SOFT POWER IN TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY UNDER THE AKP
GOVERNMENTS: 2002-2009

A Master's Thesis

by
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Ankara
July 2010

To my family
and
To my princess

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The Institute of Economics and Social Sciences
of
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by

UTKU ALİ RIZA ALPAYDIN

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I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in International Relations.

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ABSTRACT

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The concept of soft power has turned out to be one of the agenda-setting terms in the field of international relations upon its inception in the early 1990s. Despite its widespread usage, the inherent nature of the concept could not been grasped to a great extent. The increasing references to soft power in many of the analyses about Turkish foreign policy during the ruling Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AKP, (Justice and Development Party, JDP) era has created a need to present the notion of soft power as a proper theoretical concept and to discuss the foreign policy of the Turkish state conducted by the AKP governments in the light of such a theoretical background. Therefore, this thesis intends to present a refined theory of soft power embracing all the relevant points of the existing literature on soft power theory in order to make it utilizable for all cases and to implement this proposed theory to the case of Turkish foreign policy in a comparative manner by examining pre-AKP period and the period during the AKP has been in rule. Out of these explanations, the research question of this thesis emerges as such: "To what extent has soft power increased its influence in Turkish foreign policy under the AKP governments?" The main argument of the thesis can be put forward in the following manner: "The soft power of Turkish state has increased during the AKP term, although there has been some degree of soft power culture in the history of Turkish Republic."

Keywords: Soft power, Justice and Development Party (JDP), Turkish foreign policy, power currencies, benignity, brilliance, beauty

ÖZET

AKP HÜKÜMETLERİ DÖNEMİ TÜRK DIŞ POLİTİKASI'NDA YUMUŞAK GÜÇ: 2002-2009

Alpaydın, Utku Ali Rıza

Yüksek Lisans, Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü

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Yumuşak güç kavramı 1990'ların başında ortaya çıkışından itibaren uluslararası ilişkiler disiplininde gündem belirleyen terimlerden bir tanesi haline gelmiştir. Yaygın olarak kullanılmasına karşın, kavramın özü halen büyük ölçüde anlaşılabilmiş değildir. İktidardaki Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi döneminde uygulanan Türk dış politikası üzerine yapılan araştırmaların birçoğunda yumuşak güç kavramına artan bir şekilde atıfta bulunulması yumuşak güç kavramının uygun bir kuramsal terim olarak sunulması ve AKP hükümetleri tarafından uygulanan dış politikanın bu şekilde ortaya konan kavramsal bir arka plan ışığında tartışılması gereğini ortaya çıkarmıştır. Bu sebeple, bu tez yumuşak güç kuramını tüm vakalar üzerine uygulanabilir hale getirmek için mevcut yumuşak güç kuramı literatüründeki tüm ilgili noktaları kapsayan düzeltilmiş bir yumuşak güç kuramı sunma ve bu önerilen kuramı Türk dış politikası vakasına AKP öncesi dönemi AKP'nin iktidarda olduğu dönem ile karşılaştırmalı olarak uygulama amacını gütmektedir. Bu açıklamalar doğrultusunda bu tezin araştırma sorusu şu şekilde ortaya çıkmaktadır: "Yumuşak gücün etkisi AKP hükümetleri yönetimindeki Türk dış politikasında ne derecede artmıştır?" Bu tezin temel argümanı ise aşağıdaki şekilde ileri sürülebilir: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti tarihinde bir nebze yumuşak güç kültürü olmasına rağmen, Türk devletinin yumuşak gücü AKP hükümetleri döneminde artmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yumuşak güç, Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP), Türk dış politikası, güç birimleri, iyi huyluluk, mükemmellik, güzellik

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AKP   : Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party)

BSEC   : Black Sea Economic Cooperation

CARICOM   : Caribbean Community

CENTO   : Central Treaty Organization

CICA   : Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia

DAC   : Development Assistance Committee

D-8   : Developing 8

EC   : European Community

ECO   : Economic Cooperation Organization

EU   : European Union

FDI   : Foreign Direct Investment

GDP   : Gross Domestic Product

GNI   : Gross National Income

G-20   : Group of Twenty

IFOR   : The NATO-led Multinational Implementation Force

NATO   : North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NSC   : National Security Council

ODA   : Official Development Assistance

OECD   : Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development

OIC   : Organization of the Islamic Conference

OSCE   : Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

PKK   : Kurdistan Workers' Party (Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan)

