] After the 1976 Bern Agreement, the Turkish-Greek dialogue process has been made functional and in the 1978 Montreux negotiations the parties started to deal with problems. See, Gürün, Kamuran, (1995): *Fırtınalı Yıllar,* İstanbul: Ad Yayıncılık.
[9] On this topic see, Oran, Baskın (1986): *Türk-Yunan İlişkilerinde Batı Trakya Sorunu,* Ankara, Mülkiyeliler Birliği Vakfı Yayınları; see also, Oran, Baskın (1999): *Yunanistan'ın Lozan İhlalleri,* Ankara, SAEMK Yayınları.
[10] For details see, Akman, Nazmi: "Türkiye – Yunanistan Arasında 1987 Mart Krizi ve Andreas Papandreou", in Fırat, Turhan (ed.) (2005): *Dış Politikamızın Perde Arkası: 23 Büyükelçinin Olaylara Bakışı,* Ankara, Ümit Yayınları, pp.59-71.
[11] The establishment of the Turkish-Greek Friendship Society, the forming of Abdi İpekçi Friendship and Peace Prize, the joint concerts by Turkish and Greek artists, mutual visits of journalists and writers can be listed in this respect.

intrepeted Turkey's policy of involvement in support of the rights and security of the Turkish-Muslim communities in the disintegrated Yugoslavia as a policy of "Neo-Ottomanism", as trying to create a sphere of influence in the Balkans.

The traditional problems and the relatively "rigid" attitudes of the parties continued in the first years of 1990s. Just after the UN Convention of the Law of the Sea entered into force in 1995, Greece's declaration that she could extend her territoral waters beyond the 6 mile limit[12], and the subsequent declaration of the Turkish Grand National Assembly which was concerned by such an announcement, might have lead to the adoption of all kinds of measures, including military ones, by the Turkish government. All this showed that tensions were continuing.[13] In this period, both countries perceived each other as high priority threats [14].

The second half of the 1990s witnessed the events of the Kardak/Imia Rocks crisis, the S-300 missile crisis[15] and the Öcalan crisis. During the latter crisis, the process was tense enough to become a serious conflict, and for the first time since 1974 the risk of serious conflict was quite high between the armed forces of the two countries. Greece's support of Öcalan after being expelled from Syria induced Turkey to define Greece as a "rogue state" and to state that she might use the right of legitimate self-defense against Greece.[16] During the crisis in question, Turkey was able to prevent *de facto* violations by recourse to the threat of using force[17]. In all the three crises, the third party actors, especially the US, assumed a facilitating role in overcoming the crises.

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[12] http://www.mfa.gr/www.mfa.gr/GoToPrintable.aspx?UICulture=en-US&GUID={296840E0-EA2F-466C-B01F-CFA6A5952F27}

[13] The paragraph of the decision which was intrepeted as *casus belli* is as follows:
"Turkish Grand National Assembly, while hoping that Greece would not decide to extend her territorial waters beyond 6 miles as to abolish the balance established by the Lausanne Treaty, in such a case in order to protect and conserve the vital interests of our country has decided that all authority is conferred to the government of the Turkish Republic, including the militarily required ones, and decided that this situation is to be announced to Greek and world public with friendly feelings.", at
http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/Tutanak_B_SD.birlesim_baslangic?P4=692&P5=T&PAGE1=1&PAGE2=95.

[14] In The National Security Strategy, the existing problems with Greece and the Cyprus issue are listed as "external threat" and this situation did not change after the updating of the document in question. For example, in the 2005 version it is stated that "Turkey aims at enchancing its relations with Greece in peace" then it is suggested that "bilateral problems should not be permitted by Greece to bring to the European grounds" and "such problems should not be permitted to be perceived as a Turkey-EU problems". Also, it is said that the Aegean Sea is of vital importance for Turkey's security and economy and "Greece's initiaves of extending their territorial waters which is 6 miles is unacceptable. We have to protect our deterrence concerning the *casus belli* declaration. Greece must not be permitted to create *fait accomplies* in the islets and rocks in the Agean.", see, Balbay, Mustafa: "İşte Siyaset Belgesi", *Cumhuriyet*, 14 Kasım 2005 at
http://www.kenthaber.com/Haber/guncel/Normal/iste-siyaset-belgesi/ec09d524-c863-43ca-a0f8-e71ce4ff1fc0

[15] See, Ayman, Gülden (2000): *Tırmandırma Siyasetine Bir Örnek: S-300 Krizi.* Ankara, Ankara Çalışmaları/Asam Yayınları.

[16] For details see, Aksu, Fuat (2008): *Türk Dış Politikasında Zorlayıcı Diplomasi,* İstanbul, Bağlam Yayınları.

[17] All three crises are the ones which were solved by Turkey applying the strategy of coercive diplomacy. For details see, Aksu (2008), *ibid.,* pp. 194-287.

3. Détente Period

The crises between 1995 and 1999 reminded the parties that an escalation might not always be prevented during the sudden outbreak of a crisis and these crises can easily develop into armed conflict. For this reason, the need for dialogue and confidence building measures arised, to refrain the parties from practices that would prepare the ground for escalation. Even though the "hawkish party" in Greece did not lend support for the policy of confidence building measures, after the 1988 Athens and İstanbul Declarations common ground was reached about joint measures with the Madrid Declaration of 1997. According to this declaration, Greece pledged not to create unilateral *de facto* situations, *fait acomplies* and in return Turkey pledged not to have recourse to the threat of the use of force.[18] After the Madrid Declaration, the emphasis on confidence building measures increased and the US and NATO tried to provide durability to these measures. Despite this, in the 1998-1999 period and in the process of Öcalan's capture the policy pursued by Greece overshadowed the confidence building measures. Fortunately, after a short period of time it was possible to develop a more comprehensive dialogue process.

Just after the Öcalan crisis, with the purge of the "hawkish" party in Greece, the Simitis Government was able to pursue a more flexible policy and the policy of reconciliation was accelerated by the appointment of George Papandreou as Minister of Foreign Affairs.[19]

After the Öcalan crisis and especially after the exchange of letters between İsmail Cem and George Papandreou the "moderate dialogue" process was reestablished. The "moderate dialogue", which started with Cem and Papandreou correspondence[20], tried to achieve cooperation by putting aside fundamental disputes. Thus, it was presupposed that political decision-makers could more easily find common ground. Subsequently, the dialogue base has been strengthened with the signing of a series of cooperation treaties[21]. The subsequent earthquakes of 17 August 1999 in Turkey and in Greece on 7-8 September 1999 brought to the fore humanitarian feelings between peoples and created a kind of empathy.[22] This empathy is called the "earthquake diplomacy" and was reflected in the political sphere.[23]

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[18] Cem, İsmail (2004): *Türkiye Avrupa, Avrasya,* Birinci Cilt, İstanbul, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, pp. 88-96.

[19] In 1999, after PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan was captured after hiding in the Greek embassy in Kenya, the Foreign Minister Theodoros Pangalos, Minister of the Interior, Alekos Papadopoulos and the Minister of Public Order Filippos Petsalnikos had to resign because of their responsibility for the crisis.

[20] For letters see, at http://www.turkishgreek.org/mektupla.htm.

[21] See, Rumelili, Bahar: "Civil Society and the Europeanization of Greek–Turkish Cooperation", *South European Society & Politics,* Vol. 10, No. 1 (April 2005), pp. 45–56.

[22] Indeed there are many instances of solidarity between Turkish and Greek people in times of need. For instance, during the 1939 Erzincan Earthquake the people in Greece had sent a sum of 2 million Drahmis of aid collected to the earthquake victims in Turkey. Similarly, it is known that Turkey had sent aid relief to the starving people in German occupied Greece during the Second World War by the ship named Kurtuluş. On this topic, see, Macar, Elçin (2009): *İşte Geliyor Kurtuluş - Türkiye'nin 2. Dünya Savaşı'nda Yunanistan'a Yardımları 1940- 1942,* İzmir, İZTO Yayınları.

[23] On this topic see, Kubicek, Paul: "The Earthquake, Europe, and Prospects for Political Change in Turkey", *Middle East Review of International Affairs,* Vol. 5, No. 2 (Summer 2001).
Kubicek, Paul: "The Earthquake, Civil Society, and Political Change in Turkey: Assessment and Comparison with Eastern Europe", *Political Studies,* Vol. 50, No. 4, pp. 761 – 778.
Keridis, Dimitris: "Earthquakes, Diplomacy, and New Thinking in Foreign Policy", *World Affairs,* Vol. 30, No. 1 (2006), pp. 207-214.
Ker-Lindsay, James: "Greek-Turkish Rapprochement: the Impact of 'Disaster Diplomacy?", *Cambridge Review of International Affairs,* Vol. 14, No. 1 (2000), pp. 215-232.

Within this "positive" atmosphere, when the EU conferred candidate status on Turkey in the 1999 Helsinki Summit, Greece did not oppose Turkey's candidacy.

The conferring of candidate status on Turkey at the Helsinki Summit was a preferable option for both Turkey and Greece, and for the EU. The interests and expectations of the concerned parties converged in the recognition of membership status. In this regard, the Cyprus issue was also included within European mechanisms.[24] At this point, the EU appeared as an influential actor in softening the disputes[25]. The EU with this new role tried to balance the expectations of the parties and to erode the points of disagreement. However, the process showed that the EU had no capability for fulfilling this role. Even though no serious crisis which might increase the risk of armed conflict between Turkey and Greece had been experienced since 1999, a dialogue process was on track under the name of "exploratory negotiations"[26]. The decision-makers of both countries took good care not to use the Turkish-Greek disagreements for spurious interests. The dialogue continued between the two countries with official visits and economic cooperation, in which they tried to increase joint investment.

In general I can say that, with the entry into force of the confidence building measures and détente, a new process started in which the parties learned to live with the disputes between them.[27] "Securitized" issues within the framework of previous threat perceptions were not taken directly to a level of sensationalism, and thus the poisoning of relations was prevented. Both parties in the détente process found it appropriate for their national interests not to escalate sensitivities by mentioning fundamental problems, because the time and the background permitted such an approach.

4. The Period of Evolving Détente

Decision-makers in Turkey accepted the inclusion of traditional Turkish-Greek disputes into the EU framework, starting from the recognition of Turkey's candidate status at the 1999 Helsinki Summit, and thus they started the technical negotiations for handling disputes between Turkey and Greece, primarily on the Cyprus issue. The parties negotiated the bilateral problems maintaining the official views of the parties in the so-called "exploratory meetings", even though they were not binding. What was most relevant, EU membership, Turkish-Greek disputes and the voluntary acceptance of the conditionality of the permanent solution to the Cyprus question, were presented to public opinion as issues that could now be solved. In the beginning, the belief that Turkish-Greek disputes might be solved, presenting as an example the historical antagonism between Germany and France, if Turkey was accepted into the EU, provided significant support in the negotiations. However, this support was increasingly diminished in the course of the following years.

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[24] For a critical approach on the evaluation of the post-1999 Greek policy within the axis of "Europeanization" see, Tsardanidis, Charalambos and Stavridis, Stelios: "The Europeanisation of Greek Foreign Policy: a Critical Appraisal", *European Integration,* Vol. 27, No. 2 (June 2005), pp. 217–239.

[25] For details, see, Aksu, Fuat: "Ege ve Kıbrıs Sorunlarının Çözümünde Avrupa Birliği'nin Tutumu", *Stratejik Araştırmalar Dergisi,* Vol. 2, No. 3 (Şubat 2004), pp. 103-132.

[26] In fact, small crises were witnessed in relations, however, these were able to be evaded with common sense. On 23 May 2006, during a "dog fight", Turkish and Greek planes had crashed, the Greek pilot lost his life and the Turkish pilot was wounded. For details see, Baykuş, Osman ve Savaş, Yüksel: "Ege'de Uçaklar Çarpıştı", *NTVMSNBC,* at http://arsiv.ntvmsnbc.com/news/374220.asp.

[27] For details see; at
http://www.mfa.gov.tr/data/DISPOLITIKA/Bolgeler/Yunanistan_Guven_artirici_onlemler.pdf.

If we examine the expressions contained in the Negotiating Framework, it appears that it was impossible for Turkey to accept a relationship based on conditionality in advance. Indeed, the "historical" process starting from the acceptance of the Full Membership Negotiation Document manifest how difficult the change was in many respects.[28] This process of limited change reflects at the same time the credibility dilemma of the parties concerned. The contradictions between the words and actions of the parties were so deep that it induced notable pessimism even in those who supported membership.

