

Turkey: A Regional Power in the Making

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Edited by

Kenan Aksu

**CAMBRIDGE
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P U B L I S H I N G

Turkey: A Regional Power in the Making,
Edited by Kenan Aksu

This book first published 2013

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

12 Back Chapman Street, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2XX, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

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ISBN (10): 1-4438-4870-0, ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-4870-1

For my wife Aylin Aksu
and my dearest daughter Seyhun İdil Aksu

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| List of Abbreviations | x |
| Acknowledgements | xi |
| Preface | xii |
| Turkey: A Regional Power in the Making | |
| Kenan Aksu | |
| Chapter One..... | 1 |
| Rediscovering the Gulf: A Turkish Perspective | |
| A. Aur Çetinoğlu | |
| Chapter Two | 17 |
| Counterterrorism in Turkey: Implications of the Syrian Crisis | |
| for Jihadist and Kurdish Terrorism | |
| Ed Wise and Jennifer Lang | |
| Chapter Three | 41 |
| Assessing the Effect of Indirect Diffusion Mechanisms on the Turkish | |
| Model-Role in the Middle East | |
| Emel Parlar Dal | |
| Chapter Four..... | 61 |
| A New Silk Route: A Golden Bridge for Two Rising Regional Powers | |
| with Global Aspirations | |
| Jrde Shiu | |
| Chapter Five | 80 |
| Seeking Legitimacy for the Conservative Elite | |
| Yüksel Taşkin | |
| Chapter Six | 92 |
| A Study of the Turkey-Pakistan Relationship as a Historical Phenomenon | |
| and its Political and Social Fraternity in the 21 st Century | |
| Razi Ashraf | |

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Chapter Seven..... | 112 |
| Investigating the Role of Turkey as an Energy Transit Country | |
| Kurtulus Hatinoglu | |
| Chapter Eight..... | 126 |
| Branding Europe/EU and Turkey: Unity and Diversity into Multicultural | |
| Keyrings | |
| Hatice Sitki | |
| Chapter Nine..... | 147 |
| When Words Hinder Political Decisions: The Case of the EU | |
| and Turkey's Accession Negotiations | |
| Valeria Drigo | |
| Chapter Ten | 164 |
| Poland and Turkey: True Partners? Political and Economic Relations | |
| Between These Two Countries After the End of the Cold War | |
| Agata Biernat | |
| Chapter Eleven | 180 |
| The Social Construction of Turkey's Climate Identity | |
| Zeynep Clulow | |
| Chapter Twelve | 206 |
| A Faraway War: The Turkish Brigade in Korea | |
| Alex Calvo | |
| Chapter Thirteen..... | 230 |
| Claiming the Public Space for the Prophet Muhammad: | |
| The Blessed Birth Week | |
| Hakki Gurkas | |
| Chapter Fourteen | 249 |
| Something of a Black Box Prior to Agenda-Setting: Issue Access | |
| and Policy Problem Definition in the Discourse on Turkey's | |
| Constitutional Reform | |
| Chiara Maritato | |

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Chapter Fifteen | 272 |
| EU-Turkey Relations: A Renewed Perspective in the Promotion of European Union Common Values? | |
| Filipa Bismarck Coelho | |
| Chapter Sixteen | 296 |
| Ekşi Sözlük: An Alternative Guide to Turkey's Ascendancy? | |
| Ivo Furman | |
| Contributors..... | 321 |
| Index..... | 327 |

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| AKP | Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (or JDP: Justice and Development Party) |
| ANAP | Anavatan Partisi |
| CBCC | Coordination Board for Climate Change |
| CEEC | Central and Eastern European countries |
| CHP | Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (or RPP: Republican Peoples Party) |
| ECB | European Central Bank |
| EEC | European Economic Community |
| EFTA | The European Free Trade Association |
| ENP | European Neighbourhood Policy |
| GCC | The Gulf Cooperation Council |
| GHG | Greenhouse Gas |
| HDI | Human Development Index |
| IEA | International Energy Agency |
| IPCC | The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change |
| IRA | Irish Republican Army |
| KRG | Kurdish Regional Government |
| LNG | Liquefied Natural Gas |
| MENA | Middle Eastern and North African |
| MHP | Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (or NMP: Nationalist Movement Party) |
| NATO | North Atlantic Treaty Organisation |
| OECD | The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development |
| POW | Prisoners of War |
| ROSATOM | Russian Nuclear Energy State Corporation |
| UNCTAD | The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| UNEP | The United Nations Environment Programme |

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I must thank everyone, especially all the contributors, who worked with me to bring this book to publication. Thanks are also due to numerous colleagues for their help and support in organising Bosphorus Research Center's (BRC) second international conference at SOAS and to Professor Süleyman Kızıltoprak, Dr. Anca Pusca and Professor Ahmet Taşagal for their advice and guidance with my research.