RCD   : Regional Cooperation for Development

SFOR   : The Multinational Stabilization Force

SPO   : State Planning Organization

TAC   : Turkish-Arab Cooperation Forum

TASAM   : Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studies

TESEV   : Turkish Foundation on Economic and Social Studies

TIKA   : Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency

TRT   : Turkish Radio and Television Corporation

UN   : United Nations

UNMISET   : United Nations Mission in Support East Timor

UNPROFOR   : United Nations Protection Force in Bosnia-Herzegovina

USA   : United States of America

USAK   : International Strategic Research Organization

USSR   : Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Soft power has been one of the most popular catchwords of the current period. Many people, from journalists to academics, from politicians to students, have been using the term in their speeches, declarations, and writings with or without knowing exactly what it stands for. When Joseph Nye Jr. coined the term in his book "Bound to Lead" published in 1990, he may not have foreseen that soft power would gain such popularity. Although it has gained widespread attention and popularity from that time on, there has remained ambiguity on the meaning of soft power. It can even be claimed that it has generally been misunderstood, misused and trivialized by the people who could not have grasped the whole idea in this concept. Therefore, in 2004, Nye published another book, "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics", in which he has developed the notion of soft power and has tried to make it clear what it embraces by examining the concept with a special focus on the American experiences. Still however, there is ambiguity about the sources of soft power and how it can be utilized by other states while conducting their foreign policies in the most efficient manner. It should also be mentioned that many scholars, other than Nye, has commented on the issue of soft power. While some of them have

provided their own theory of soft power, some others have applied the analytical framework provided by Nye for the examination of other countries' soft power.[1]

Turkish foreign policy, the fundamentals of which have traditionally been shaped by three main determinants, i.e., the legacy of the Ottomans, the geographical positioning and the Kemalist ideology, is argued to have undergone a radical transformation with the end of the Cold War. The coming to power of the Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, hereafter AKP, (Justice and Development Party in English) in 2002 is claimed to signify another rupture in the course of Turkish foreign policy during the post-Cold War epoch. It is even maintained by several scholars that the foreign policy followed by the AKP represents a deviation from the traditions of Turkish foreign policy that have been practiced since the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923. Although the general framework of traditional Turkish foreign policy remains on the ground, since it is inevitable to get rid of the features of a country coming from its historical, geographical and ideational experiences very suddenly, it can be argued that these characteristics have commenced to be perceived and interpreted distinctively by the AKP. One such distinguished endeavor has been made by Ahmet Davutoğlu, the current Minister of Foreign Affairs, who has maintained that Turkish state has to adapt to the new conditions of the globalizing world in the aftermath of the end of the Cold War by re-inventing the depths of the country in terms of geography, history and culture. Davutoğlu presents his ideas on

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[1] For example, Geun Lee. "A theory of soft power and Korea's soft power strategy", *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, 21: 2 (2009), 205-218; Bates Gill and Yanzhong Huang. "Sources and Limits of Chinese 'Soft Power'", *Survival*, 48:2 (2006), 17-36; Louis Klarevas. "Greeks Bearing Consensus: Suggestions for Increasing Greece's Soft Power in the West", 142-159; Joel Wuthnow. "The Concept of Soft Power in China's Strategic Discourse", *Issues & Studies*, 44: 2 (June 2008), 1-28; Christian Wagner. "From Hard Power to Soft Power? Ideas, Interaction, Institutions, and Images in India's South Asia Policy", Heidelberg Papers in South Asian and Comparative Politics Working Paper 26, (March 2005), 1-16.

this matter with his book titled 'Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu (Strategic Depth: Turkey's International Position)' which was published in 2001. The book written by Davutoğlu can be argued to form the basis of the foreign policy approach of the AKP. This argument can be supported with the fact that Davutoğlu had been serving as the Chief Foreign Policy Advisor to Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan before appointed to the post of Foreign Minister in the recent cabinet revision in May 2009.

Simultaneously with the coming to power of the AKP and the gaining prominence of the strategic depth doctrine in Turkish foreign policy, there has occurred an increase in the number of the scholarly articles and journalistic writings about Turkish soft power. However, the most of these works have touched upon the issue without providing a firm theoretical basis about the concept of soft power. The same is also valid for the works of other thinkers abroad. The writings about soft power, including the ones of Nye focusing on American experience, generally do state that a country has soft power in its surrounding regions by looking at concrete examples like the popularity of soap operas, the number of foreign tourists and the cultural and regional affinities with the neighboring regions and countries. It should be noted that these examples can, of course, be counted as the indicators of countries' soft power. However, it is thought that what it is more important, in terms of the examination of a state's soft power, is to locate these examples into a meaningful, coherent and comprehensive theoretical framework. Therefore, it can be argued that this study has two main objectives. Firstly, at the macro level, this study aims at presenting a fresh theory of soft power by collecting the beneficial points of the existing soft power theories in terms of foreign policy analysis into a coherent whole. A solid theory of soft power with a firm conceptual and operational