The dominant opinion was that if a just and lasting solution could be found between the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities within the framework of the Annan Plan, Turkey's EU membership could also be carried out in the positive atmosphere of this solution. However, the EU's declaration in 2003, stating that they would welcome the "Republic of Cyprus" to the EU even without a solution to the problem, and subsequently the collapse of the Annan Plan, caused new problems with both the Cyprus issue and in Turkey–EU relations. In that process, all the efforts of the Turkish party focused on breaking the image of Turkey as the "aggrieved party" and concrete policy changes were made in that respect.[29] In general terms, it can be said that these efforts were succesful. The Turkish government found the opportunity to present itself as the "aggrieved party" both in the international and national sphere punished by the fact that it desires reunification and agreement, with the Greek rejection of the Annan Plan and the failure of the UN Secretary General mediation efforts. After Turkey's proposals[30] concerning the lifting of the isolation measures and restrictions, which were mutually applied on 30 May 2005, an Action Plan in 24 January 2006[31] proposed the simultaneous lifting of all the restrictions in Cyprus and a call was made to the UN Secretary General.

It may be asked if the European Union really welcomed Turkey as a full member or if it supported Turkey as a means to facilitate Turkey's adaptation process. On the other hand, it is a fact that Turkey's fundamental policy concerning full membership had many deficiencies. On the other hand, Turkey seems to have been slack regarding the reforms which she "had" to carry out, stemming from the EU's fundamental values. The point should be made that it is not a question of the Turkish acceptance of every grievance and deficiency which the EU expresses in progress reports and in the solutions favoured by the EU. The non-negotiable topics concerning Turkey's fundamental sensitivities and priorities were excluded. On the other hand, many regulations to be made concerning economic, commercial, fiscal, legal, etc., areas were either never realized or stayed on paper. This situation brings both parties against each other in terms of credibility. While the EU starts to display a rigid attitude in the negotiations by arguing that Turkey is not willing and determined in applying the necessary reforms, Turkey thinks that the EU is indeed unwilling to welcome Turkey by continously delaying her membership and by demanding impossible things. In other words, it seems that

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[28] On this topic see, Aksu, Fuat: "Türkiye-Avrupa Birliği Tam Üyelik Müzakerelerinde Kıbrıs ve Ege Uyuşmazlıkları", in Erol, Mehmet Seyfettin ve Efegil, Ertan (eds.) (2007): *Türkiye-AB İlişkileri: Dış Politika ve İç Yapı Sorunsalları,* Ankara, Alp Yayınları, pp. 25-59.
[29] For instance she supported the opening of the border gates to passage in Cyprus and showed that she was in favor of a reconciliation by applying the ECHR decisions in the Loizidou and Arsenis cases, even though they was against Turkey. Similarly, changes were made in areas where the grievances of non-Muslim minorities were intensified within the framework of the adjustment laws and there was a strong attempt to abolish obstacles facing the community foundations in terms of acquiring property.
[30] For details see; at http://www.mfa.gov.tr/kibris_taki-kisitlamalarin-kaldirilmasi-onerisi-hakkinda-sayin-bakanimizin-aciklamasi_-30-mayis-2005.tr.mfa.
[31] For details of the "Action Plan on Lifting of Restrictiıons in Cyprus", at http://www.mfa.gov.tr/data/DISPOLITIKA/KIBRIS/S-2006-48-%C4%B0ngilizce.pdf .

the normalization of Turkey-Greece relations and the solution of the disputes are not now high priority in the EU [32].

Although both parties are right about points in this debate, it is Turkey's "securitized" issues which endanger the process and question the EU's credibility. Expectations of change in Turkish decision-makers on topics concerning the unity and integrity of the state, its secular democratic structure and its sovereign rights produced a non-desired effect: these decision-makers stuck to defensive policies. In this case, they acted by doing a cost/benefit analysis of EU membership and taking into consideration its possible delegitimization before national public opinion. Some of the changes that were demanded by the EU from Turkey are issues securitized by Turkey, like the rights and status of minorities, border disputes and relations with neighbours.[33] Turkey does not wish for any link to be drawn between these issues and Turkey's EU membership and does not accept that they can be presented as a condition. The things demanded from Turkey in relations with the EU are very real and could produce a deep impact on the policies pursued by Turkey for many years. For instance, Turkey resists "solutions" which will alter the "Lausanne Balance" between Turkey and Greece in favour of Greece. She only suppports peaceful solutions and negotiations permitted by international law in order to relieve the existing disputes. However, it is hard to claim that this policy is accepted. Greece suggests going directly to the International Court of Justice rather than a negotiation of these litigations, and not on all of the questions but only on the issue of the continental shelf[34]. The EU, in the process of Turkey's accession to the EU as a member took sides and demanded that Turkey adopt changes on these crucial issues, thus indicating that it regards the settlement of these issues as a precondition.

Another instance in the credibility dilemma concerns the Cyprus question. After the EU accepted the Greek Cypriot Administration as a full member of the EU by a political decision, using the name of the "Cyprus Republic", Turkey had to face some challenges and impasses. The first was how Turkey's membership process would be influenced by these developments, and the second was what the future of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus would be. Because of the 24 April 2004 referendum, the Turkish Cypriot Community had accepted the solution proposed by the Annan Plan despite all its deficiencies, while the

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[32] For an evaluation in this respect see, Tsakonas, Panayotis J.: "How Can the European Union Transform the Greek-Turkish Conflict?", in Arvanitopoulos, C. (ed.) (2009): *Turkey's Accession to the European Union*, Berlin, Springer, pp. 117-119.

[33] Turkey officially only recognizes non-Muslims as a "minority" within the framework of the Lausanne Peace Treaty. However, in the progress reports demands are made concerning the evaluation of Alewites, Kurds and Roma with this status. While Turkey resisted on these points, starting with the beginning of the 2000s steps are being taken in areas like community foundations, property rights, where the grievances of non-Muslims are concentrated.

[34] It is possible to follow the fixity of the Greek position from the declarations of both the Karamanlis period and the Papandreu period. For instance, against the January 2008 declaration of Karamanlis during his visit to Turkey about the continuation of their position of appealing to the International Court of Justice for the Aegean Sea continental shelf, Prime Minister Erdoğan stated that the aim is to reach a comprehensive and inclusive solution. Similarly, the answer given to Prime Minister Erdoğan's letter of 30 October 2009, sent to Prime Minister Papandreou, clearly emphasizes that the continental shelf issue should be brought to the International Court of Justice. For the news in this regard see; "Ege Denizi, Barış Denizi Olmalı", *CNN TÜRK,* at http://www.cnnturk.com/2008/turkiye/01/23/ege.denizi.baris.denizi.olmali/420308.0/index.html.
"Eski Talepleri Masaya Koydu", *Milliyet*, 24 Ocak 2008, at http://www.milliyet.com.tr/Siyaset/HaberDetay.aspx?aType=HaberDetayArsiv&KategoriID=4&ArticleID=235494.
Kırbaki, Yorgo: "Ankara-Atina Hattında Yeni Dönemin Şifreleri", *Hürriyet*, 27 Ocak 2010, at http://arama.hurriyet.com.tr/arsivnews.aspx?id=13597636.
"Papandreou Seeks Dialogue with Erdogan", *Ekathimerini*, January 26, 2010, at http://www.ekathimerini.com/4dcgi/_w_articles_politics_0_26/01/2010_114360.

Greek Cypriot Community rejected the Plan. The Greek Cypriot Administration was accepted in the EU as a full member together with nine other candidates since the refusal of the "imposed" solution of the Annan Plan was not regarded as a pre-condition for accession to EU membership. This circumstance undermined the faith in, and the plans for, the realization of the Island's EU membership under a single political identity, and reinforced the perception that the EU had become a third party in the negotiation. The result was clear: a *de facto* bi-zonality of the Island was deepened with the rejection of the Annan Plan and the full member acceptance of the Greek Cypriot Administration to the EU. It apprears so in the EU documents: "the application of the acquis communitaire is suspended in the areas of the Republic of Cyprus in which the Government of the Republic of Cyprus does not exercise effective control." However, the EU has tried to ease the feeling of exclusion in the Turkish Cypriot Community to an extent and has adopted, on 27 February 2006, the 389/2006 Council Regulation to encourage economic development and the improvement of relations with the EU. According to this regulation, "the granting of such assistance shall not imply recognition of any public authority in the areas other than the Government of the Republic of Cyprus." Indeed this expression directly reflects the EU's outlook on the Cyprus issue and the Turkish Cypriot Community and refers to an idea which disregards the political-legal equality of the Cyprus Turkish community.

4. 1. Turkish-Greek Relations and Cyprus within the Framework of EU Obligations

For the 10 new members, which joined the Union on 1 May 2004 to benefit from the rights provided by the Ankara Treaty, a new protocol had to be accepted between Turkey and the EU. However, the implications of this protocol in the Turkish recognition of the Greek Cypriot Administration as "The Republic of Cyprus" created a new debate. The emergence of this issue as a new obstacle in Turkey's membership process strained the agenda. Nonetheless, Turkey informed the Council that it was ready to extend the Ankara Treaty to include the new members, adding a protocol to be prepared. However it opposed the inclusion of an expression which would mean the recognition of the Greek Cypriot Administration.

On the other hand, the decision to start the process of negotiation, dated 3 October 2005, forms a landmark in terms of Turkey-EU relations. Within the framework of the bargainings for starting the negotiations Turkey had to extend her obligations concerning the Customs Union in order to include the countries of the fifth expansion.

In addition, the ordinary practice of publishing the name of the new member created problems. The problem was overcome technically, with the inclusion of a word that does not reflect the connection between the Greek Cypriot Administration and the Republic of Cyprus, which was established with the 1960 Treaties. In the decision published in the Official Gazette the term "Cyprus" is used in place of "Republic of Cyprus"[35]. But, in order to overcome the political-legal questions of EU-Turkey relations an extension in an additional protocol was required. The preparation of such an additional protocol caused some apprehension that Turkey would deem the Greek Cypriot Administration as the "only legitimate representative" and recognize it with this title. At the 16-17 December 2004 EU Brussels Summit, Turkey declared that it would sign the Adaptation Protocol which extends the 1963 Ankara Treaty to all EU members after the completion of the necessary negotiations

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[35] "Türkiye ile Avrupa Topluluğu Arasında Oluşturulan Gümrük Birliğinin Uygulanmasına İlişkin Esaslar Hakkında Kararda Değişiklik Yapılmasına Dair Karar", at http://rega.basbakanlik.gov.tr/Eskiler/2004/10/20041002.htm#2.

and before the date of 3 October 2005. In the additional protocol the Greek Cypriot Administration was referred to as the "Republic of Cyprus", and Turkey added an explanatory declaration to the Additional Protocol as a remedy to relieve the apprehensions of a recognition. Indeed, Turkey ratified the protocol as a result of the negotiations she conducted with the British EU Presidency and in the ratification emphasized that "The Republic of Cyprus referred to in the protocol is not the original partnership State established in 1960" and thus declared that the ratification would not mean the recognition of the Greek Cypriot Adminstration. Also it was declared that even if Turkey is a party to the protocol, it "did not prejudice Turkey's rights and obligations emanating from the Treaty of Guarantee, the Treaty of Alliance, and the Treaty of Establishment of 1960…would not change the existing relations with the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus."[36]

As is understood from the declaration, Turkey's strategy for overcoming the obstacles which would interrupt the negotiation process was established on a *de facto* dimension of recognition. But the risk created by this declaration is a debatable issue. If it can be regarded by every party as implicitly agreed on as a *de facto* recognition, whether it would cause a *de jure* recognition can be debated both at national level and in EU circles. Turkey with a declaration expressed that she would only be forced to establish a relation with the Greek Cypriot Administration in the free movement of goods domain, within the framework of Customs Union, while she would not be forced to use air and seaports. However, this situation is also debatable. As is well known, the essence of the Customs Union is the free movement of goods among members. Together with this, at the Copenhagen Summit on 12-13 December 2002, the decision was taken on the "enhancing and developing" of the Customs Union. After Turkey's declaration added to the Additional Protocol, the EU also accepted a declaration on 21 September.[37] Subsequently, the European Parliament decided in September 2005 to delay the vote concerning the validity of the protocol. [38]

In the 2006 Turkey Progress Report, Turkey's declaration of support for the efforts to find a solution within the UN framework was considered positive. Meanwhile, it was mentioned that Turkey continued its policy of discrimination toward Cyprus while fulfilling the obligations stemming from the Additional Protocol. According to the report, "Turkey has continued to deny access to its ports to vessels flying the Republic of Cyprus flag or where the last port of call is in Cyprus. Such restrictions on shipping often preclude the most economical way of transport and therefore result in a barrier to free movement of goods and to trade. They infringe the Customs Union agreement. Similar restrictions continued to apply in the field of air transport." [39] In addition, it says that Turkey stated that she would not change her policy unless restrictions against the Turkish Cypriot community were lifted. European representatives continually reiterate that applying the Additional Protocol without discrimination is a must. Concerning relations with Greece, while the confidence building measures were welcomed during this period the obligations in the Negotiation Framework and Accession Partnership Document were also mentioned.