I would like to thank those who have read, in part or in whole, various versions of this book or of work towards it and who have offered incisive comments: Max Farr, Aytac Odacilar, Oner Savas and anonymous readers of Cambridge Scholar Publishing.

Finally, thanks to Gladys Berry, Gunay Torun, Musellem Adem, Lisa Emerick, Selim Meydan, Clare Tubridy, Catherine Tookey, Mehmet Emin Cebeci, Omer Kuzuahmetoglu, Sahin Tugral and Faik Kandemir for their help, support, kindness and patience.

PREFACE

TURKEY: A REGIONAL POWER IN THE MAKING

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Introduction

This book tries to explain some of the most important domestic and international social, political, and economic developments related to Turkey during the last two decades. It also focuses on Turkey's relations with the wider world including the EU, the Middle East, Pakistan, China and South Korea. Every chapter in this book has been written by the experts of their own field to the highest academic standards. As well as being up-to-date, the work found in this book is also highly analytical, stimulating, and inspective. Therefore readers will find most parts of this work a valuable asset to their studies and libraries.

Turkey, a bridge between the East and the West, has emerged as a true regional power and a significant global player since the end of the Cold War. Especially after the 2000s, Turkey has become a success story in every aspect of the social, political, and economic spectrums. As a result of the pace of the developments, academic studies fall behind Turkey in analysing and evaluating the changes it has encountered. Literature focusing on Turkey continuously needs speedy updating to fulfill the academic demand.

For the academic world Turkey has always been a topical subject to study. Therefore, studies associated with Turkey attract a diversity of writers from every aspect of academia. Consequently, in addition to the problem of updating, the literature related to Turkey also has the issue of objectivity and bias. While some writers focus only on negative developments, the other group focuses only on positive aspects. Their conclusions become predictable and most of the time inaccurate. This fact makes the job of the interested reader quite hard when it comes to making

academic judgments. Recognising the major issue, objectivity, in Turkey-related studies, this book invited academics from around the world, completely independent from each other, to take part in bringing this publication together to fill in some of the gaps in the literature identified above.

To have a better understanding of what Turkey has or has not achieved within the last couple of decades, one needs to have a brief background of Turkey's developmental history.

A brief background to a rising power

Being part of European, Asian, and African affairs since Medieval Times, Turkey has always attracted the interest of people from all over the world for a variety of different reasons. People like Shakespeare, Marco Polo, Napoleon Bonaparte, Queen Elizabeth I, recent political leaders such as Barack Obama and Vladimir Putin, intellectuals, artisans, and common people of the world have continuously found Turkey and Turkish people as a whole thought-provoking. But Turkish people themselves mostly did not realise this as they were afraid of their own history and their own cultural heritage for nearly seventy-five years in order to build their secular state.

Turkey, a country born out of the ashes of the ancient Ottoman Empire, has never really achieved the potential it had since its foundation in 1923. The modern Republic wasted the first twenty years of its existence with economic, political, and social hardships. After the death of founder Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938), who is considered as one of the most important secular reformers of the twentieth century, İsmet İnönü, one of the prominent soldiers of the Turkish War of Independence, took power. He continued with the reforms (now challenged and questioned by Turkey's current leaders) that his predecessor started. However, his term was interrupted by one of the greatest conflicts of human history, World War Two (WWII).

During WWII Turkey tried to stay neutral. But it was considered as active neutral by many historians as it effectively tried to use its geostrategic positioning for its advantage by signing agreements with both sides of the war. However, after cutting all its political relations with the Nazi government in August 1944, Turkey declared war on the Axis powers, Germany and Japan, in February 1945 to be able to join the United Nations. Turkey became one of the fifty-one original founding member states of this new international organisation (Denniston 2000).

After the war Turkey made a historic choice to move towards becoming a pluralist secular democracy. A combination of domestic and international factors led to Turkey's turn to liberal democracy. In a sense, this was the logical conclusion of the policies that had been in place throughout the twentieth century.

Domestic policies leading to democracy had been in place for many years, with several trial periods (Okyar 1980). The need to placate the general population acted as a catalyst. The turn to westernisation was also the logical conclusion of Turkey's twentieth-century foreign policy, where the trend was to turn away from the East (with which Turkey had historical ties) and towards the West. Again the post-war international climate created the conditions to act as a catalyst to the process. The promise of aid from America (Hale 2000, 115) and the threat from Soviet Russia made the period between 1946 and 1950 the most appropriate period in which to introduce Western democracy to Turkey.

Turkey chose Western European secular liberal democracy as the model for its political structure. Therefore, according to the Turkish Foreign Ministry:

"It has closely aligned itself with the West and has become a founding member of the United Nations, a member of NATO, the Council of Europe, the OECD and an associate member of the Western European Union. During the Cold War Turkey was part of the Western alliance, defending freedom, democracy and human rights. In this respect, Turkey has played and continues to play a vital role in the defence of the European continent and the principal elements of its foreign policy have converged with those of its European partners" (<http://www.abgs.gov.tr>).