infrastructure aiming to integrate the original ideas of Joseph Nye Jr. and several other scholars' views on soft power theory will try to be presented with a specific reference to foreign policy analysis. In other words, this study will work for providing a theoretical framework of soft power which will be utilizable for foreign policy analysis of any country. When it is taken into consideration that the concept of soft power has been developed within the specific American context, it turns out to be a rather challenging task to examine other states' soft power. Therefore, it can be said that this study intends to lie down a general framework for the analysis of soft power applicable to all states in this regard. It is also thought that the presentation of a revised theory of soft power will be helpful in removing the blurred images, misconceptions, misusages of soft power encountered in the literature for the upcoming works concerning the subject of soft power. Secondly, at the micro scale, this study tries to analyze soft power in Turkish foreign policy. Turkish foreign policy has been chosen as the case for the thesis since the issue of soft power has been too popular in Turkey nowadays. However, the number of scholarly works on Turkish soft power is very limited despite its ever-increasing popularity. Moreover, the issue of Turkish soft power has not been dealt in detail in the previous studies. The existing works on Turkish soft power generally focus on specific geographies, topics and timeframes.[2] However, in this work, the issue has been taken up as a whole and has been dealt with comprehensively in an all-inclusive manner. The timeframe for the analysis is determined as the period in which the AKP has been in power in Turkey, namely the years between 2002 and 2009. However, some of the instances that have happened in 2010 are also included into the analysis, since they

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[2] The examples include but not limited to Bülent Aras. "Turkey between Syria and Israel: Turkey's Rising Soft Power", *SETA Policy Brief*, 15 (May 2008); Meliha Benli Altunışık. "The Possibilities and Limits of Turkey's Soft Power in the Middle East", *Insight Turkey* 10:2 (2008), 41-54; Mustafa Akyol. "Turkey's soft power in the Arab world", *Hurriyet Daily News*, 30 April 2010.

are seen as substantially important. Even though the AKP era will be focused upon, it will also be investigated whether there has been a tradition of soft power in Turkish foreign policy since the foundation of the Republic until the beginning of the AKP rule. In other words, the analysis will be provided as a comparison of Turkish soft power in the period before the AKP's term and during the AKP's tenure. This study is likely to constitute a valuable contribution in this vein as well, because while most of the works about Turkish soft power are concerned with the current situation, this study traces the issue backwards and tries to find out whether there has existed a culture of soft power in Turkish foreign policy throughout the history of Turkish Republic.

In the context of these explanations, the second chapter elaborates on the theory of soft power. In the first part of the chapter, the original theory provided by the coiner of term, Joseph Nye Jr., will be presented. Later on, the different conceptualizations of soft power by various other scholars and the critiques of Nye's original theory will be provided. In the following part, the similar concepts confused or used interchangeably with soft power, which are civilian power and normative power, will be examined. In the concluding section of the chapter, a refined theory of soft power which has emerged out of the discussions made in the previous sections and which plays the guiding role in the rest of the thesis will be put forward.

In the third chapter, the soft power character of Turkish foreign policy since the establishment of the Turkish Republic until the beginning of the AKP governments' term, between 1923 till 2002, will be discussed. The chapter begins with exploring the main determinants of the traditional Turkish foreign policy which are believed to play the most substantial role in the emergence of the principles shaping the production and implementation processes of Turkish foreign policy in

the traditional sense. The next section in the chapter deals with the issue of soft power in Turkish foreign policy during the defined time period. The analysis of soft power in traditional Turkish foreign policy is bounded to the theoretical framework presented in the last section of the theory-related chapter.

The fourth chapter constitutes the crux of the thesis where the main issue of soft power in Turkish foreign policy under the AKP governments will be investigated. The foreign policy outlook of the AKP and the governments formed by it will be outlined by lying down the crucial points of the 'Strategic Depth' doctrine provided by Ahmet Davutoğlu, and by examining the party program, election manifestos and governmental programs prepared and declared by the AKP officials. After highlighting the principles of the foreign policy understanding of the AKP, the soft power approach and activities of Turkey during the AKP era will be assessed within the confines of the newly-constructed theoretical understanding set forth in the theoretical chapter.

The last chapter is the conclusion part, in which the findings of the analysis will be presented with a general evaluation of the soft power nature of Turkish state in a comparative basis. The summaries of the each chapter will be presented together with the interpretation of the findings by the researcher.

In terms of the methodology used, it can be said that this study is based on historical research. The materials used throughout the study include both official and non-official sources. The speeches made by the AKP officials and the ruling cadres have been utilized along with the academic writings, book chapters, newspaper articles and internet sources. For the analysis, the single case study method has been made use of by taking Turkish foreign policy as its only case. The history of Turkish

foreign policy has been divided into two phases for analytical purposes and the issue of Turkish soft power has been dwelled upon by comparing the soft power strategies and the level of attractiveness of Turkish state in the two following time periods before and during the AKP, that is from 1923 to 2002 and from 2002 to 2009.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL ANALYSIS

2.1 Soft Power

Although it has gained public attention and popularity, the ambiguity on the meaning of the term 'soft power' continues. This is mainly due to the fact that Joseph Nye, the coiner of the term, did not provide a concrete definition of it; rather he tried to explain it in various guises. The widespread popularity of the term has brought about several misconceptions, misunderstandings, misuses of soft power. Therefore, this chapter will try to clarify the conceptual meaning of 'soft power'.