In the 2006 Enlargement Strategy Document, it states that, "Reaching a comprehensive solution in Cyprus and the unification of the island constitutes an important

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[36] For the Additional Protocol and Declaration see; http://www.mfa.gov.tr/ek-protokol-ve-deklarasyon-metni.tr.mfa.

[37] For the Additional Protocol and Declaration text see; http://www.mfa.gov.tr/ek-protokol-ve-deklarasyon-metni.tr.mfa.

[38] "Enlargement: Turkey - Declaration by the European Community and its Member States", at http://ue.int/ueDocs/newsWord/en/er/86299.doc.

[39] Turkey 2005 Progress Report, at http://www.ikv.org.tr/pdfs/IlerlemeRaporu-2005-2.pdf.

test". Concerning Turkey the document states: "The Accession Partnership Document which is accepted in January 2006 continues to be a measure of developments provided by the reforms" and after this statement it mentions that "good neighbourliness" relations between Turkey and the EU are of key importance, confirming that "The Commision will intensify its watch on political criteria". [40]

In this document, the fact that the Additional Protocol is expected to be applied without discrimination, and that all the obstacles against the free circulation of goods including the vehicles of transportation are to be lifted, and that a lack of fulfillment would influence the general course of the negotiations, is emphasized. According to the 2007 Turkey Progress Report, if Turkey does not fulfill her obligations "The Commision will make suggestions related to the issue prior to the EU summit in December", when Turkey's attitude concerning the Cyprus problem will be evaluated once the Negotiating Framework was accepted. It stated that Turkey continued to have a rigid attitude, especially in the application of the Additional Protocol, and the Council added in December 2006 that, "Following Turkey's non-fulfilment of its obligation of full and non-discriminatory implementation of the Additional Protocol to the Association Agreement, in December 2006 the Council decided that accession negotiations will not be opened on eight chapters relevant to Turkey's restrictions regarding the Republic of Cyprus and that no chapter will be provisionally closed until the Commission confirms that Turkey has fulfilled its commitments". The Council "…also decided to review progress made on the issues covered by the declaration of 21 September 2005 and invited the Commission to report on this in its annual reports, in particular in 2007, 2008 and 2009."[41]

In the following period, Turkey did not record any progress in the application of the Additional Protocol and continued its obstruction of the Greek Cypriot Administration's participation in international organizations. In this context, Turkey continued to veto Cyprus to stop it becoming a party to the Wassenaar Arrangement on Export Controls for Conventional Arms and Dual Use Goods and Technologies. In January, Turkey protested over the treaty agreed between the Cyprus Republic and Lebanon concerning the limitation of an exclusive economic zone for drilling oil and claimed that this treaty was not compatible with the clauses of the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee and with the principles of international law concerning maritime borders. Turkey thus questioned the right of the Cyprus Republic to agree such treaties. In addition, in March Turkey protested about the defense cooperation agreement between France and the Cyprus Republic because it was in violation of the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee.

In the Expansion Strategy Document prepared for 2007, the importance of developing Turkey-EU relations was emphasized and the uniqueness of Turkey's accession to the EU was underlined. Accordingly, "The common objective of the negotiations is accession as it is accepted by the October 2005 Summit by all Member States. The negotiations with Turkey is an open ended process whose result would not be guarenteed in advance" According to this document, the "good neighbourliness" relations continue to be a key to Turkey-EU relations and in the process of full membership. [42]

In the 2008 progress report, similar expressions are included, and it states that since the time lapsed from the Council decison of 2006 Turkey has not recorded any progress

[40] Turkey 2006 Progress Report, at http://www.mfa.gov.tr/data/AB/Ilerlemeraporu_en_8Kasim2006.pdf.
[41] *Ibid*.
[42] Turkey 2007 Progress Report, at http://www.mfa.gov.tr/data/AB/2007IlerlemeRaporu_ing.pdf.

concerning the application of the Additional Protocol.[43] Similarly, it mentions that exploratory negotiations have been continuing between Turkey and Greece concerning border disputes and the dialogue process is welcomed. However, after mentioning that while the *"casus belli"* decision of the Turkish Grand National Assembly of 1995 is still valid, it states that Turkey's commitment to the peaceful solution of disputes and good neighbourly relations harmonious with the UN Charter, and the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, is required. Refraining from actions or threats that would jeopardise the peaceful solution to disputes and good neighbourly relations is suggested.

5. Is it Possible to Move from Détente to Problem Solving?

During the détente period, 33 agreements were signed between the two countries and 24 Confidence Building Measures have been agreed on since 2000. This common consensus that facilitates relations based on trust may also ease the development of political and economic relations between two countries. Indeed, Prime Minister Erdoğan stated that they wished for cooperation between the two countries during his official visit to Greece on 6-8 May 2004. Prime Minister Erdoğan and Prime Minister Karamanlis displayed their determination on 18 November 2007 by meeting at a ceremony in İpsala, organized for the opening of the Turkey-Greece natural gas pipeline, whose foundation was laid on 3 July 2005.   Later, on 23-26 January 2008, Prime Minister of Greece Karamanlis made an official visit to Turkey. Both prime ministers after these meetings have expressed their resolve in developing bilateral relations.[44] In addition, military cooperation and visits have continued. The third joint exercise between the military disaster response units was conducted in May in Athens, and the Greek Chief of General Staff paid an official visit to Turkey in May 2008.

After the elections of 2009, the PASOK party led by George Papandreou came to power. Once the government was established, Papandreou paid an official visit to Turkey, increasing hopes that bilateral relations would be improved even more. Indeed, in the letter sent by Prime Minister Erdoğan to Greece Prime Minister Papandreou this wish of cooperation was repeated, with the hope of finding a lasting solution to bilateral problems. [45]

On the other hand, the year 2010 has signs of becoming a turning point in relations, which are trying to be pursued. Activities are supported in the areas where cooperation might be developed, for instance between NGOs, businessmen, chambers of commerce, business associations, local administrations, media and universities; even though it does not express a sharp turn around or break-out. Despite this, the priorities of both sides are changing. It can be observed that the cadres of Turkey, Greece, Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot sides, which are expected to solve existing questions with a just and lasting solution, are struggling with serious questions domestically. Naturally, this situation might hinder the efforts for a lasting solution to the disagreements. In Turkey this is a chaotic period in domestic politics, besides the contention of civil politicians the military-civilian contentions are harming confidence in the institutions. When the post 2002 elections period is evaluated as a whole, the AKP/JDP (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi / Justice and Development Party) governments have been losing

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[43] See European Union Strategy Paper, at http://www.mfa.gov.tr/data/AB/2007StrategyPaper_EN.doc.
[44] Turkey 2008 Proggress Report, at http://www.mfa.gov.tr/data/AB/2008-ab-ilerleme-raporu.pdf.
[45] For news concerning the visits see, "2008-01-23 Yunanistan Başbakanı Karamanlis'in Türkiye Ziyareti – Derleme", at http://www.abgs.gov.tr/index.php?p=41279&l=1.
Prime Minister Karamanlis's visit is also important in the sense that it was the first official visit by a Prime Minister of Greece in 49 years.

support for many of the main problems, which constitute the foreign policy agenda. They have been unable to accomplish concrete successes either in domestic or foreign policy. The policies pursued in terms of relations with the US, the Kurdish Question, EU membership, relations with Armenia are left without any concrete success and they haven't been able to improve Turkey's image abroad. The policy of "zero problem with neighbours", even though gratifying as an expression, has not had an impact, let alone even partially changing the image of the "intransigent party" attributed to Turkey.[46] The initiatives for developing the zones of economic cooperation and regional energy traffic are on track for now despite the problems.

On the other hand, it is possible to hear declarations that the foreign policy pursued is not adequately recognized. For instance, Egemen Bağış, who is Minister of EU Affairs and the Chief Negotiator, said that "the EU process is an important process for Turkey but not as important as to sacrifice Cyprus" [47]and Prime Minister Erdoğan harshly criticised the European Parliament's decision about Cyprus in the meeting with the ambassadors of the EU countries. Erdoğan, mentioning the consequences of the Annan Plan, said "while 65% 'yes' vote is recorded in Northern Cyprus, 75% 'no' is recorded in Southern Cyprus. How come that Turkey and Turkish Cypriots are regarded as faulty? Is this European Parliament blind? […] This approach, which is away from all kinds of feelings of justice, has, with the slightest expression, led to great disappointment. The European Parliament's function should not be to act as a spokesperson for the Greek Cypriot side and meet all their groundless claims and demands." [48]

In Greece, first the Simitis Government and later the Karamanlis Government preferred to pursue a policy shaped by Turkey's moves in its relations with the EU in favour of an open policy which could make concrete progress in relations. Thus, both the Simitis and Karamanlis Governments are relieved of dealing directly with Turkey and tried to influence Turkey's policy within the axis of the relationship of conditionality. In this respect, both governments give priority to the Cyprus issue instead of to the Turkish-Greek disputes. When evaluated with respect to the terms of 1999-2004, the EU membership of the Greek Cypriots provided a similar approach. The Turkish Cypriots were left outside the EU umbrella in the axis of the negotiations conducted between Turkey and the EU. In the following period, the economic problems that the Papandreou Government had to address after assuming power put it in a difficult position and a more active foreign policy could not be pursued. In this process the Papandreou Government's economic and political agenda (both in the sense of Greece and the EU) prevent the possibility of solving the problems with Turkey in a lasting manner.

Similar problems also exist for the parties in Cyprus. In the Turkish Cypriot party, during the 2003-2004 process, the exclusion of President Rauf Denktaş from the negotiation and decision-making process, and subsequently the election of Mehmet Ali Talat as President, did not allow progress in those years. The Annan Plan was submitted to referendum in 2004 and the Turkish Cypriot community approved the Plan with 65% in favour while the Greek Cypriots refused the Plan with 75% against. This situation created disappointment in the AKP Government and in the leadership of the Turkish Cypriots who were in favour of accepting the Plan despite its many deficiencies. The Turkish side, who hoped to find supporters in the EU and UN in return for supporting the Plan, and hoped that the restrictions would be lifted,

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[46] For the press declaration in this respect see; at http://www.basbakanlik.gov.tr/Forms/pDetay.aspx.
[47] For details see; "Egemen Bağış Kıbrıs ve AB'yi karşılaştırdı", *CNNTURK*, 8 Şubat 2010, at http://www.cnnturk.com/2010/dunya/02/08/egemen.bagis.kibris.ve.abyi.karsilastirdi/562891.0/index.html.
[48] For details see, "Erdoğan AB'ye seslendi: Gözleriniz kör mü?", *Cumhuriyet*, 11 Şubat 2010, at http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/?im=yhs&hn=114144. "Erdoğan lashes out at EU: Open your eyes on Cyprus", *Zaman*, 12 February, 2010, at http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/news-201317-erdogan-lashes-out-at-eu-open-your-eyes-on-cyprus.html.

was disappointed and moreover was unable to prevent the full membership of the Greek Cypriot Administration to the EU. It is legitimate to say that the Greek side was rewarded even as a party who, by rejecting the Annan Plan, blocked reconciliation.