Its relations with the European Economic Community (EEC) began in 1959 and reached to a new level when Turkey and EEC signed the Association Agreement (commonly known as the Ankara Agreement) in 1963. This agreement officially declared that Turkey is a European country. The Ankara Agreement is the basis of the longstanding close relationship between the two and it still constitutes the legal basis of the association between Turkey and the EU.

Although there were times of interruptions due to military interventions in Turkey both in 1971 and again in 1980 when civilian rule was established, relations were normalised. Of course the impact of the United States in the continuation of the relationship must not be underestimated as can be seen in the case of the coup of Sept. 12, 1980. As well as supporting the coup, the United States wanted the EEC to continue its relationship with Turkey. As Dağı puts forward:

“The U.S. government expressed its trust in the Turkish military and their promise to restore democracy. Strategic imperatives were the basis of the U.S. approach to Turkey in the post-coup period which prevailed over the concern about democracy and human rights. U.S. high officials even criticised European allies for failing to understand Turkey’s problems and lobbied effectively in the Council of Europe to prevent Turkey’s expulsion” (Dağı 1996).

In 1987, during the Anavatan Partisi (ANAP) era, with the initiatives of prominent moderniser Prime Minister Turgut Özal, Turkey submitted an application to become a full member of the European Community (EC). However, while it clarified the eligibility of Turkey’s possible membership by considering it a European country (Morocco was refused on the basis of geographical location), the EC deferred this application in December 1989 to a more favourable time. The EC mentioned the political and economic situation in Turkey as well as its poor relations with Greece and Southern Cyprus as the obstacles in front of Turkey.

The first half of the 1990s were chaotic and “lost” years for Turkey due to terrorism from the Kurdistan Worker’s Party (PKK) in the Southeast, corruption in its bureaucracy, murders of public figures, and weak coalition governments. The Cold War was ending and Turkey was driven into a crisis of orientation as many thought it would lose its geostrategic importance for the West. Then came the first Gulf War, in which Turkey supported America without any hesitation to keep its position as an ally of the West. Turkish participation to the American-led first Gulf War against Saddam Hussein’s Iraq was also not a popular move as it brought vast economic problems for Turkey. However, with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Turkey had an opportunity to reach newly independent Central Asia as it had strong ethnic, cultural, and historic links with the region. The United States supported Turkey in its policies in Central Asia’s newly born Turkic republics. Hydrocarbon-rich Central Asia was the first region where Turkey properly set up active relationships since the creation of the Republic. Before that Turkey strictly followed the policy of “Peace at home, peace in the world.” Students from newly independent Central Asian countries were invited by the thousands to study in Turkish universities while Turkey and Turkish NGOs were setting up schools and universities in the region. This was the beginning of a new era for Turkey since it started to be seen as an active player in international politics.

Then on December 31, 1995, the Customs Union came into force, taking EU-Turkey relations to a different level. The Customs Union covers all industrial goods but does not address agriculture (except processed agricultural products), services, or public procurement. At the time many

did not believe this was something beneficial to Turkey as it was mainly an importer rather than an exporter of goods. However it was a milestone event in Turkey-EU relations.

1999 was an important year for Turkey as numerous significant events took place. Firstly, the leader of the terrorist group PKK, Abdullah Ocalan, was captured in Kenya and put in prison, then the devastating earthquake of August 17 hit Marmara Region, and finally at the Helsinki Summit in December it was stated that “Turkey is a candidate country destined to join the EU” (Arvanitopoulos 2009).

As a result of the above-mentioned developments in 1999, Turkey entered the new millennium with the hope of becoming a member of the EU. Its relationship with Greece improved. At the same time it was lobbying to become a transit country for Caspian energy resources. However, while major reform programmes were implemented, the financial crisis of 2001 hit Turkey badly. At the same time a political crisis over the punishment of the imprisoned leader of the PKK divided the coalition government of the Ecevit as the leader of the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), Devlet Bahçeli, and his followers were not happy that capital punishment had been abolished in Turkey. Other issues contributed to the crisis in the government which ended with a mortifying defeat in November 2002 elections. The results of the elections were a landslide victory for the newly founded Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP or Justice and Development Party-JDP) of Recep Tayyip Erdogan.

With the JDP, a long-desired political stability arrived and the era of weak coalition governments ended in Turkey. Turkey-EU relations were taken to a new level in 2004 after the EC published a progress report which gave Turkey the green light. Then twenty-five EU leaders agreed on Dec. 16, 2004, to start accession negotiations with Turkey from Oct. 3, 2005.