2.1.1 Origins of Soft Power

Joseph Nye coined the term 'soft power' in his book *Bound to Lead* that was published in 1990 and he tried to make what he meant by 'soft power', which was the heading of the article as well, clear in an article published in Foreign Affairs the same year. The book and the article came out during a period when American power was argued to be in decline vis-à-vis its competitors in the world stage. However, he argued the opposite and claimed that there was no serious challenge to American primacy emanating from any state, but from the 'transformation of power'. In his

own words: "The coming century may see continued American preeminence, but the sources of power in world politics are likely to undergo major changes that will create new difficulties for all countries in achieving their goals."[3]

From this quotation, it can be inferred two significant points regarding the notion of power Nye had in his mind. The first one is that Nye sees power important in reaching the aims of states. This notion of power was originally produced by Robert Dahl in his article, *The Concept of Power*. Dahl proposes his understanding of power by making a differentiation between the 'intuitive idea of power' and the 'intuitive view of the power relation'. Dahl explains the former as 'something like this: *A* has power over *B* to the extent that he can get B to do something that *B* would not otherwise do'.[4] For the latter, he argues that 'it seemed to involve a successful attempt by *A* to get *a* to do something he would not otherwise do'.[5] Steven Lukes, by examining Dahl's article, argues that the difference between these two expressions is that the former refers to potential power, while the latter means actual power, meaning the difference is between the possession of power and the exercise of power.[6] From this point, many other scholars defined power in terms of its exercise, that is, the actualization or realization of the potential power. For example, Harold Lasswell and Morton Kaplan defined power as the production of intended effects on other persons.[7] According to Lukes, also, "many think that power involves 'getting

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[3] Joseph Nye. "Soft power"*, Foreign Policy* 80, (1990), 155
[4] Robert Dahl. "The Concept of Power", *Behavioral Science*, 3:2 (1957), 203
[5] Dahl. "The Concept of Power", 204
[6] Steven Lukes. *Power: A Radical View*, (London: MacMillan Press, 1974), 12
[7] Felix Berenskoetter. "Thinking About Power", in *Power in World Politics*, Felix Berenskoetter and Michael J. Williams, eds. (London&New York:Routledge, 2007), 5

what one wants'."[8] Joseph Nye can be cited as one of that 'many', since he argues that power means 'the ability to get the outcomes one wants'[9].

The second inference is related to the 'difficulties' part of the quotation. According to Nye, the changes in the nature of power, which can be observed in the general diffusion of power[10], the complexity in world politics due to the emergence of new actors - other than states - and new issues - other than high politics - as a result of the complex interdependence[11], the changes in the instruments and strategies of power[12], have made it 'less transferable, less coercive, and less tangible'[13]. Therefore, these changes rendered the utilization of the traditional means of exercising power, that is, coercive methods practiced through military and economic power, ineffective or inapplicable. For Nye, "these trends in the world politics suggest a second, more attractive way of exercising power."[14] Nye continues to argue that, "this second aspect of power – which occurs when a country gets other countries to *want* what it wants – might be called co-optive or soft power in contrast with hard or command power of *ordering* others to do what it wants."[15] This second way of exercising power is about 'the ability to shape the preferences of others'[16]. On that issue, Nye writes: "Co-optive power is the ability to structure a situation so that other countries develop preferences or define their interests in ways consistent with its own.[17] Nye classifies the resources of that ability by saying that: "The ability to affect what other countries want tends to be associated with intangible power

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[8] Steven Lukes. "Power and the battle for hearts and minds: On the bluntness of soft power", in *Power in World Politics*, Felix Berenskoetter and Michael J. Williams, eds. (London&New York:Routledge, 2007), 84.
[9] Joseph Nye. *Soft Power:The Means to Success in World Politics*, (New York:Public Affairs, 2004),1
[10] Nye. "Soft power", 155.
[11] Nye. "Soft power", 156-157.
[12] Nye. "Soft power", 158.
[13] Nye. "Soft power", 167.
[14] Nye. "Soft power", 166.
[15] Nye. "Soft power", 166.
[16] Nye. *Soft Power:The Means to Success in World Politics*, 5.
[17] Nye. "Soft power", 168.

resources such as culture, ideology and institutions."[18] Afterwards, he presents the importance of soft power by pointing at the legitimacy gained in the eyes of others and by arguing the cost-effectiveness of soft power against hard power.[19]

In his later works, Joseph Nye tries to develop his notion of soft power. However, these revisions or updates provide no credible solutions to the problem of definitional, theoretical problems. Even his major output on that issue, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (2004) doesn't address the theory of soft power; rather it deals with specifying the sources of soft power and giving practical suggestions to wield soft power effectively. In this book, Nye presents power as 'the ability to influence others to get outcomes one wants'[20] and offers 'three ways to affect the behavior of others: coercion, inducement or attraction'[21]. One of the main contributions of this book in terms of soft power is the depiction of world politics as a 'three-dimensional chess board' consisting of interstate military issues, interstate economic issues, and transnational issues. The importance of soft power lies at the third level, 'since obtaining favorable outcomes on the bottom transnational board often requires the use of soft power assets'[22].