In the following years, intense efforts to reach an agreement were made by President Talat and Greek Cypriot Presidents Tassos Papadapulos and Demetris Christofias. However, negotiations were not concluded during the course of 6 years. This situation has special importance since President Talat's tenure will end soon. The Prime Minister Derviş Eroğlu's declaration of the ruling UBP/NUP (Ulusal Birlik Partisi / National Unity Party) Government that he would be a candidate for Presidency made the fate of the current negotiations rather blurred. In the declarations made from the Greek Cypriot side they emphasized that they tried to help President Talat in the domestic realm, and that strengthens the opinion that no solution is possible in the short term. In addition, there are groups on the Greek Cypriot side who are rather disturbed by the negotiations conducted between Christofias and Talat. Even the coalition partner The Movement for Social Democracy-EDEK Party has withdrawn its support to the government on the grounds that Demetris Christofias "gave concessions to Turkish party in the unification negotiations"[49] In this context, it can be observed that the Greek Cypriot side has made declarations to endanger the negotiation process. The Greek Cypriot Parliament stated that the guarantees and rights of guarantor states were unacceptable in a "Cyprus Republic" who would be an EU member with a decision taken.[50] This decision has caused a Turkish reaction and it was stated that the ongoing negotiations would be endangered.[51] The Republican Parliament of the TRNC took a decision emphasizing the essentiality of the Guarantee and Alliance Treaties by evaluating the developments on the Greek Cypriot side.[52] Within the framework of the Turkish-Greek relations, it is not easy to find a solution to the existing problems. The détente process, which was initiated at the end of the 1990s was important in the sense that it showed that the two peoples can cohabitate side by side despite the problems. Foreign trade between the two countries is about 3 billion dollars on average in the last three years.[53] Even though a contraction in bilateral trade was observed in 2009 this could be deemed as normal taking into consideration the global crisis. The foreign trade figure of 2008 was 3.5 billion dollars. Comparing this figure with the figure of 700 million dollars in 1999, the economic progress in the last decade is obvious. On the other hand, while a Turkish bank (Finansbank) was sold to Greek businessmen in 2008 a Turkish bank (Ziraat Bankası) started to operate in Greece by opening branches in Athens and Komothini (Gümülcine). Nevertheless, the process is also difficult since new questions are being added to the existing ones. The emergence of the new questions besides the old ones creates a web of increasingly complicated problems. A Maritime jurisdiction dispute in the Eastern Mediterranean and the inclusion of the EUROCONTROL responsibility regions of

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[49] For a different evaluation of this topic see, Hasgüler, Mehmet: "Nereye Kıbrıs Nereye? Kıbrıs Türk Halkı bu Oyuna Gelmez", *USAK Stratejik Gündem,* at http://www.usakgundem.com/yazar/1443/nereye-k%C4%B1br%C4%B1s-nereye-k%C4%B1br%C4%B1s-t%C3%BCrk-halk%C4%B1-bu-oyuna-gelmez.html.

[50] For details see, Bilge, Ömer: "Rum Meclisinden Garantörlüğe 'Hayır' Kararı", *CNN TÜRK,* at http://www.cnnturk.com/2010/dunya/02/19/rum.meclisinden.garantorluge.hayir.karari/564541.0/index.html. "House – No Guarantees", at http://www.cna.org.cy/website/english/announcedisplay2.asp?id=1.

[51] In the press statement of the National Security Council which met on 19 February 2010 the need for a just and lasting solution in the island is mentioned and "Turkey will continue to fulfill her responsibilities towards the Turkish Cypriots within the framework of Turkey's conventional rights and obligations concerning Cyprus" is emphasized. See, at http://mgk.gov.tr/Turkce/basinbildiri2010/19subat2010.html.

[52] "'Garantilerin Vazgeçilmezliği' KKTC'de Kabul Edildi", *Cumhuriyet*, 24 Şubat 2010, at http://cumhuriyet.com.tr/?hn=117370.

[53] http://www.tuik.gov.tr/VeriBilgi.do?tb_id=12&ust_id=4

the Mediterranean are among these and are prone to cause sovereignty disputes in relations with Greece and Cyprus.[54]

6. Conclusion

Security building measures, moderate dialogue, the détente and the anchor of the European Union are not by themselves adequate for the development of firm relations. Although these are positive efforts, for a permanent solution more advanced and determined steps to fundamental problems should be taken. Beyond creating a rapprochement/détente, the creation of "peaceful cohabitation" and an "integration culture" in Turkish-Greek relations, and providing its functionality, requires three fundamental phases. The first is creating the security building measures between the parties. The second phase is the implementation of confidence building measures, refraining the parties from any action which might cause an escalation that could endanger cooperation and mutual trust. The third phase is the direct negotiation phase in which the parties tackle the disputes in a compromise plan. The negotiation process, even though it is a phase where bilateral problems might be solved by the political will of the parties, creates other peaceful solution options for the parties. As frequently emphasized by Turkey, in the disputed areas where the parties could not reach a solution, the parties might appeal to judiciary methods like the International Court of Justice and arbitration courts if the parties agree about the existence of disputes. In the post-1999 process, even though progress has been recorded in the first two phases, the direct negotiations phase has still not been reached. For the time being, this phase is full of traps and the political decision-makers do not dare to take steps.

In solving the disputes it is possible to devise slightly different answers and proposals. In my opinion, the Lausanne Peace Treaty lies at the basis of the *status quo* and points of litigation. The Lausanne Peace Treaty is the fundamental legal document which establishes a balance and *status quo* concerning the rights and interests of the two countries. However, at present, some questions between the two countries are extant because the *status quo* established by the Treaty either hasn't been attained or has been directly violated.

To give an example, the ambiguities concerning the maritime borders of the Aegean Sea, which we experienced because of the Kardak/Imia Rocks, is such a question. Since Lausanne, the two countries have not mapped out the common maritime borders. Such a mapping-out (line of demarcation) was not carried out when 3 mile territorial waters were applied, and it was also not done in the regulations of 6 mile territorial waters applied by Greece in 1936 and by Turkey in 1964. In this process, both countries delineated the limits of their territorial waters on their own maps and in their own declarations. Thus appropriate grounds were created for the claims of disagreement and violations. Another parallel example might be the violations of rights and arguments regarding Turkish and Greek minorities. The articles of the Lausanne Treaty concerning minority issues are not fully observed and/or implemented. Instead, a 'confusion' policy was carried out, which led to an increase in the number of unfortunate incidents in both countries and such events were interpreted as violations of basic human rights. Another observation is that the Lausanne Peace Treaty does not contain any verdicts concerning the contemporary rights of sovereignty. For the time being, since new definitions of rights have emerged in international law, especially in

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[54] These issues are dealt with in the 19 February 2010 statement of the NSC and their importance is underlined in terms of Turkey's rights and interests of sovereignty.See.; *ibid.*

maritime law, there is the necessity of concluding a new agreement between Turkey and Greece as the littoral states of the Aegean. The parties must reach an agreement on a new legal/political status concerning the continental shelf, exclusive economic zone, contiguous zone, etc.

A third observation is that the Aegean Sea is a unique example in terms of both geographical formations and the distribution of sovereignty. In this sea, the islands, which are situated more than three miles from the Anatolian coasts, are left to Greece. This fact does not automatically mean that all the islands, which are outside the realm of three miles, are left to Greece, because according to Turkey's opinion the islands transferred at Lausanne are listed by name. Those islands whose names are not listed belong to Turkey within the successor's principle. If expressed in a wide interpretation, according to the Lausanne Peace Treaty, the sovereignty of that kind of island would be decided later by negotiations among the parties. If we return to the original argument, the fact that the Aegean constitutes a unique case makes it difficult to reach an equitable solution in the distribution of jurisdiction and sovereignty in that sea. For instance, if the territorial waters were extended beyond 6 miles, Turkey would suffer irretrievable loss of rights.

A fourth observation is about the asymmetrical power balance between Turkey and Greece. The mentioned power balance is not the military balance of power per se, but the balance of power concerning economic and political capability and strategy forming. Although Turkish superiority could be stated in terms of military power, it can be said that Greece is, relatively, more favoured than Turkey in terms of economic capacity, flexibility in forming political alliances and talent in developing strategy. For instance, the active use of the Greek Diaspora and lobbying, economic pressure and the manipulation of interest groups, and other features like full membership in the EU, can be listed in this regard.

As a result, despite the disagreements that have continued for years, since the 2000s an environment of consensus has been developed in bilateral relations. However, both the features of the disagreements and the national and international environment make it difficult to bring negotiations to a problem-solving phase. Nevertheless, for now the greatest accomplishment is that both parties regard dialogue instead of escalation in crises as the main axis of relations.

AN IMPROBABLE PARTNERSHIP: SPANISH AND KAZAKH EFFORTS TO BRING CENTRAL ASIA TO THE FORE OF EUROPEAN POLITICS

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Abstract:

The paper addresses the potential for the current Spanish Presidency of the Council of the EU and the Kazakh Chairmanship of the OSCE to coordinate efforts in turning Central Asia into a more prominent area of interest in European politics. It provides an analysis of the interests and major areas of interaction of the two organisations in Central Asia and puts forward a reflection on the impact that such an improbable partnership can have in shifting mutual perspectives and in developing a long-term outlook for the EU and the OSCE in Central Asia.

Keywords: EU, OSCE, Central Asia.

Resumen:

El artículo discute sobre el potencial de la actual Presidencia española del Consejo de la UE y la Presidencia kazaja de la OSCE para coordinar esfuerzos en convertir a Asia Central en un área de interés más prominente para la política europea. Aporta un análisis de los intereses y de las principales áreas de interacción de las dos organizaciones en Asia Central y propone una reflexión sobre el impacto que tan improbable asociación podría tener en cambiar las perspectivas mutuas y en desarrollar una visión a largo plazo para la UE y la OSCE en Asia Central.

Palabras clave: UE, OSCE, Asia Central.

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1. Introduction

During much of 2010, the chances that the remote region of Central Asia will make it to the agenda of European politics are high. As Kazakhstan takes the Chairmanship of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) during 2010, Spain will lead the foreign policy of the European Union (EU), under the new rules of the Lisbon Treaty, providing the opportunity for both institutions to deepen cooperation on this strategic region. Moreover, the ongoing political crisis, which surfaced in Kyrgyzstan last April, has only added concern and urgency to such cooperation.[2] This improbable alignment of interests began to develop in 2007, when the decision to award Kazakhstan with the 2010 Chairmanship of the OSCE was taken, at the Madrid Ministerial Conference. Since then, Madrid has sought to increase its bilateral presence in the region and deepen economic and political ties with Central Asia, and it has announced that one of its priorities for the first semester of 2010 will be to conduct an assessment and revision of the EU's Strategy for Central Asia, approved in 2007.[3] This partnership promises to increase Central Asian chances of being an important topic in European politics, particularly considering the security concerns linked to Afghanistan and the political instability in Kyrgyzstan. However, although there is great potential for cooperation, not only between the two countries, but also between the two organisations in addressing the urgent and long-term challenges of Central Asia, the risk remains that neither Astana nor Madrid will have the necessary strength to push the agendas of these two complex organisations towards long-term engagement with the region.

The OSCE has been under intense critique over the last years, especially due to what has been perceived in Moscow as an unbalanced approach to the organisation's so-called three baskets.[4] The human dimension dealing with democracy, human rights and rule of law has been advanced much more clearly than the politico-military and economic-environmental ones. This has been most visible in the election observation activities conducted by the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR). Following the war in Georgia in 2008, the organisation lost even more credibility as the central arena for cooperation on security issues in Europe. Russia vetoed the extension of the OSCE mandate in Georgia, leaving the EU as the only international presence to monitor and report on the existing cease-fire agreement, between Georgia and Russia.[5]

Responding to the new challenges of the post-cold war context in Europe, the EU has undergone profound reforms aimed both at domestic consolidation and external projection.[6]

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[2] Simão, Licínia: "Democracia a ferro e fogo? Relato e análise dos acontecimentos no Quirguistão", *IPRI Occasional Paper*, no. 45 (12 April 2010); Trilling, David: "Letter from Bishkek", *Foreign Affairs* (12 April 2010); Reeves, Madeleine: "Breaking point: Why the Kyrgyz lost their patience", *Open Democracy* (19 April 2010).

[3] "Inovating Europe, Programme for the Spanish Presidency of the Council of the European Union, 1 January - 30 June 2010". Available at
http://www.eu2010.es/export/sites/presidencia/comun/descargas/Spanish_Presidency_Program.pdf. See also "Spain and Kazakhstan in the chair", *EUCAM Watch*, no. 7 (December 2009).

[4] Ghebali, Victor-Yves: "Growing Pains at the OSCE: The Rise and Fall of Russia's Pan-European Expectations", *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, vol. 18, no. 3 (October 2005), pp. 375-388.

[5] Popescu, Nicu: "Europe's Unrecognised Neighbours: The EU in Abkhazia and South Ossetia", *CEPS WorkingDocuments*, no. 260 (March 2007), pp. 10-11.