The Turkish economy was also doing great while Turkey became actively involved in international politics. Reform programmes were followed by economic developments, and the JDP won yet another landslide victory. Banking on its highly popular position, the JDP reduced the military’s presence in civilian politics to almost null. Ahmet Davutoğlu, the Foreign Office leader, pursued a policy of “zero problems.” While it was close to military conflict with its neighbours in the 1990s, Turkey became a major player in its region. It started taking an active role in peace negotiations. After decades of passivity, Turkey was emerging as an important diplomatic actor in the Middle East. Although some branded his policies as Neo-Ottomanism, with Davutoglu, Turkey started opening to the rest of the world including Africa, the Far East, and South America.

Turkey became involved in Pakistan-Afghanistan relations, talks regarding Iran's nuclear developments, talks between Israel and Syria, and so on.

While we can emphasise the importance of the JDP in Turkey's new look, the impact of moderate Islamic scholar Fethullah Gülen's global organisation should not be underestimated. Known as the Nurcular with its highly successful and credible global education network, Gülen's followers became Turkey's positive advert figures. They also helped Turkish businesspeople to invest in foreign countries around the world, thus creating a major trustable business network for Turkish people.

Moreover, Turkey's new active role in the international arena also brought some changes as it shifted its friendly policies with Israel to a different form due to Israel's treatment of the Palestinians. Erdoğan declared Israel a "terrorist state" (Reuters 2012) and Israel's attacks on Syria and Gaza as "state terrorism" and on many occasions stated that the blockade on Gaza imposed by Israel was unacceptable and unlawful. After the "one minute" incident in Davos, relations were almost frozen. Following that, the murder of nine Turkish citizens by Israeli soldiers during the infamous Mavi Marmara incident in May 2010 forced Turkey to cease all relations with Israel until the latter officially apologised and paid compensation to the families of the people murdered in international waters in the Mediterranean. Israel continuously refused both of the demands Turkey made until March 2013. Finally Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu phoned to apologise to his Turkish counterpart, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, while sitting with U.S. President Obama and accepted that his country would pay compensation to the families of the Turkish citizens killed. In his call Netanyahu made it clear that

"The tragic results regarding the Mavi Marmara were unintentional and ...
Israel expresses regret over injuries and loss of life."

It will take some time for Turkey to normalise relations with Israel. However, the long-lasting civil war in Syria makes this relationship ever more important in the case that the conflict spills over. Turkey is openly supporting the Free Syrian Army in its fight against forces loyal to Bashar al-Assad and his Baath Party government. Syria was one of the countries hit by the revolutionary protest movement called the Arab Spring. Since March 15, 2011, opposition to Assad's regime (whose family has held the presidency since 1971) has grown in scale and turned into a bloody military conflict that has claimed more than a hundred thousand lives and forced millions of people to become refugees. At first Turkey tried calming the situation down by asking Assad to introduce reforms, but none of the meetings gave fruition. The conflict continues to date and it

looks like it will carry on further as there is no strong unity among the opposition. Although it is evident that Assad cannot hold his position for too long, Russia, China, and Iran's position might determine the rest of the conflict and its length. So far these three support the Assad regime while the United States, Turkey, Qatar, the UK, Germany, Saudi Arabia, and many other countries openly support the opposition.

The conflict in Syria has also had a negative impact on Turkey-Iran relations as they support opposite sides. Some scholars call this a reflection of a long-lasting Turkish-Iranian competition due to religious differences. To them Syria is the new battleground for Sunni and Shiite Islam. However, it should be noted that Turkey and Iran have important economic and cultural ties which would not be destroyed over Syria unless the two sides become directly involved in the conflict, which seems an unlikely prospect. Turkey is Iran's biggest natural gas customer, as it buys more than 20 percent of its needs from Iran. Turkey's crude oil imports from Iran are also sizable. Iran's millions of ethnically Turkish Azeri population is the biggest cultural link between the two states, as these people regularly visit Turkey as tourists and watch Turkish TV in their homes.

Recent years have brought problems to Turkey-Iraq relations as Turkey set up relationships with the Kurdish Autonomous region of Iraq independently from Baghdad. One worry for Turkey could be that the sectarian violence in Iraq that could spill over to the Middle East. Another issue for Turkey could be the state of Kirkuk, the oil-rich ancient Turcoman city, which was the capital city of the Turkic people. Turkey supports the unity of Iraq and emphasises that Kirkuk should remain as part of united Iraq rather than be part of the Kurdish region. If Turkey can peacefully solve the Kurdish issue it faces, the Kirkuk issue will also be solved automatically as most of the Kurds in Iraqi Kurdistan would like to be linked with Turkey but not the Arab world or Iran.