On the issue of getting the outcomes one wants, he reiterates 'the second, more attractive way of exercising power' and calls it 'the second face of power' which he derived from the work of Bachrach and Baratz, *Two Faces of Power* (1962). In its original conception, 'the second face of power' means "the agenda-setting power, namely, the ability of actors 'to create or reinforce barriers to the

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[18] Nye. "Soft power", 166-167.
[19] Nye. "Soft power", 167.
[20] Nye. *Soft Power:The Means to Success in World Politics*, 2.
[21] Nye. *Soft Power:The Means to Success in World Politics*, 2.
[22] Nye. *Soft Power:The Means to Success in World Politics*, 5.

public airing of policy conflicts'."[23] Nye adds 'the power of attraction' to the second face of power, and indeed, he places more on emphasis on it for co-optive behavior. In specific, he writes: "It (soft power) is also the ability to attract, and attraction often leads to acquiescence. Simply put, in behavioral terms soft power is attractive power."[24]

Nye, also, differentiates hard power and soft power by looking at the variety of ways to obtain outcomes one wants[25]. Nye specifies four ways to do so - coercion, inducement, agenda-setting and attraction – and he combines the first two under the heading of 'hard power', while the latter two are casted as the instances of soft power.[26] As it can be inferred from the differentiation, Nye does not see hard power and soft power as inherently contradictory or incompatible. In Nye's own words: "Hard and soft power are related because they are both aspects of the ability to achieve one's purpose by affecting the behavior of others. The distinction between them is one of degree, both in the nature of behavior and in the tangibility of resources".[27]

In the book, Nye, also broadens his notion on the resources of soft power, culture, ideology and institutions. Nye contends that 'in international politics, the resources that produce soft power arise in large part from the values an organization or country expresses in its culture, in the examples it sets by its internal practices and policies, and in the way it handles its relations with others'[28]. In another account, he writes: "The soft power of a country rests primarily on three resources: its culture (in places where it is attractive to others), its political values (when it lives up to them at

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[23] Berenskoetter. "Thinking About Power", 7.
[24] Nye. *Soft Power:The Means to Success in World Politics*, 6.
[25] Nye. *Soft Power:The Means to Success in World Politics*, 6-7.
[26] Nye. *Soft Power:The Means to Success in World Politics*, 7.
[27] Nye. *Soft Power:The Means to Success in World Politics*, 7.
[28] Nye. *Soft Power:The Means to Success in World Politics*, 8.

home and abroad), and its foreign policies (when they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority)."[29] However, the sources of soft power provided by Nye are not limited to those, and he, also, acknowledges this phenomenon that can simply be exemplified with the mere existence of 'primary' in the quotation. On this matter, Nye writes: "For example, sometimes countries may be attracted to others with command power by myths of invincibility, and command power may sometimes be used to establish institutions that later become regarded as legitimate."[30] He supplements his argument by saying that: "…, sometimes the same power resources can affect the entire spectrum of behavior from coercion to attraction. A country that suffers economic and military decline is likely to lose not only its hard power resources but also some of its ability to shape the international agenda and some of its attractiveness. Some countries may be attracted to others with hard power by the myth of invincibility or inevitability."[31]

One of the recent accounts on soft power provided by Nye, himself, appeared in his contribution to the book edited by Felix Berenskoetter and M. J. Williams, *Power in World Politics* (2007). In the chapter written by Nye, he tries to elucidate his position on soft power by responding to the criticisms directed to him. He makes his case by distinguishing his notion and usage of soft power from the widespread use of it as synonyms for cultural or economic power, or as an antonym of hard/military power. Nye argues that his notion of soft power stems from the definition of power he adopted. He maintains: "For my purposes, I chose an agent-focused definition of power that was quite close to the common usage implied by the dictionary - the ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes one wants. Of the three

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[29] Nye. *Soft Power:The Means to Success in World Politics*, 11.
[30] Nye. *Soft Power:The Means to Success in World Politics*, 8.
[31] Nye. *Soft Power:The Means to Success in World Politics*, 9.

main ways to affect others' behavior – coercion, inducement or attraction – I used the term soft power for the third."[32]

Another point he makes in this chapter is about the resources of soft power. Nye repeats and strengthens his argument that economic and military resources can contribute to the soft power of a country although they are largely associated with hard/command power. On this subject, Nye writes: "Like economic resources, military resources can produce soft as well as hard power depending on the context of how they are used."[33]

2.1.2 Other Conceptions of Soft Power

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, soft power gained widespread scholar and public attention. Therefore, in this section, how other scholars have perceived and used the notion of soft power is going to be analyzed. Three of the accounts that involve criticisms to Nye's soft power and provide solutions for the problems of that approach are going to be focused on.