[6] Bretherton, Charlotte and Vogler, John (2006): *The European Union as a global actor*, New York, Routledge; Schneider; Gerard (2002): "A never ending success story. The dynamics of widening and deepening European integration" *in* Steunenberg, Bernard (ed.) *Widening the European Union. The politics of institutional change and reform*, New York, Routledge, pp. 183-201. Best, Edward (2008): "Widening, deepening ...and diversifying: has enlargement shaped new forms of EU governance?" *in* Best, Edward; Christiansen, Thomas and Settembri,

Several initiatives stand out as pushing the EU towards a global role in international affairs and particularly in promoting regional stability. The definition of a common foreign policy, with the Maastricht Treaty, provided the tools and institutional rearrangements necessary to establish common priorities and common positions. The 2004 "big bang" enlargement, which included most of the countries from Central and Eastern Europe, was another major drive to consolidate the EU's role as a fundamental actor in European politics. Finally the European Neighbourhood Policy, established in 2003, provided a more coherent framework for relations with the direct neighbours of the enlarged EU, thus placing the Union as a fundamental piece in the pan-European security.[7]

The EU's (and NATO's) enlargements and new roles pose, nevertheless, a dilemma for the OSCE, as well as for Moscow. Thus, both the Finish and the Greek Chairmanships of the OSCE put in motion a process of approximation and trust-building – the Corfu Process –, aiming to address the issues of purpose and method of the OSCE, the largest existing pan-European organisation. Although the outcomes of this process are long-term, positive signs have emerged, suggesting that not only might the organisation overcome the difficulties of political dialogue and trust among its member states, but also that the organisation will strive to remain central in any efforts at revising the existing European security order.[8] Therefore, Kazakhstan's Chairmanship is most timely in diffusing fears of new division lines in the OSCE area. This will mean more careful attention at the needs of all its member states, not least Central Asia, something Kazakhstan has indicated as a central concern for 2010.[9]

How much Astana will be able to deliver during this year has been a concern of the OSCE participating states. The country has little experience in steering such a large and complex organisation, particularly at this unstable period. Moreover, the financial crisis of 2008 also made less financial resources available in Kazakhstan. This has not prevented Astana from promoting the idea of organizing an OSCE summit in Astana; the first that the organisation will have in 10 years. This ambitious proposal seems to be supported by several member states, not least Russia, but also Spain, which has been very active in assisting Kazakhstan in its preparations to take over the leadership of the OSCE.

2. Kazakh-Spanish Cooperation

Traditionally, member states holding the EU Presidency tend to put forward their particular agendas, seeking to capitalize on the visibility and resources at their disposal. However, Spain faces a particular challenge, having taken the first Presidency of the Council of Ministers to be exercised under the new rules of the Lisbon Treaty. This new division of powers in the EU's foreign policy is still to be translated into operational details, but so far the permanence

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Pierpaolo (ed.) (2008): *The Institutions of the Enlarged European Union*, Cheltenham, Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd., pp. 222-242.

[7] Stefanova, Boyka: "The European Union as a Security Actor. Security provision through enlargement", *World Affairs*, vol. 168, no. 2 (Fall 2005), pp. 51-66. Dannreuther, Roland: "Developing the alternative to enlargement: the European Neighbourhood Policy", *European Foreign Affairs Review*, no. 11 (2006), pp. 183-201.

[8] "Foreign Minister and OSCE Chairperson Ms. Dora Bakoyannis, opening remarks at the Corfu Meeting with OSCE Foreign Ministers", *Organization of Security and Cooperation of Europe (OSCE)* (28th June 2009), available at: http://www.mfa.gr/www.mfa.gr/Articles/en-US/280609_K_2122.htm.

[9] "Statement by Mr. Kanat Saudabayev, chairman-in-office of the OSCE and Secretary of State and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan, at the 789th meeting of the OSCE Permanent Council", *Organization of Security and Cooperation of Europe (OSCE),* Vienna, (14 January 2010), available at http://www.osce.org/documents/cio/2010/01/42290_en.pdf.

of the rotating Presidency has had the advantage of allowing some level of preparation and continuity in the EU's foreign policy, at this moment of transition. Therefore, seeking to take on a new more comprehensive view of the EU's priorities, Madrid has announced Central Asia as one of its priorities for the first semester of 2010.

As acknowledged by Spanish officials, the current security situation surrounding Afghanistan and the EU's interests in Central Asian energy give the motto for a reassessment of the EU's strategy and provide the opportunity for Spain to take the lead.[10] Spain, like other EU countries, has cooperated closely with Kazakhstan in its preparations for the 2010 OSCE Chairmanship, promoting bilateral meetings at the Foreign Ministry level, but also in Vienna at the OSCE Headquarters. The political crisis in Kyrgyzstan only added urgency to such interactions, and both the EU and the OSCE sent their Special Representatives to Bishkek, while Spanish Foreign Minister Miguel Ángel Moratinos, discussed the issue with the Kazakh Foreign Minister at the EU-Central Asia ministerial meeting, in Brussels, at the end of April.

Moreover, Madrid has also started to develop close economic cooperation with the region, supported by sustained political interaction. The year of 1999 marked an important departure from the previous lack of cooperation, with the reciprocal opening of embassies in Madrid and Almaty. Moreover, the Spanish King, Juan Carlos I, visited the region in the summer of 2001 and has developed close and personal relations with President Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan. As Álex González argues, Spanish foreign policy towards the region evolved closely with the EU's, at first marked by a strong economic dimension, but becoming more comprehensive after September 11 and the war in Afghanistan, to include security concerns as well.[11] The Spanish OSCE Chairmanship in 2007 was another fundamental stepping stone to bring Central Asia to the fore of Spanish priorities. Plans for the opening of a second embassy in Central Asia, most likely in Uzbekistan are under way, as well as an expansion of cultural diplomatic ties. Naturally, such contacts have produced dividends for the Spanish companies looking to take part in Kazakhstan's fast economic development (namely Repsol and the Spanish train builder Talgo). Illustrating this attempt to bring Central Asia to the fore, Madrid has also set up an Observatory for Central Asia, gathering experts on the region, which can provide insight on the priorities which should be undertaken towards the region.

Nevertheless, the fast deteriorating political climate in Central Asia must be addressed and poses a challenge to European relations with the region. After the expectations that the Tulip Revolution in Kyrgyzstan, in 2005, would positively influence the democratization processes in the region, a backlash on democracy, human rights and rule of law, strengthened by efforts to curb radical Islam in the region, has left the Central Asian societies further constrained by the current regimes. Moreover, as the financial crisis limited resources available, these societies have also been hampered in their economic perspectives, including civil society actors, largely dependent of external assistance to maintain their activities. The attribution of the OSCE Chairmanship to Kazakhstan was particularly controversial in this regard.[12] Although Kazakhstan has experienced some level of liberalization, mainly in the economic sphere, and the Kazakh leaders made specific commitments to improving political

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[10] "Interview with Luis Felipe de la Peña, Director General for Europe & North America, Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Cooperation", *EUCAM Watch*, no. 2 (January 2010).

[11] González, Álex: "España, ¿nuevo motor europeo de las relaciones con Asia Central?" *Monografías del Observatorio de Política Exterior Europea*, no. 4 (February 2008).

[12] Pannier, Bruce: "Doubts Rise as Kazakhstan Prepares for OSCE Chairmanship", *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Press Room*, 5 December 2009, at
http://www.rferl.org/content/feature/1895964.html.

and civic liberties in the country, in the run-up to their Chairmanship,[13] the highly centralized political authority in the hands of President Nazarbayev has left the parliament controlled by his party, while a personality cult of the President is taking shape. Civil society and journalists are among the most endangered professional classes, not only in Kazakhstan but through most of Central Asia and the former-Soviet space.[14] Recent reports on the deaths of two prominent Kyrgyz journalists in Almaty, Kazakhstan, raised concern not only with the increasingly repressive nature of the previous Kyrgyz regime, but also with the possible involvement of Kazakh authorities in these events.[15] This is certainly a major setback in political freedoms in Central Asia, which both Spain, in its position as spokesperson for the European Union, and the remaining OSCE participating states will have to address.

3. Overlapping Agendas and Mismatched Approaches

The definition of the agendas of large organisations, such as the EU and the OSCE, is a highly constrained process. Countries leading them at a certain moment can only in a limited way influence the direction they take. Nevertheless, the promotion of major events or the public commitment to certain priorities represents an opportunity to make a lasting impression in the institutional history of these organisations and eventually to decisively influence substantive discussions. This process is fairly well documented for the European Union[16], and similar dynamics take place in the OSCE. Kazakhstan has sought to promote a very specific view of what the priorities should be for the organisation, during 2010. Both President Nazarbayev and Foreign Minister Kanat Saudabaev have underlined the importance of the Kazakh Chairmanship to "bring the countries to the East and West of Vienna closer together" and to move the OSCE beyond an approach "segmented into blocs, where the West remains aloof from the space 'east of Vienna'".[17] This means not only a renovated attention to the problems facing the countries in the CIS, and Central Asia in particular, but also a shift towards security issues in these regions and eventually away from electoral observation and democracy promotion.

In this respect, and as initiated by the Corfu Process, the OSCE is well positioned to host the debate on the security in Europe, including here a revision of the organisation's legal status, a debate on the Russian President's proposal on a Treaty for European Security, and the enforcement of the Agreement on Adoption of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe. Moreover, transnational threats such as drug trafficking, nuclear proliferation and counter-terrorism are also part of an agenda, largely shared both in the West and among Central Asian states. This has been framed in the context of the ongoing conflict in Afghanistan, where Kazakhstan has been particularly active through assistance, and where the

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[13] Freedom House and OSCE-2010 Kazakhstan NGOs Coalition (2009): *The OSCE and Kazakhstan: Reform Commitments remain unfulfilled*. Available at
http://oscemonitor.freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/The_OSCE_Chairmanship_and_Kazakhstan_FINAL.pdf.
[14] J.G. Cefalo: "Journalists In Central Asia Struggle In 'Atmosphere Of Hopelessness And Fear'", *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, 13 January 2010, at
http://www.rferl.org/content/Journalists_In_Central_Asia_Struggle/1928436.html.
[15] *Ibid*.
[16] Schalk, Jelmer; Torenvlied, René; Weesie, Jeroen; Stokman, Frans: "The Power of the Presidency in EU Council Decision-Making", *European Union Politics*, vol. 8, no. 2 (2007), pp. 229-250. Elgström, O. (ed.) (2003): *European Union Council Presidencies. A Comparative Perspective*, London, Routledge.
[17] "Statement by Mr. Kanat Saudabayev" *op cit.*. "Text of the video address by President Nursultan Nazarbayev on the occasion of Kazakhstan's assumption of the Chairmanship of the OSCE", 14 January 2010. Available at
http://www.osce.org/documents/pc/2010/01/42333_en.pdf.

West and Russia also share a common interest. Finally, the role of the OSCE on the protracted conflicts in Eurasia (Georgia, Moldova and Azerbaijan) could also be enhanced by the Kazakh Chairmanship, renewing the contribution of the organisation to security in Europe.

On the other hand, the priorities of the Chairmanship for the human dimension have been shifted toward "politically safe" areas, such as inter-cultural and inter-faith dialogue, summed under the idea of "tolerance". However, it is not likely that Kazakhstan will be able to completely dismiss the traditional importance, which the organisation attributes to democracy, namely election monitoring and human rights. Recognising this much, the Kazakh Foreign Minister underlined rule of law and independence of the judiciary as concrete issues the Chairmanship will promote. This illustrates the underlying tension within the OSCE between the views sponsored by Moscow and those of the Western European and North American countries, which Kazakhstan will have to address.

The EU's official response to the listed Kazakh priorities underlined this concrete view that, although the EU "appreciates the Chairmanship's engagement in the field of tolerance and non-discrimination" it believes "we [the OSCE] must focus our work this year on other human dimension commitments, including those concerning human rights, fundamental freedoms, democratic institutions and the rule of law".[18] Moreover, the EU statement clearly underlines the importance of cooperation between civil society organisations, namely Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), and OSCE institutions and participating states. Such a position can be read as a direct response to Russia's statements that a focus on enhancing transparency within the organisation's work should be seen as a priority, namely in its collaboration with NGOs.[19]

For the European Union the strengthening of the OSCE is a fundamental aspect in the stabilisation of the European continent and a crucial forum to engage in constructive dialogue with Russia, and its partners in Eurasia. The organisation provides a powerful forum for exchange and dialogue that could prove crucial to address some of the challenges in the Eurasian space. Nevertheless, over the last decade, the EU and NATO have taken on more security tasks, affecting the delicate balance between the three dimensions of the OSCE, as mentioned above.[20] The EU has been fully supportive of the Corfu Process, and it is therefore expected that the Spanish Presidency will look for ways to build bridges with the OSCE and support its work in different areas, not least in Central Asia. There is certainly room for mutual exchanges between the two organisations, with large learning potential for both. The EU, despite its ability to influence the agenda of the OSCE, could aim at better coordinating with the OSCE in an area where its knowledge and interest are limited and where the OSCE has large expertise.

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[18] "EU statement in response to the address by the Chairperson-in-Office, Secretary of State and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Kazakhstan, H.E. Kanat Saudabayev", *Spanish Presidency of the European Union,* Vienna, 14 January 2010, available at http://www.osce.org/documents/pc/2010/01/42336_en.pdf.

[19] "Statement by Mr. Anvar Azimov, Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation, at the Special Meeting of the OSCE Permanent Council", *Delegation of the Russian Federation*, Vienna, 14 January 2010, at http://www.osce.org/documents/pc/2010/01/42338_en.pdf.