Turkey's special relationships with the United States and the UK should also be noted. Turkey has had good relations with the United States since the Truman Doctrine was announced in 1947, and it continues to enjoy even better relations with it now. In addition to the States, recent years have also seen great positive developments between the UK and Turkey. The UK, almost isolated in Europe due to Germany's ever-growing influence in the Union, seeks other alternative directions. There is no better ally than Turkey, as Turkey is also frustrated with the EU. Relationships between the two powers have developed in every aspect of life including social, political, and economic. Highly important state visits from Queen Elizabeth II to Turkey in 2008 and Turkish President

Abdullah Gül to the UK in 2011 symbolise the importance of these two countries for each other. This special relationship is likely to develop even further as the EU's future is uncertain while Turkey is the rising power of Southeastern Europe and the Middle East.

Turkey has good political and economic relationships with Russia, China, Japan, India, Brazil, and many other major countries. However it is still not making the progress expected in its EU membership prospects. During the last five years many people have stated that Turkey was turning its face towards the East (citing Islam here) and using the EU as a tool to make changes to its domestic look (citing democratic reforms to subdue the influence of the army). Due to anti-Turkish rhetoric expressed by some European leaders, such as former French President Nicolas Sarkozy, Turkey-EU relations were almost frozen. However this did not really have a negative impact on Turkey as it continued to grow in economic and political power. On the other hand Europe was fighting a financial crisis as some of its members are on the brink of bankruptcy such as Greece and Cyprus. Finally European leaders started to realise Turkey's potential to keep the EU going. For example Guido Westerwelle, Germany's foreign minister, has become the first top EU official to tell his European colleagues publicly that they should change the way they deal with Turkey, which has grown increasingly frustrated with the lack of progress in its bid to join the bloc. Westerwelle said

“Turkey has been a stable bridge into the Muslim world, and we in Europe would be foolish if we were not to make more use of this bridge...Turkey plays a key role for the change in Egypt to succeed, for a political solution in Libya and for the right influence on the Syrian leadership...” (Seibert 2011).

Former Commission Vice-President Günter Verheugen stated that the EU needs Turkey if it is to succeed as a global player (EurActiv 2013). Verheugen said

“In the case of Turkey there is a strategic and economic meaning. Strategically, Turkey is the country that can be the mediator between Western democracies and the Islamic world. It can play a very important role in terms of which direction the Arab or Islamic world will develop. These questions are absolutely crucial for our own future and we cannot do it without Turkey. Economically Turkey is potentially one of the strongest European economies, growing very fast. And Turkey is sitting in a region with a huge potential, meaning that Turkey would not weaken the EU — it would make it stronger” (*ibid.*).

It can be said that finally the EU has realised how important Turkey is for European economic and political stability as well as security. Due to this fact relations started evolving and negotiations were given a fresh start as of 2013.

In the last ten years Turkey has also witnessed many domestic developments socially, economically, and politically. As mentioned previously, the army's presence in politics was reduced to nearly zero, and although the move was criticised by many, court cases were launched against those who allegedly tried to overthrow the civilian government, reforms passed one after another to make the country more democratic, and the creation of a new constitution is underway.

In terms of economic developments, Turkey is also doing well, as it is ranked as the seventeenth-largest economy in the world. In 2001 it was hardly paying its debts to the IMF while in 2013 it is planning to lend money to the institution. The Turkish economy was one of the few economies that survived the financial crisis of 2008. As mentioned by Rodrik:

"Turkish banks have strong balance sheets, and regulation and supervision are much tighter than before. The currency is floating. When it comes to macroeconomic management, Turkey has adopted all the best practices. ... Turkey needs to grow more rapidly; and it can grow more rapidly. The country has a growth potential that its recent performance, successful as it may have been, has not fully exploited" (Rodrik 2012).

In terms of social aspects of the domestic changes, the Kurdish issue tops the list. For the past few years the government has been trying to solve this issue and end the PKK's terrorism peacefully as the terror had cost thousands of lives and put an immense financial burden on the Turkish people for nearly thirty years. As of 2013 the future of this issue looks promising. However, it is very hard to satisfy both the Kurds and the Turks to bring an end to this long-lasting problem within a short period of time. For example, according to a report titled Public Perception of the Kurdish Question in Turkey, 59 percent of self-identified Kurds in Turkey think that Kurds in Turkey do not seek a separate state while 71.3 percent of self-identified Turks think they do (SETA-POLLMARK 2009). Again among the respondents, 47.9 percent think that granting cultural rights to the Kurds would not harm the unity and integrity of Turkey as opposed to those (42.5 percent) who claim that such a policy would lead to disunity (*ibid.*). It is long-desired peace and stability both the Turks and the Kurds of Turkey want. For the last three decades most of the country's resources, be they financial or political, have been wasted in dealing with the Kurdish

issue. Current politicians know that once the negotiations end with a positive result, Turkey can utilise the potential power it has more freely around the Middle East. Due to this fact many people in Turkey suspects that international powers will try to hinder the process to stop Turkey's advancement.