Several of the accounts of soft power found in the literature seemed to converge on the point that soft power is the ability to get the outcomes one wants through attraction rather than coercion and payment, the definition provided by Nye. For example, according to Yasushi Watanabe, "it is well known that soft power refers to a country's ability to obtain the outcomes it wants not through coercion or rewards but through its attractiveness – specifically, the attractiveness of its culture,

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[32] Joseph Nye. "Notes for a soft-power agenda", in *Power in World Politics*, Felix Berenskoetter and Michael J. Williams, eds. (London&New York:Routledge, 2007), 163.
[33] Nye. "Notes for a soft-power agenda", 168.

political values, and policies."[34] Watanabe, also, recalls the ancient Chinese strategist Sun Tzu's adage 'It is best to win without fighting'.[35] Another reading of Nye was presented by Kazuo Ogoura. According to him, Nye originally coined this term to describe a third type of power that was neither military nor economic in character.[36] The best illustration of his argument is the table presented in *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (2004), where Nye presents three types of power – military, economic, and soft – in terms of the behaviors, primary currencies and government policies. (See Table 1).[37] Ogoura says:

> 'Hard power' for Nye means any method that is coercive, in other words, anything that involves compulsion or threats. Methods in which the other party is encouraged to accept something in some way of its free will, he termed 'soft power'.[38]

	Behaviors	Primary Currencies	Government Policies
Military Power	- coercion - deterrence - protection	- threats - force	- coercive diplomacy - war - alliance
Economic Power	- inducement - coercion	- payments - sanctions	- aid - bribes - sanctions
Soft Power	- attraction - agenda-setting	- values - culture - policies - institutions	- public diplomacy - bilateral and multilateral diplomacy

Table 1: *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (2004), Joseph Nye Jr.

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[34] Yasushi Watanabe. "Revisiting soft power", 1.
[35] Watanabe. "Revisiting soft power", 1.
[36] Kazuo Ogoura. "The Limits of Soft Power", 1.
[37] Nye. *Soft Power:The Means to Success in World Politics*, 31.
[38] Ogoura. "The Limits of Soft Power", 1.

Another scholar, Frank Wibert argues that there is both a narrow and a broad definition of soft power. To quote:

> The broad definition of soft power comes from international relations theory and refers to accomplishing international aims through persuasion and co-option rather than through the use of armed force or other forms of coercion such as the use of economic sanctions. Sometimes the definition is used more narrowly and is limited to the cultural or ideological means of obtaining an objective. Conversely, sometimes a broader definition is used to include payments (such as foreign assistance) or trade concessions as part of the range of non-coercive techniques.[39]

Another scholar emphasizing the dual senses of soft power, similar to above, is Alexander L. Vuving, who tries to present a theoretical explanation of soft power in his paper *How Soft Power Works* (2009). According to Vuving, soft power has two senses as it was understood by the public and several scholars. "In the narrower sense, soft power is similar to cultural influence. In the broader sense, soft power is synonymous with non-military power and includes both cultural power and economic strength."[40] He points out one significant problem that causes the misunderstanding of the concept: the 'vehicle fallacy', that is the equation of power with power resources and the resulting confusion of resources with behavior. On this subject, he takes a perspective closer to Nye. Vuving asserts that:

> The same resource can produce both hard and soft power. For example, a military, which is usually thought of as a typical hard power resource, can both coerce some people and attract some others, when it achieves a victory. Also, a typical "soft power resource" such

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[39] Frank Vibert. "Soft Power and the future of international rule-making", Paper presented at the International Colloquium "Global Freedom? The Future of International Governance" organised by the Liberal Institute of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, Potsdam, Germany, 9–11 November 2007, 5-6.

[40] Alexander Vuving. "How Soft Power Works", Paper presented at the panel "Soft Power and Smart Power," American Political Science Association annual meeting, Toronto, September 3, 2009, 3.

as a moral value can be used both to persuade someone, when the person privately agrees with it, and force another, when it is used to build social pressure.[41]

Vuving tries to overcome this fallacy by making 'a subtle distinction between *power resources* and *power currencies*'[42]. According to him, 'power currencies are usually properties of resources or activities'.[43]

In order to present his theory, Vuving argues that the definition presented by Nye is problematic and he tries to complement it. His definition is that "soft power is the ability to get others to want, or accept, what you want".[44] Afterwards, Vuving presents the mechanisms through which soft power work by comparing it with that of hard power, and he reaches at the conclusion that soft power works through attraction. Then, he sets out to solve the question of 'What generates attraction?' The answer he gives to that problem constitutes the crux of his theory of soft power. He defines 'at least three power currencies from which both power and its 'softness' are derived'.[45] Vuving writes that:

> *Benignity* is an aspect of the agent's relations with others, especially with the client of soft power. It refers to the positive attitudes that you express when you treat people, especially when you treat the client.....it generates soft power through the production of gratitude and sympathy.
>
> *Brilliance* is an aspect of the agent's relations with its work. It refers to the high performance that you accomplish when you do things... It generates soft power through the production of admiration.