[20] Peters, Ingo (2004): "The OSCE, NATO and EU within the 'network of interlocking European Security Institutions': Hierarchization, Flexibilization, Marginalization" in *OSCE Yearbook 2003, Yearbook on the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe*, Baden-Baden, Nomos Verlag, pp. 381- 402. Bailes, Alyson J. K.; Haine, Jean-Yves; Lachowski, Zdislaw (2008): "Reflections on the OSCE-EU Relationship", in *OSCE Yearbook 2007, Yearbook on the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe*, Baden-Baden, Nomos Verlag, pp. 65-77.

EU engagement in Central Asian politics has been rather limited. The adoption in 2007 of a EU Strategy for Central Asia sought to streamline EU policies towards the region and to consolidate political relations. The strategy strengthens relations in all areas of cooperation, including through the reinforcement of EU-Central Asia political dialogue with regular meetings of EU and Central Asian Foreign Ministers, reinforcement of dialogue on human rights, cooperation in the areas of education, rule of law, energy and transport, environment and water, common threats and challenges (including border management and combating drug trafficking), and trade and economic relations. The strategy is also supported by a significant increase in EU assistance.[21]

Kazakhstan is a priority partner in EU relations with the region, having been one of the first Central Asian states to sign a Political and Cooperation Agreement with the EU and maintaining the biggest trade volumes with the EU (accounts for almost 85% of the EU's overall trade with the region). Over the last five years, EU trade with Central Asia has grown and the EU is now the main trading partner of the region, accounting for almost a third of its overall external trade (29.1% in 2007).[22] Following the political upheavals of 2005, in Kyrgyzstan, the European Council appointed an EU Special Representative (EUSR) to the region. The EUSR's principal mission is interpreted as enhancing EU visibility and effectiveness in the region and "addressing key threats, especially specific problems with direct implications for Europe".[23]

Central Asian security concerns, linked to the instability in neighbouring Afghanistan and Pakistan, have risen to the fore in the agenda of the OSCE and of the EU. Common interests have developed in making Central Asian borders safer and better equipped to deal with transnational flows of drugs, weapons and people. This has been a central aspect of the EU's Strategy for Central Asia, namely through the BOMCA programme, and there is now potential for coordination with the OSCE, as the organisation looks at border issues as a priority under the Kazakh Chairmanship. Environmental cooperation might also emerge as an area where the two organisations could cooperate, especially in providing continuous stimulus for regional cooperation on water management and energy security. Here the experience of the OSCE is vast, with regional offices throughout Central Asia dealing with national and regional issues, whereas the EU is a newcomer and could develop synergies if it decided to work closely with the Vienna-based organisation.[24] This is all the more important as Kazakhstan is taking the lead of the organisation and has played a mediating role in water and energy issues among its neighbours. EU support to this role, while developing its bilateral relations with the other Central Asian countries, could overcome suspicions of Kazakh regional hegemony dreams, often feared in Uzbekistan.

Overall, and despite the renewed engagement, the EU remains a donor organisation in the region, maintaining a low political profile, owing not only to the lack of legitimacy, but mainly due to the lack of personnel in its delegations in Central Asia.[25] Although there were

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[21] Information available at: "EU's relations with Central Asia", *European Union (EU), European Commission, External Relations,* at http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/central_asia/index_en.htm.

[22] Information available at: "Central Asia", *European Union (EU), European Commission, Trade,* at http://ec.europa.eu/trade/creating-opportunities/bilateral-relations/regions/central-asia/

[23] Information available at: "Mission statement of Pierre Morel for Central Asia", Pierre Morel, EU Special Representative for Central Asia, *European Union (EU), European Council,* at http://www.consilium.europa.eu/showPage.aspx?id=1153&lang=en.

[24] Simão, Licínia: "EU-OSCE inter-institutional interaction: preventing water-related conflict in Central Asia?", paper presented at the *OSCE Academy*, Bishkek (7 May 2010).

[25] Author's meeting with EU Delegation Officials, Bishkek, 29 April 2010.

expectations that the Lisbon Treaty would improve the ability of the EU to act politically in regions where its energy and security concerns are high, the current crisis with the Euro has created wide spread concern that the political project in Europe might be under too much pressure, with clear implications for its external relations. A reinforcement of EU and OSCE approaches, both through the current Chairmanships, but also on a more operational level could reinforce both organisations' ability to strengthen their human dimension. This means that democracy, human rights and rule of law could be enhanced in bilateral dialogues with the region, at a time when the West is perceived by local civil society as uncritical toward regional regimes, due to its security and energy interests. By working together, the Spanish and Kazakh Chairmanships could establish a much needed partnership for comprehensive dialogue between these two regions.

4. The Odds of Central Asia

Central Asian countries have never made it to the top of the agenda of western states or institutions. Their concerns and priorities have often been addressed at the national and regional level, with little help from the outside world. Their transitions from communism have been managed by the old communist bureaucracies, who built their way to power based on the idea of national consolidation. Although no major conflicts erupted (besides the Tajik civil war), the region's potential for violent conflict is high, either due to regional and bilateral disputes on energy and water management, or the fragile and repressive nature of regional regimes. It was particularly after the 9/11 attacks in the US that Central Asia's strategic importance increased, due to its proximity to Afghanistan, but also due to the long tradition of secular states, which regarded Islam as a threat. The US reinforced its military presence in the region, with Russian consent, and slowly the EU also sought to make its way into the region, upgrading relations and establishing a platform for dialogue, balancing its normative value-based approach with a pragmatic interest in having access to the region's energy reserves.

        In this regard, Kazakhstan has been regarded as a privileged partner. Astana's multi-vectored foreign policy, aimed at avoiding dependence on one external partner has been praised in Brussels[26], and close relations between European leaders and President Nazarbayev have helped to consolidate a European presence in Kazakhstan, which the OSCE Chairmanship will certainly reinforce. At the diplomatic level there will certainly be a raise in awareness of the region, but how much of it will be translated into concrete policies is another issue. While the OSCE remains fairly unknown to most of the Central Asian societies, the EU is even more distant. Its presence in the region is too centred on the governmental level, making it closely associated with the existing regimes. Although the overall objective of such close cooperation is often to promote reforms in line with the OSCE commitments, in practice economic and security interests have superseded normative goals. The cases of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan are illustrative of this trend. Under German pressure, the EU lifted its sanctions on the Uzbek leaders, following the violent and repressive response of the regime to the demonstrations in Andijan, in 2005.[27] Kazakhstan's regime is also of a repressive nature

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[26] "Remarks by Javier Solana, EU High Representative for CFSP at the end of his trip in Central Asia" *European Union (EU),* Astana (10 October 2007), at
http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/discours/96433.pdf.
[27] *"EU Easing of Uzbek Sanctions 'Absurd'",* IWPR Report News Central Asia*, no. 513 (30 October 2007), at* http://www.iwpr.net/report-news/eu-easing-uzbek-sanctions-%E2%80%9Cabsurd%E2%80%9D. *Marcus Bensmann: "Andijan, Germany and Europe",* Open Democracy*, 13 May 2008, at* http://www.opendemocracy.net/article/andijan-germany-and-europe.

and much of the reforms to which Astana agreed to, leading to the current Chairmanship of the OSCE, have not been fulfilled. Nevertheless, the country has been an important partner is supplying Europe with energy and allowing European companies to invest, in a relatively liberalised and competitive market.

Both organisations face the challenge of supporting normative approaches in a region which is suspicious of intrusive diplomacy. Security concerns with radical Islam have also been often subverted by local regimes to enforce control over dissidents, making these societies less pluralistic and eventually creating pressures that can become quite violent. Balancing between engagement with authoritarian regimes, the provision of security and stability and a genuine and pro-active commitment to human rights, democracy and the rule of law would make these organisations stronger and better suited to address regional concerns. Therefore, over this year of 2010, the opportunity exists for a more comprehensive view of Central Asia to develop in western capitals, but also for the EU and the OSCE to engage in a committed dialogue, aimed at creating synergies instead of duplicating efforts. Central Asian societies would certainly benefit from such changes as would the organisations' reputations in the region.

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CRÍTICA DE LIBROS:

Marquina Antonio (ed.) (2010):
Global Warming and Climate Change. Prospects and Policies in Asia and Europe
Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York : Palgrave Macmillan
ISBN 978-0-230-23771, 510 pp.

Beatriz Tomé Alonso [1]
UNISCI, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Becaria FPU

La obra aborda uno de los grandes temas de las Relaciones Internacionales en la actualidad y que, previsiblemente, tomará aún mayor relevancia en sucesivos años: las principales consecuencias del cambio climático y sus posibles impactos sobre la seguridad. Lo hace desde una perspectiva comparada entre las diferentes políticas de Europa y Asia.

Editado por el catedrático de seguridad y cooperación internacional, Antonio Marquina, el libro nace del encuentro entre expertos de diferentes disciplinas y nacionalidades celebrado en Madrid durante el mes de octubre de 2008. Lo hace también al amparo de un programa de investigación más amplio sobre Seguridad Humana (ASEM Education Hub Thematic Network on Human Security) que pretende acercar puntos de vista entre el continente europeo y el asiático.

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En la primera parte, la profesora Ana Yábar, directora del Instituto de Ciencias Medioambientales de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid, hace un recorrido por los principales hallazgos de los más recientes informes del IPCC (International Panel on Climate

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Change) señalando los sectores que sufrirán un mayor impacto. El capítulo segundo, encargado a la profesora Maizatun Mustafa, de la Univeridad Islámica de Malasia, analiza la disponibilidad de agua en diferentes países asiáticos y las políticas que estos siguen. Entronca de forma directa el capítulo tercero, en el que desde el Ministerio de Medioambiente, se exponen los grandes retos que han de abordar España y Europa en materia de recursos hídricos. Para concluir, el capítulo cuarto, elaborado por Tomas Lindemann y Daniela Mora, ambos miembros de FAO (Food and Agricultural Organization), explica el impacto del cambio climático sobre la agricultura y la producción alimentaria a medio plazo.

La segunda parte aborda el aumento de los desastres naturales y compara las políticas y mecanismos que desde diversos frentes se han desarrollado. El profesor Kostas Yfantis, de la Universidad de Atenas, incide en la necesidad de cooperación en las áreas de prevención, respuesta y recuperación y analiza los instrumentos de la Unión Europea. El renovado papel del ejército es presentado por el Teniente Coronel José Miguel González Requena, de la UME (Unidad Militar de Emergencia). Para el estudio del caso asiático, se han seleccionado casos que, por uno u otro motivo, presentan particularidades especialmente relevantes: Japón (capítulo 6), China (capítulo 7), India (capítulo 8) y Vietnam (capítulo 10).

La relación del impacto medioambiental sobre las migraciones ocupa la tercera parte del libro. El profesor Antonio Marquina expone las previsiones para el área del Meidterráneo y la profesora Carolina G. Hernández, de la Universidad de Filipinas, hace lo propio para el Sudeste asiático.

La parte cuarta compara las políticas de mitigación y adaptación en Asia y en Europa. Para el análisis del caso europeo se han seleccionado los siguientes escenarios de actuación: las políticas alemanas en el marco de la Unión Europea (capítulo 13, elaborado por el profesor Umbach, del Instituto de Investigación del Consejo Alemán para las Relaciones Internacionales); el recurso a la energía nuclear por parte de Italia (capítulo 14, por el profesor Massimo de Leonardis, de la Universidad Católica del Sagrado Corazón de Milán); o a la energía renovable y las posibilidades para España (capítulo 15, por Javier de Quinto, de Red Eléctrica de España, y Julián López Milla, de la Universidad de Alicante). Con políticas, en general, menos desarrolladas, se realiza una amplia aproximación a Asia. China está presente al abordar la necesidad del control de emisiones (capítulo 17, por la profesora Michal Meidan, del Centro de Estudios Asiáticos de París) y del uso eficiente de la energía (capítulo 18, por la profesora Shi Dan, de la Academia China de Ciencias Sociales). Otros casos foco de estudio son el japonés (capítulo 19), el coreano (capítulo 20), el indio (capítulo 21), el del sudeste asiático (capítulo 22), el malayo (capítulo 23), el tailandés (capítulo 24) y el filipino (capítulo 25).

Para concluir el profesor Mark Beeson, de la Universidad de Birmingham, analiza las dificultades para Asia y la posibilidad de que se pueda degenerar hacia el autoritarismo. El profesor Antonio Marquina, por su parte, concluye con una visión comprehensiva de lo abordado a lo largo de la obra en relación a la prevención de conflictos y a la seguridad humana.