Apart from the Kurdish issue, recent years have also seen more freedom in religion. Removal of religion from every aspect of public life has been questioned by the JDP governments. For example, wearing a headscarf is now allowed at universities. In one of his speeches, Erdogan said Turkey's Islamic beliefs should not be hidden. "Our balance of democratic values and religious beliefs should be an inspiration to others" (Erdogan 2012). Although some people see this religious freedom as a turn to Islamic roots, others see it as a basic civil right that most Western citizens exercise in their daily lives. This deep-rooted difference in opinion regarding the place of religion in the public sphere will continue to shape Turkey's social and political outlook for the unforeseen future. For example, public opinion is detrimentally divided on the Ergenekon and Balyoz trials. While one part of the society, generally the conservative and religious part, supports the trials, the other part, generally the secular section, sees them as the revenge of religious people on secularists. Some even connects these cases to an international conspiracy aiming to divide the country.

What does this book offer?

In chapter one A. Nur Cetinoglu looks at the Middle East from the new Turkish perspective. The fact that the American credibility has faced a remarkable challenge since the war in Iraq has pushed Turkey to look for partners sharing same concerns and common objectives regarding the Gulf region. The states forming the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) have clearly been the partners that Turkey was looking for. Indeed, Turkey became the first single country with which the GCC signed a memorandum of understanding in September 2008. This chapter attempts to look into various dimensions of Turkey-GCC relations after 2008. The paper starts from the statement that the signing of this memorandum in 2008 was mainly based on strategic needs resulting from the war in Iraq. Notwithstanding this, it is argued that the motive lying behind the developments following the signing of memorandum goes beyond structural needs. However, the paper concludes by revealing prospective problems that may arise in relations between Turkey and the GCC in the short and long terms.

In chapter two Ed Wise and Jennifer Lang explore different potential outcomes of the Syrian Crisis in relation to Turkey's domestic security. Turkey has a relatively good track record of countering terrorism through combined military and police activity and its present stability and levels of security are arguably unprecedented in the history of the modern Turkish state. Nevertheless, past achievements in counterterrorism should not prompt complacency. The crisis over the border has already had knock-on effects on Turkish security and these pressures could well increase depending on how the Syrian Crisis progresses. This article focuses on the impact of differing outcomes of the Syrian Crisis on the capacity and motivation of nationalist and jihadist terrorist groups in their activities against and within Turkey. Overall it asserts that the support Turkey draws from NATO and the West more generally will be critical not only for domestic security but additionally in relation to the Syrian conflict. The most dangerous situation for Turkey is a drawn out conflict in Syria, i.e. Stalemate — reinforcing radical ideologies, facilitating the free movement of fighters and weapons throughout the region, and consolidating safe havens for terrorist groups on Turkey's doorstep.

In chapter three Dr. Emel Parlar Dal looks at Turkey's new power diffusion. The major systemic changes occurring in Turkey's neighbourhood combined with significant domestic changes in the country over the last decade have impacted the diffusion of Turkey's new power into its region. This study is based on the general assumption that transitional diffusion studies can serve as a useful tool for establishing a linkage between the diffusion of Turkey's new influence of power and its model-role. It aims mainly at identifying the indirect influence mechanisms, namely emulation together with the changing ideas, norms, and agents which have affected Turkey's transforming influence diffusion into its neighbourhood over the past decade, most particularly since the start of the Arab Spring in 2010. It also seeks to understand whether Turkey's new power diffusion will contribute to the successful enactment of its model/example role and lead to institutional change in the Arab countries under transformation. The article concludes that only further democratisation at home can give real meaning to Turkey's emulative power and its diffusion to the Middle East through the Turkish model concept.

In chapter four Jrde Shiu looks at Turkey China relations. After long-term alienation, only with their thriving economic performances more recently, among other factors, Turkey and China are eager to boost their bilateral relations, including reviving a new Silk Route, and strengthen ties in regional and global arenas, if not hindered by Washington and the issue of Uyghur.

In chapter five Dr. Yüksel Taşkin looks at the new elite in Turkey. The Justice and Development Party's (AKP) rise to power in 2002 has facilitated the ascendance of a new elite, conservative Muslims, in the realms of politics, economy and culture. There are significant differences between the newly rising elite and the elites traditionally affiliated either with the center-right or modernist currents represented by Kemalism and the Left in general. The new counter elite have to legitimate their rapid ascent in an environment where voters have the power to choose from among the rival contenders for power. Besides, the conservative Muslim elite need also to legitimate their presence for national and international power centers. In this article, Taşkin will try to explain the ways of legitimization that the new counter elite have been promoting.

In chapter six Razi Ashraf looks at Turkey-Pakistan relations. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries revealed a common era between Central and South Asia and also included the Mediterranean world of the Ottomans including the channels leading from Iran. Despite the diversities in terms of geography there existed most remarkably a widespread sense of a common unity in the form of *Islamic* and *Perzianate* culture that extended across the Uzbek, Safavid, Ottoman and Mughal territories. In other words Muslim Asia during this time could be described as “one world” as the general population absorbed consciously or unconsciously the outlooks, perceptions and cultural vocabularies of the dominant elite culture. Fascinatingly enough, this phenomenon can be seen till today when we examine the relationship between Central Asia, Turkey, Iran and Pakistan. In this chapter the case of Turkish relationship with Pakistan is chosen as a paradigm to elucidate this historical situation in Muslim Asian history.