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[41] Vuving. "How Soft Power Works", 4.
[42] Vuving. "How Soft Power Works", 5.
[43] Vuving. "How Soft Power Works", 5.
[44] Vuving. "How Soft Power Works", 6.
[45] Vuving. "How Soft Power Works", 8.

> *Beauty* is an aspect of actors' relations with ideals, values, causes, or visions. It refers to the neat resonance that is evoked when you represent ideals, values, causes, or visions....Beauty generates soft power through the production of inspiration.[46]

In the following pages, he tries to associate those currencies with the tools of soft power, that is to say, the policies the governments adopted. For example, multilateralism, economic aid, humanitarian assistance are counted as acts of benignity.[47] The acts of brilliance include the success stories in terms of economics or domestic stability, as well as military campaigns. The conduct of domestic and foreign policies on normative principles represents one of the acts of beauty.[48]

At the end of his work he summarizes the power currencies as such: "benignity, or the kindness of behavior and attitude; brilliance, or the shine of capabilities and successes; and beauty, or the resonance of shared norms and goals."[49]

Tarık Oğuzlu provided another approach to soft power in his article *Soft power in Turkish foreign policy* (2007). In this article, Oğuzlu tries to project an understanding of soft power through comparing it with hard power in terms of the 'logic of action'. Oğuzlu, first, provides his definition of power and the necessary conditions for the emergence of power. He defines power as 'the capacity to influence other actors and shape their preferences through the possibilities in hand' and suggests three conditions for power to emerge. These conditions can be casted as the possession of possibilities/assets to influence others, the awareness of the

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[46] Vuving. "How Soft Power Works", 8-9.
[47] Vuving. "How Soft Power Works", 14.
[48] Vuving. "How Soft Power Works", 15.
[49] Vuving. "How Soft Power Works", 20.

possessor of those capabilities, and the recognition of that power by the other actors in the system.[50] Out of these conditions comes the change of policies by the parties on which power is exerted in line with the interests of power-holder, as Oğuzlu claims.[51] Therefore, he points out to the relational nature of power and seeks the motivations behind the policy changes of the power-exerted parties by questioning the 'logic of action' rather than looking at the methods used as the literature suggests. He indicates that 'the literature makes a distinction between hard and soft power is made on the basis of the instruments used'[52], which asserts that if the military and coercive instruments are used, it is an exercise of hard power, while the use of civilian, economic and normative instruments identifies soft power. It can be said that Oğuzlu, also, argues the 'vehicle fallacy' problem for this kind of differentiation. What he proposes, on the other hand, is examining the ways the means are employed. Thus, Oğuzlu argues that:

> If an instrumental logic of action were in play, meaning if the goal were to force others to make a cost-benefit analysis through coercing or coaxing strategies, then one could talk about hard power. If the goal were to ensure that others would automatically follow the lead of the power-holder due to the power of attraction the latter has in the eyes of the former, then one could refer to the existence of soft power.[53]

Oğuzlu states that if the change of others' behavior is resulted not from a cost-benefit analysis, but from the legitimacy of identity and policies of the power-exerting party in the eyes of others, then one can talk about soft power.[54] Therefore, soft power amounts to power of attraction in Oğuzlu's analysis. To get attraction,

[50] H. Tarık Oğuzlu. "Soft Power in Turkish Foreign Policy", *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 61:1 (2007), 82.
[51] Oğuzlu. "Soft Power in Turkish Foreign Policy", 83.
[52] Oğuzlu. "Soft Power in Turkish Foreign Policy", 83.
[53] Oğuzlu. "Soft Power in Turkish Foreign Policy", 81.
[54] Oğuzlu. "Soft Power in Turkish Foreign Policy", 83.

legitimacy is perceived as a prerequisite by Oğuzlu. He provides three important sources of legitimacy: the values owned by the power-holder; political, social, economic and cultural institutions of a country; and the methods employed in the execution of foreign policy.[55]

The last and one of the recent attempts to theorize soft power, which deserves to be mentioned, is provided by Geun Lee in his article *A theory of soft power and Korea's soft power strategy* (2009). He tries to offer a new definition of soft power by analyzing the issue in terms of the resources rather than the nature of power exerted. Lee points at the lack of a well developed theoretical framework and the highly contextual nature of Nye's representation of soft power and aims at providing a theoretical framework that can be applied to every case.