A pesar de la reticencia de algunos, en el libro se demuestran los retos que diferentes regiones y países tendrán que afrontar en relación a aspectos medioambientales. Desde una perspectiva integradora y completa, "Global Warming and Climate Change. Prospects and Policies in Asia and Europe" promete convertirse en manual de lectura obligada para todos aquellos que busquen una visión coherente y actualizada del cambio climático y de sus implicaciones sobre la seguridad.

CRÍTICA DE LIBROS:

Ángel G. Chueca
Victor Luís Gutiérrez Castillo
Irene Blázquez Rodriguez (coords.) (2009):
Las migraciones internacionales en Mediterráneo y Unión Europea,
Barcelona, Huygens Editorial
ISBN 978-84-935981-8-1

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Obra colectiva, escrita por otros quince autores, dividida en tres partes: La política de inmigración de la UE en el Mediterráneo; Fronteras e inmigración irregular y Actuaciones y estrategias de integración.

En las 350 páginas que componen la obra se pueden encontrar títulos tan sugerentes como los siguientes: la búsqueda de un planteamiento global sobre inmigración o "el síndrome de las tres erres"; Exporting EU Rules, Norms and Standards Beyond EU territories: Europeanization. A selective-controller? The logic of the UE external migration relations in the Mediterranean. Migration and Greek foreign policy; Políticas restrictivas a la inmigración labora; La cuestión de la seguridad: un nuevo cambio en la política migratoria italiana; El derecho internacional ante el fenómeno migratorio; La nulidad de los matrimonios por conveniencia o la historia de los matrimonios que nunca existieron; La actuación colectiva de la abogacía española en materia de extranjería: la asistencia de oficio, entre otros.

En sus quince capítulos, cada uno de los autores hace un llamamiento a una política de inmigración de la UE más acorde con los Derechos Humanos, la vigilancia y ayuda a la inmigración en las fronteras, especialmente lo que ha estado sucediendo en Grecia, y una llamada especial a no convertir a Marruecos en una avanzadilla de la frontera sur europea.

Se condena explícitamente la corriente securitaria que va llenando todas las directivas que, sobre inmigración, se han promulgado desde el Programa de la Haya. Este programa se ha visto reforzado con el Pacto Europeo sobre Inmigración y Asilo, destacando que "no se tienen en cuenta, ni se mencionan, los efectos negativos de la globalización sobre los países

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de origen de los inmigrantes, ni tampoco los acuerdos de asociación firmados por la UE con distintos países del Sur".

Se explica certeramente el vínculo entre "crecimiento económico e inmigración irregular", poniendo como ejemplo el caso español, en donde se enfatiza que no sólo los problemas de carencia económica impulsan a los inmigrantes a salir de sus países sino también las "razones intrínsecas" de cada país, como ocurrió con España, en donde la inmigración llegó atraída por un mayor "desarrollo económico y cuando nuestra demografía planteaba dificultades para aportar los activos al mercado laboral que ese crecimiento demandaba".

En el capítulo 7 se ofrece un buen estudio sobre el Derecho Internacional ante el fenómeno migratorio, y el autor destaca algo que los estudiosos de las migraciones venimos "echando en falta" desde hace bastante tiempo, como es que:"el Derecho Internacional Público apenas se había interesado por los flujos migratorios, más allá del fenómeno de los flujos indeseados, como los refugiados, desplazados, asilados, apátridas, etc".

Es un capítulo bastante clarificador jurídicamente hablando, en toda su extensión, pues se hace hincapié en que "… nunca se ha planteado la existencia de un derecho a emigrar, es decir, un derecho del extranjero a residir en un Estado que no es el propio". Considera el autor que autores con pocos argumentos jurídicos han considerado que el artículo 13 de la Declaración Universal de Derechos Humanos sostiene la base de este derecho". Sin embargo, este derecho hace referencia a la circulación y residencia dentro del propio territorio. El ejercicio del derecho a emigrar, aclara el autor, está sujeto a los límites impuestos por el Estado receptor, limitados a su vez por algunas normas internacionales que derivan del Derecho Internacional Público. Se llama también la atención sobre la forma como se va a implantar sucesivamente el sistema de información de visados (VIS) europeo, que viene a potenciar la seguridad en el espacio interior europeo, con el detrimento de la pérdida de libertad por el excesivo control de la sociedad, cuestión esta que nos pone en alerta, porque a la larga tendrá implicaciones en los derechos humanos.

Otro de los capítulos a destacar es el que se dedica a los Derechos Humanos y la Acción Diplomática de los Estados, donde se llama la atención sobre la importancia que la defensa de los derechos humanos ha tenido para la constitución de la Unión Europea, convirtiéndose en uno de los elementos que definen el quehacer de este proceso de integración en muchas de sus dimensiones. Derecho Humanos y Democracia son considerados por el autor como piedra angular de la Unión Europea. Se subraya que dentro de este espacio de libertad, seguridad y justicia, cualquier norma o medida que se adoptara a la hora de elaborar la política común en materia de inmigración debería hacerse en el marco del respeto de los derechos humanos, y asimismo, no se debería olvidar que la interpretación y aplicación de las normas comunitarias en esta materia se hará, también a la luz del respeto de estos derechos.

En general, en el libro se reprocha a la política migratoria que se lleva a cabo en la UE desde 1999, la visión que conforma "a ver el Mediterráneo sur como zona problemática para la UE, no como una zona de encuentro de pueblos y de interculturalidad".

El análisis y crítica que se hace sobre la Directiva de Retorno adoptada por el Parlamento Europeo, el 18 de junio de 2008, viene a ahondar en lo injusto de la misma, no teniendo en cuenta "que una persona nunca es ilegal en sí misma, aun cuando lo puedan ser muchos de sus actos"

Sin embargo, en ninguna página del libro se aborda una crítica profunda hacia el Ejecutivo español y nuestros representantes en el Parlamento Europeo, que tan convencidos apoyaron la aprobación de la Directiva de Retorno, y fueron parte integrante de la elaboración de la misma con los representantes franceses y el propio gobierno francés.

Debemos subrayar que en todas las páginas del libro se hace una constante crítica a la UE y a sus normativas sobre inmigración. Sin embargo, no se alude en ningún momento a la visión más positiva que desde los países del norte de África se tiene de los países europeos, y que ellos mismos han potenciado con su admiración e imitación del modo de vida "occidental". Gran parte de la población de estos países desea emigrar hacia Europa sin admitir los recuerdos del pasado histórico en el norte de África, heredado del antiguo Imperio Romano y de las invasiones vikingas de los pueblos Vándalos, que han contribuido también a conformar la realidad Norte- africana occidental. En su lugar, se hace hincapié sólo en un pasado inmediato y negativo de los imperios del siglo XIX, que no se debe atribuir a España con Ceuta y Melilla, como sí se hace en el capítulo 11, en su epígrafe titulado: Ceuta: la ambigüedad de la frontera.

En el libro, que ha recibido subvenciones de La Fundación Tres Culturas del Mediterráneo, del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores y de Cooperación, de la Junta de Andalucía, y que ha sido editado por la editorial HUYGENS, se cargan bastante las tintas sobre la injusta y malévola visión que Europa como UE mantiene respecto a los países del Mediterráneo Sur. Nos parece una peligrosa visión negativa de la realidad, olvidando que esos mismos pueblos, y sus habitantes han contribuido a crear una percepción un tanto victimista y resentida respecto a los países de la orilla norte del Mediterráneo; insolidaria actitud con quienes en sus propios países están impulsando el cambio social y un devenir de gobiernos democráticos, anhelando beneficiarse de la UE, aún con sus enormes fallos, porque es un espacio que defiende la Democracia, de la cual carecen los pueblos del Mediterráneo Sur.

No obstante, el libro es una buena aportación y referencia obligada para los estudiosos de las migraciones, en donde se encuentran estudios de investigación al margen de los meramente periodísticos que invaden la "cultura española". Libro de lectura fácil y en cierto grado sugestivo a pesar de la variedad de materias y del buen trabajo de análisis de los autores, resultado del Simposio Internacional celebrado en la facultad de Ciencias del Trabajo de la Universidad de Córdoba, del 5 al 7 de noviembre de 2008. Simposio organizado por la Junta de Andalucía, la Cátedra UNESCO de Resolución de Conflictos de la Universidad de Córdoba, INTERMIGRA (Seminario Permanente sobre Migraciones Internacionales y Extranjería) y el Proyecto de Investigación sobre Migraciones Internacionales y Política Mediterránea de la Unión Europea (SEJ2007-66436).

242

CRÍTICA DE LIBROS:

Johnson, L. K. (2007):
Strategic intelligence; Intelligence and the quest for security. Westport, Conn,
Praeger Security International. Cinco Volúmenes.
IBSN - 978-0275989422

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Según Lock Johnson, 1975 puede ser denominado el año de la inteligencia, ya que antes de esa fecha la literatura existente sobre inteligencia podía ser adjetivada como especulativa, poco meritoria y poco fiable en lo que a las tareas de investigación y divulgación académica se refiere, sin mencionar las claras deficiencias existentes en materias de desclasificación. Es más, incluso hoy en día, a pesar de la proliferación de la literatura en inteligencia a nivel mundial y del incremento de los procesos de desclasificación, según Johnson, el campo de estudio de la inteligencia se encuentra aún en su infancia.[2]

De este modo, aunque las historias en materias de inteligencia son muy abundantes en todo el mundo, los esfuerzos de teorización siguen siendo muy limitados en gran parte porque los datos empíricos para construir y testar teorías son escasos. Existen dos barreras principales a la hora de abordar los estudios de inteligencia. En primer lugar los incentivos que motivan a los investigadores a decantarse por el estudio de unos determinados temas y no por otros. Otro de los impedimentos se encuentra en los problemas del estudio de organizaciones y estructuras de agencias relativamente secretas sumados a los límites de acceso a fuentes primarias en gran parte clasificadas. Es más, encontrar personas a las que realizar entrevistas en materias de inteligencia es mucho más complicado que en otras áreas de investigación. Cuando algo está relacionado con materias de inteligencia la gente no suele ser tan accesible como para otros temas. A lo que hay que sumar, los distintos sistemas de clasificación nacional, el hecho de que hablamos de sistemas burocráticos complejos y la cultura del secreto, los cuales tampoco son de gran utilidad. Por otro lado, la propia cultura de la universidad actual hace que los investigadores jóvenes se vean abocados a publicar más y más en un ambiente donde la precariedad y la necesidad de hacer meritos hace que se publique más sobre aquello que es más accesible.

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[2] Johnson, L. K. (2007): *Strategic intelligence*; *Intelligence and the quest for security*. Westport, Conn, Praeger Security International, volumen 1, p. 9.

Esta obra dividida en 49 contribuciones distribuidas en cinco volúmenes. Donde se ofrece al lector una vision global de lo que Johnson llama las misiones de la inteligencia, las cuales han sido clasificadas, por este autor. En un primer conjunto se encontrarían cuestiones como recolección, análisis y diseminación, acción encubierta y contrainteligencia. En un segundo grupo, las cuestiones éticas, el control de la inteligencia y los planteamientos de reforma de procedimientos y estructura. Por último, se encuentran los estudios de estructura, funcionamiento y liderazgo de las estructuras de inteligencia. Todas estas cuestiones se encuentran desarrolladas en profundidad en cada uno de los cinco volúmenes. Debido a la extensión de la misma, entre los cinco tomos nos enfrentamos a 1824 páginas, describiremos de forma sucinta cada una de las diferentes contribuciones resaltando las ideas fuerza de cada contribución.

En el primer capítulo del primer volumen Timothy Gibas, describe las fuentes principales para el estudio de la inteligencia, los documentos oficiales desclasificados y los testimonios de profesionales de inteligencia, en ambos casos para describir la comunidad de inteligencia, en este caso, británica. De este modo, la conclusión es que la idea de Christopher Andrew de la inteligencia "as the missing dimension" ya no es válida. Seguidamente, Stuart Farson y Reg Whitaker, hablan del caso canadiense, de la necesidad de reducir el déficit democrático en Canadá a través de una mayor independencia del poder legislativo y ejecutivo. Posteriormente, Len Scout, realiza una notable contribución al apuntar distintas fuentes y métodos en el estudio de la inteligencia, una vez más desde el punto de vista británico, desde la necesidad de entender la maquinaria de la inteligencia británica a la necesidad de controlar sus funciones con el fin de ajustarlas a la democracia.