In chapter seven Kurtulus Hatinoglu seeks to analyse current literature on energy security in Turkey and role of energy transit countries (hubs) and how Turkey identifies and negotiates with neighbouring countries. This chapter also presents a brief political geographic overview to analyse Turkey's geographic advantage as future energy player .This chapter contributes towards a deeper of understanding how Turkey is using geopolitical power in an energy game. This chapter sets out Turkey's current and potential role in the supply of gas to Europe, starting with the EU's need for gas, the geography of global gas disposition and Turkey's importance as a natural funnel through which the EU can access gas from many of the world's leading gas suppliers. It also places Turkey's role in the context of EU reliance on Russia as its largest single supplier of gas. It deals with the existing and potential pipeline infrastructure for gas supplies to Europe via Turkey and discusses what role the EU is already playing,

and might be expected to play in the future, with regard to ensuring its energy security by means of pipeline development to carry gas to the EU market via Turkey.

In chapter eight Dr. Hatice Sitki looks at Turkey-EU relations from a very different aspect. Her paper is about how to brand two seemingly disparate concepts of “unity” and “diversity” that Europe/the EU has adopted as their collective motto to demonstrate their “multicultural” aspirations/collective group identity. Sitki’s paper also demonstrates visibly how Europe/the EU’s invisible motto can become a tangible manifestation of its multicultural collective group identity.

In chapter nine Valeria Drigo states that in the enlargement process of the EU it is a matter of fact that for all decision to be effective, unanimity is required. However, when the Council gave the candidate status to Turkey, unanimity was far from being reached. Why then did the Council open accession negotiations? The paper answers this question through a discourse analysis in order to find out whether or not a “path dependence” has forced the states to open accession negotiations. The basis of the paper has to be found in two theories, the “rhetorical entrapment” and the notion of “path dependence.” This work suggests that two fundamental events have contributed to the creation of the “path”: the recognition of Turkey as a European country in 1963, and the setting of the Copenhagen criteria. Following the assertion of these two key points, once Turkey fulfilled the Copenhagen criteria, the states had no other choice but to open the negotiations.

In chapter ten Agata Biernat explores the ongoing Polish-Turkish relationship. In 2014 we will be celebrating the 600th anniversary of the beginning of diplomatic relationship between Turkey and Poland. Actually, there have not existed major problems in relations between these two countries. After the end of the Cold War, Turkish-Polish political cooperation flourished. It has to be emphasised that Ankara strongly supported Polish aspiration to become a NATO member in 1999. Currently, Poland seems to be one of the greatest supporters of Turkish accession to the European Union. Since Poland joined the EU, Warsaw has been supportive of Turkey’s EU accession. Moreover both countries are determined to boost economic relations. One of the biggest problems that needs to be solved if these two countries want to boost their economic relations is visa issue. It is time for Poland to become an important partner for Turkey and to raise its involvement also in Europe.

In chapter eleven Zeynep Clulow seeks to analyse the international sources of Turkey’s identity in multilateral climate negotiations. It draws on a Wendtian version of social constructivism to develop the theoretical

foundations for this analysis, namely type and role identities. The former refers to categorical labels that are assigned to states to describe the perceived characteristics that they share with other countries. In the climate context, the distinction between developed and developing countries comprises perhaps the most salient and problematic form of type identity. By analysing the relevant theoretical and empirical sources, this chapter contributes towards a deeper understanding of where Turkey is located in the developmental continuum. In contrast, the concept of role identity is employed to describe social identities that states acquire through their relationships with each other. The chapter reveals the potential for Turkey to carry a unique set of roles in the global climate regime.

In chapter twelve Professor Alex Calvo looks at Turkey-South Korea relations. Turkey and Korea, two countries at opposite ends of the Eurasian continent, are seemingly worlds apart, with few if any historical connections. Yet, in 1950, their fates were linked by a sudden crisis, the first major conflict after World War II and one that tested the concept of collective security. Ankara was among the first to heed the UN's call for help, sending a full brigade to Korea. Despite its lack of training and equipment, it soon made its mark on the battlefield. Reaching the front lines right before the Chinese counterattack, it played a decisive role in saving the 8th Army from encirclement and destruction. Why did Turkey send 5,000 men to fight 5,000 miles away? The chapter explains Ankara's main motivations, offers a summary of the Turkish Brigade's performance and impact (including facilitating NATO membership), and concludes with a discussion of its current legacy.

In chapter thirteen Dr. Hakkı Gurkas looks at the Blessed Birth Week campaign in Turkey. The official religious establishment in Turkey launched a publicity campaign (the Blessed Birth Week) for the birth of the Prophet Muhammad in 1989 in order to end the containment of Islam and Islamic cultural signifiers in the private sector. The initial campaign was an experimental enrichment program for the traditional Turkish *mawlid* festival, *Mevlid Kandili*. However, in less than half a decade, the Blessed Birth Week evolved into an independent festive event and started to develop its own festive morphology with the initiation of a new festive cycle as well as a set of new rites. Since then, the Blessed Birth Week has gradually acquired a significant following among the masses, increased the visibility of Islamic signifiers in public, and initiated a struggle in the public sphere(s). All these possibly signify the emergence of a new alternative civic religion organized around the personality of the Prophet Muhammad.

In chapter fourteen Chiara Maritato focuses on how the issue of the Turkish Constitution has come to the forefront and fluctuated on the

Turkish agenda for years. Nowadays Turkey is facing a process of public consultations aimed at reforming the current Constitution dated 1982 that came into force after the military coup of 1980. The reform is a major project that aims to address the power imbalance between State and government. For the purpose of analysing the Constitutional issue, our interest focuses on how the time to make Turkey's new Constitution has come. This contribution's content is the pre-decisional process during which this issue has moved up and down in the Turkish political agenda. This chapter will thus examine the switch from the "condition" to the "problem" military Constitution, being conscious that in the last two decades, different actors have framed the relation "Constitution-democracy" challenging the core and the structure of the *post-1980* political system. Within the pre-decisional process, it is possible to sort out two landmarks: the first one in which the idea of constitutional reform has become "acceptable" and the second one, often defined policy access, in which the item is set in the agenda. The main questions behind this study are as follows: To what extent has the problem definition and issue framing influenced the setting of the constitutional reform in Turkish agenda? Considering the switch from "condition" to "problem," what we can infer from the ideational and the institutional approach of policy access? The chapter will thus present a study of the framing ideational process involving what happens in the pre-decisional agenda setting "black box."

In chapter fifteen Filipa Bismarck Coelho states that the value of democracy, together with the protection of human rights and the promotion of the rule of law, is one of the European Union's main founding values. These values are an integral part of the European Union's identity. Through its Enlargement Policy and European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), the EU has increased its role in the field of promotion of EU values. The result of such a "Europeanisation" process is clear in the development of EU-Turkey relations. These partners have a long and privileged partnership constructed throughout the last few decades that has reached the point of no return. Such a partnership shall not exclude Turkey's membership in the EU. Instead it is an undeniable preliminary step that shall lead, in the future, to Turkey's accession to the EU.

In chapter sixteen Ivo Furman discusses how websites maintained by online communities can be used as an archival resource for historical documentation. The first part of this chapter is a methodology discussion about how to treat a website as an archive. Rather than treating a website as a "text," Furman uses Digital Object Theory (Kallinikos et Al. 2010) to construct an object-oriented methodology for studying online archives. This

approach examines how the design elements of the website shape user experiences in terms of “affordances” (Gaver 1991). These design affordances determine both the structure of an online community and the architectural organisation of archival content. The latter part of this chapter is a case study of the popular Ekşi Sözlük website, which hosts one of the largest Turkish-speaking online communities on the Internet.

Conclusion

Turkey has been a silent power for almost a century. However, recent years have shown that Turkey is becoming a significantly influential regional power and to an extent a global player due to social, economic, and political developments it has achieved over the last few decades. Turkish people are no longer afraid of their history as it happened in the past. The last part of Ottoman history is not looked down on any more as more rigorous and objective accounts are written about it. Turkey’s Islamic heritage is also not underrated or ignored. Ethnic minorities in Turkey are not seen as a threat but as a rich part of the greater Turkish heritage and culture. Kurds have been given most of the rights they desired for decades and perhaps an ultimate peace deal will bring the two peoples, who have lived together for over a thousand years, ever closer. Turkey, a bridge between 70 percent of world’s energy resources and most important energy consumers, is built to be a global player. As a populous and relatively large country, if Turkey can finally establish a peace with its past and the future, is destined to reach its ambition to be an influential player by 2023. Balance of power in international relations is shaped by ideas and beliefs. It means people must believe that you have the power. The way to make international community to believe in to you comes from respecting international norms in every aspect of life and of course to have a self-confidence. Now Turkey is trying to have both of these merits and not following the “peace at home and peace in the world” motto anymore. It is actively participating in international matters and has built relationships with numerous countries from all over the world. Africa, South America, and Southeast Asia, once seen as too far away, now are getting closer and closer to Turkey and the Turkish people. Overall it can easily be noted that Turkey is a regional power in the awakening.

These changes identified above took place within a very short period of time for academia to follow. Therefore there is a limitation in the literature that deals with Turkey’s new look. Consequently this book tries to fill at least some of the gaps identified above.

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