Un detalle importante es que este texto puntualiza el empuje, de este tipo de estudios, provocado por la coyuntura internacional, identificando una vez más la revolución en asuntos internacionales como motor de impulso de los estudios de inteligencia. Este capítulo se ve completado por la sobresaliente contribución de Michael Warner, quien afirma que no se pueden distinguir métodos de inteligencia americanos propiamente dichos, ya que de una forma muy bien traída, el "arte" de la inteligencia no está relacionada con el surgimiento del Estado moderno tras la paz de Westfalia. En palabras del propio Warner, mucho antes ya se realizaba inteligencia. De lo que sí se pude hablar son de *idiomas* propios de cada Estado, la hora de realizar inteligencia. Como ya ha defendido en otros foros, este autor entiende el secreto como elemento definitorio del término inteligencia, identificando las fuentes primarias como claves para el desarrollo de los estudios de inteligencia. Sin embargo, en este capítulo apunta un nuevo dato, la revisión de presupuestos con el fin de establecer líneas de dependencia poder y peso específico en las diferentes estructuras de inteligencia.

En el capítulo siguiente de este primer volumen, John Hollister Hedlye, profundiza en los desafíos que presenta el análisis de inteligencia, donde se dan sentido a todas las fuentes de inteligencia. Sin embargo, una vez más, nos encontramos con una clasificación de inteligencia desigual ya que vemos una mezcla de fuentes humanas y técnicas de distinta índole. Para continuar describiendo la importancia de la habilidad de escribir, la relación con el encargado de tomar decisiones y los tipos de productos en el análisis de inteligencia. Esta relación entre inteligencia y política es desarrollada en profundidad por James J. Wirtz en el siguiente capítulo. Con posterioridad, Peter Gill, ahonda en los fallos de inteligencia, desde el análisis de la invasión estadounidense en Irak y los atentados del 11 de septiembre.

Harold M. Greenberg realiza una excelente contribución al hacerse eco del tradicional debate entre Sherman Kent y George Kennan sobre la correcta relación entre inteligencia y política, pero como bien pone de manifiesto el autor, realtando las implicaciones más

profundas del mismo. Sin embargo este debate puede llevarnos a engaño, ya que la inteligencia va mucho más allá de las organizaciones estatales y de las agencias que llevan a cabo estas tareas. Como ya afirmaba Michael Warner la inteligencia tenía lugar mucho antes de las actividades estatales. Es curioso comprobar como Kristin M. Lord afirma ya en el capítulo once como la transparencia es un arma de doble filo. Donde hay mucha información disponible pero no necesariamente de calidad. De este modo, si recolectar información siempre ha sido difícil, interpretarla nunca ha sido tan complicado como hoy.

Este primer volumen se completa con varios apéndices, el primero con un resumen del acta de seguridad nacional de 1947, el segundo con una breve pero ajustada descripción de la historia de la comunidad de inteligencia estadounidense, que se complementa con el apéndice *c* donde se presentan varios gráficos con la estructura de la comunidad de inteligencia estadounidense, un ejemplo de una foto aérea de la central de inteligencia estadounidense tomada en 1996 y una lista de los directores de las principales agencias de la comunidad de inteligencia estadounidense desde 1947 a 2006.

En el apéndice *f* se reproduce un artículo publicado en 1955 en *Studies of Intelligence* donde Sherman Kent analiza por que la inteligencia se había convertido en una profesión y que tipo de literatura era la más apropiada para el desarrollo de la misma. El apéndice *g*, reproduce los desafíos y propósitos que la *Aspin Brown Comision* de los Estados Unidos identificó como prioritarios para la inteligencia. Este primer volumen termina con un "cuento" sobre contrainteligencia donde se analiza una traición para analizar con la perspectiva del tiempo, las motivaciones las circunstancias claves y un completo glosario de los términos utilizados.

El segundo volumen de esta serie de cinco que Lock K. Johnson edita, centra sus capítulos en el ciclo de la inteligencia. Comienza con una crítica al ciclo tradicional de inteligencia de la mano de Arthur S. Hulnick. El volumen continúa con sendos artículos sobre la labor de la agencia de seguridad nacional como agencia clave en la recolección de inteligencia técnica tras el 11 de septiembre. Jeffrey T. Richelson completa el análisis de la inteligencia técnica como un notable artículo sobre la inteligencia de imágenes y su uso a lo largo de la historia, desde las imágenes recolectadas por globos aerostáticos a las imágenes captadas por satélite. Es interesante resaltar que la clasificación del uso de la inteligencia de carácter técnico queda un poco coja ya que obvia la importancia de fuentes de recolección técnicos como *Masint*.

Frederick P. Hitz continúa la clasificación de las fuentes de inteligencia con un análisis pormenorizado de la importancia del espionaje. Es decir de los métodos de recolección encubiertos. Lo que en última instancia se convierte en una descripción de la evolución de la Agencia Central de Inteligencia (CIA) y de cómo ésta Agencia afronta un nuevo paradigma actualmente en lo que a métodos de contra-proliferación y contra-terrorismo se refiere donde los métodos de recolección encubierta tendrán una menor relevancia a favor de métodos policiales y forenses. Como ya es un clásico, Robert D. Steele, continua describiendo los métodos de recolección analizando el uso de las fuentes encubiertas. Posteriormente, Daniel S. Gressang IV, analiza el impacto de la revolución tecnológica en los servicios de inteligencia y su concepción en el comienzo del siglo XXI. Jack Davis analiza las tensiones entre los decisores políticos y los analistas de inteligencia en el caso concreto de la CIA. Esta visión del analista de inteligencia y su relación con el cliente de la inteligencia se ve reforzada con la contribución de Michael Herman sobre el uso de los análisis de inteligencia en el caso concreto del Reino Unido.

En su contribución, Minh A. Luang, desarrolla la importancia y el impacto del espionaje económico en el desarrollo de la innovación. En el siguiente capítulo, Max M. Holland, analiza la relación entre inteligencia y política desde el impacto de las cuatro comisiones de inteligencia creadas en Estados Unidos a raíz de la crisis de los misiles de 1962, (El informe Lehman, Earman, DCI,) tres de las cuales fueron progresivamente desclasificadas tras 1992 aunque aún hoy una sigue clasificada. Lo curioso es comprobar como cada una de estas comisiones llega a conclusiones distintas acerca de la actuación de la comunidad de inteligencia estadounidense durante la crisis del 62.

El libro termina con una serie de apéndices que recogen desde el gráfico clásico del ciclo de la inteligencia a distintas fotos y curiosidades sobre métodos de recolección de información, o categorías de productos de inteligencia. Extractos del President Daily Brief entre otros.

El tercer volumen está dedicado a la acción encubierta. Comenzando con un capítulo de, Gregory Treverton, sobre sus contactos con la acción encubierta. Para continuar con las distintas acciones encubiertas (conocidas) de la CIA desde su creación y la evaluación del éxito de la acción encubierta. En el siguiente capítulo, Kevin A. O´Brien, expone las distintas herramientas de acción encubierta tras exponer el uso de la misma de forma histórica y desde la perspectiva estadounidense. Analizando estos capítulos somos capaces de ver la dificultad de analizar la acción encubierta ya que sólo tenemos información de aquellas operaciones que se han hecho públicas que por norma general son aquellas que se han hecho públicas.

Tras estos dos capítulos, Ephraim Kahana, expone un estudio de casos concreto, al plantear la experiencia israelí. Este capítulo pone de manifiesto, una vez más, la problemática del estudio de la acción encubierta ya que se centra en operaciones pasadas, que han salido a la luz pública, o que han resultado en fracaso. En el capítulo cuarto, James M. Scott y Jerel A. Rosati, estudian en profundidad la acción encubierta desde la perspectiva estadounidense, presentando una vez más una evolución histórica de las mismas, y de nuevo los distintos métodos de acción encubierta.

Ahondando en los métodos de la acción encubierta, Michael A. Turner, escribe sobre los efectos de la propaganda secreta. William J. Daugherty, en el siguiente capítulo analiza este tipo de acciones como herramientas de ayuda a los distintos Presidentes. Este capítulo pone de nuevo de manifiesto una crítica que venimos haciendo durante todos los volúmenes, la visión unidireccional de todos los capítulos desde la perspectiva estadounidense.

Jennifer D. Kibbe, firma un interesante artículo sobre el uso de la acción encubierta por parte de las fuerzas armadas estadounidenses, distinguiendo de forma contundente el uso de la acción encubierta por fuerzas militares y por organizaciones civiles, como la CIA, y donde encontramos la definición de acción encubierta que la ley de los Estados Unidos recoge. "is an activity that is meant to influence political, economic, or military conditions abroad, where it is intended that the role of the United States Government will not be apparent or acknowledged publicity" (50 U.S.C. 413(b)(e).

Posteriormente, John D. Stempel aborda el controvertido tema de la acción encubierta y la diplomacia, en un interesante capítulo donde se trata una vez más de las distintas formas de acción encubierta, distintos ejemplos de acciones encubiertas llevadas a cabo por los Estados Unidos. En el último capítulo, James E. Baker, describe como la acción encubierta, aunque ocupa un puesto marginal en los presupuestos de inteligencia en los Estados Unidos,

desde la percepción de los ciudadanos es clave. Posteriormente encuadra el uso de este tipo de acciones en el marco legal estadounidense.

Este volumen concluye con ocho apéndices sobre la posición oficial de los Estados Unidos en relación al uso de la acción encubierta y un glosario de términos utilizados. Los anexos son útiles documentos de referencia, a consultar y a tener.

El cuarto volumen trata de un elemento fundamental de la inteligencia como es la contrainteligencia. En el título del volumen curiosamente entra el tema del contraterrorismo ya que como veremos en el mundo anglosajón está encuadrado dentro de este tipo de fuerzas.

El volumen comienza con un capítulo de Stan A. Taylor sobre las distintas definiciones de Contrainteligencia, aportando los distintos debates teóricos. Comienza afirmando que "La ausencia de confianza entre distintas sociedades es lo que hace que exista la contrainteligencia. De hecho si confiásemos los unos en los otros, la contrainteligencia no sería necesaria."[3] Nigel West, realiza una interesante aportación práctica con la descripción del uso de *Venona* para las metodologías de contrainteligencia en los Estados Unidos. De este modo, ya encontramos una cronología de los usos de la contrainteligencia en los Estados Unidos. Una vez más encontramos la misma dificultad que con la acción encubierta sólo tenemos constancia de lo que se ha hecho público y la necesidad de proteger métodos y fuentes hace que sea secreto. En el siguiente capítulo encontramos un capítulo sobre las actuaciones del FBI en materias de contrainteligencia. Para que en el siguiente, Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones, nos sumerja en la idea de la creación de un FBI (Federal Burou of Information) europeo. Posteriormente, Glenn Hastedt, se introduce de lleno en el tema de las luchas políticas en Washignton en el marco de la guerra contra el terrorismo, analizando estas luchas desde cuatro niveles, el simbólico, el de las fuentes de financiación y apoyos, la agenda política, y la responsabilidad política de las acciones tomadas. Sin embargo, este capítulo clave deja al lector europeo un sabor agridulce ya que no explica el por qué de la lucha contraterrorista dentro de la contrainteligencia. Así el siguiente capítulo firmado por, Richard L. Russell, aborda el tema del papel de la inteligencia estadounidense en la guerra contra el terrorismo. Posteriormente, Jennifer Sims, recalca la importancia de la fusión de todas las fuentes en materias de inteligencia para la lucha contra-terrorista donde se apunta una vez más lo que la autora entiende por inteligencia. Katharina Von Knop, realiza un interesante artículo sobre el papel de las mujeres en las organizaciones terroristas, de forma comparada.

El volumen termina con 8 apéndices y un glosario de términos, sin explicar de forma satisfactoria una de las preguntas claves, si el contraterrorismo se encuentra dentro de la contrainteligencia. Si bien es cierto que con la lectura este volumen nos hacemos una composición de lugar sobre lo que entendemos por contrainteligencia y por contraterrorismo.

Por último, el quinto volumen aborda, desde el punto de vista anglosajón y de forma comparativa, el interesante tema del control en materias de inteligencia. Este quinto volumen concluye con ocho apéndices y un glosario de términos. En concreto, el apéndice *g.* describe como se distribuyen en Estados Unidos los presupuestos destinados a inteligencia. Un interesante apéndice sobre el que se basa todo control externo sobre cualquier Comunidad de Inteligencia.

En términos generales nos encontramos ante una obra generalista sobre los estudios de inteligencia desde la cual somos capaces de hacernos una composición de lugar de las

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[3] Johnson, L. K. (2007): *Strategic intelligence*; *Intelligence and the quest for security*. Westport, Conn, Praeger Security International, volumen 4, p.12.

estructuras, elementos y temáticas principales de la inteligencia desde el ámbito anglosajón. Obras de referencia como esta deberían servirnos de acicate para el desarrollo de los estudios de inteligencia fuera del ámbito anglosajón.

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[7] *Ibid.,* pp. 78-79.

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256

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