Firstly, Lee presents five different categories of soft power in line with the policy goals to be achieved. "They are: (1) soft power to improve the external security environment by projecting peaceful and attractive images of a country; (2) soft power to mobilize other countries' support for one's foreign and security policies; (3) soft power to manipulate other countries' way of thinking and preferences; (4) soft power to maintain the unity of a community or community of countries; and (5) soft power to increase the approval ratings of a leader, or domestic support for a government."[56]

According to Lee, all these categories make use of the 'soft resources' such as ideas, images, theories, know-how, education, discourses, culture, traditions, national

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[55] Oğuzlu. "Soft Power in Turkish Foreign Policy", 83-84.
[56] Geun Lee. "A theory of soft power and Korea's soft power strategy", *The Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, 21:2 (June 2009), 207-208.

or global symbols, etc.[57] Lee seems to grasp what Nye's conception of soft power is, however, he finds it defected, because he puts the sources of soft power, what he calls 'soft resources', at the center of his theory, while the nature of the power being exerted makes up the basis of Nye's conception. His theory can be summarized as such in his own words: ..."when non-material symbolic ''soft resources'' are employed to exert influence on others, the final outcome is soft power, while the final outcome is defined as hard power when material ''hard resources'' are employed."[58] Therefore, in the conceptualization of Lee, there is no place for hard resources to create soft power, only soft resources can create soft power no matter what they co-opt or coerce others. Indeed, this falls short of Nye's conceptualization of soft power which also acknowledges the creation of soft power through hard/material resources.

Out of the discussion of the several accounts of soft power provided by other scholars than Nye, it can be concluded that Nye's conceptualization of soft power has to be upgraded by making definitional clarifications and adding stronger emphasis on the resources of soft power.

Firstly, soft power and co-optive power in the original conception are used interchangeably. Nye seemed to perceive and utilize these terms synonymously. However, for the author, they represent a theory-practice relationship. The term 'soft power' resides at the theoretical level, while co-optive power, indeed co-optive behavior, is at the practical level. That is to say, co-optive power is not a power in itself, but a behavioral strategy made up of two main means, agenda-setting and attraction, for the exercise of soft power. Therefore, it may be better to call 'co-

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[57] Lee. "A theory of soft power and Korea's soft power strategy", 209.
[58] Lee. "A theory of soft power and Korea's soft power strategy", 210.

optive strategy' or 'co-optive behavior' to what was coined as 'co-optive power' by Nye. In a similar vein, 'command power' should be termed as 'command/coaxing strategy' or 'behavior'. If one tries to incorporate insights from the resource-based theory of Geun Lee, it becomes obvious that it also needs some re-definitions. What Lee has termed as 'soft power' can be renamed as 'civilian power', since it originates from non-material soft resources, while 'hard power' in Lee's terms can be re-cited as 'econo-military power'.

Secondly, the emphasis on soft power resources, namely culture, political ideals and foreign policies, creates a confusion that Nye has also admitted. That emphasis makes Nye's notion of soft power seem similar to soft power in Lee's terms. Therefore, the military and economic resources should be given enough weight in defining the resources of soft power. In other words, the fact that soft power resources are not limited to those counted above should be emphasized.

As a result of the incorporation of these two points to Nye's account of soft power, a definition as such emerges: 'Soft power' is the ability to get what one wants by using all types of power resources, that is, civilian and econo-military powers alike in the proposed conception, through co-optive strategies/behavior." In this manner, 'hard power' is the ability to get one wants by using all types of power resources, that is, civilian and econo-military powers alike in the proposed conception, through command/coaxing strategies/behavior. Such a conception of power would help define and categorize the countries in terms of their foreign policies as well. In other words, all countries using all types of power resources through co-optive strategies/behavior can be called 'Soft Power States', while all countries using all types of power resources through command/coaxing strategies/behavior can be called 'Hard Power States'.

2.1.3 Critiques of Nye's Conception of Soft Power

The above mentioned other conceptions of soft power can be considered as criticisms to Nye's conception of soft power as the scholars try to refine, complement or alter the conception of soft power according to their own views. However, one of those criticisms requires more attention than others because it threatens the 'soft' nature of soft power. This criticism is about the lack of clear boundaries or strategies of the ability to attract or the power of attraction in the original conception of the term by Nye.

Although attraction can be said to remain at the center of Nye's theory of soft power, he does neither provide a definition of it nor an operational map for its acquisition. He just tries to prove its existence by adopting a practical approach which tries to look at the levels of attraction gained out of public opinion polls, the number of foreign students in a country, the number of broadcasts outside the countries, etc. In other words, Nye tries to present attraction through measuring it without presenting a conceptual notion of the term. He does not delve into the question of how attraction is gained. Vuving's and Oğuzlu's accounts mentioned above try to some extent answer that question. Vuving has presented three power currencies – benignity, brilliance and beauty - that play the role of intermediaries in creating attraction. Oğuzlu introduced legitimacy/credibility criteria for the attainment of attraction. According to him, the legitimacy of a state based on its values, institutions and foreign policy actions grants it attraction on the eyes of other states. A similarity line can be drawn between Vuving's power currencies and Oğuzlu's sources of legitimacy. Benignity represents the ways in which a state behaves in its foreign policy; brilliance can be said to amount to the institutions; and beauty can be depicted as the values.

Another severe criticism on the issue of attraction-generation comes from Janice B. Mattern. In her contribution to the book edited by Felix Berenskoetter and M. J. Williams *Power in World Politics* (2007), titled 'Why soft power isn't so soft: representational force and attraction in world politics', she tries to reveal the hidden mechanism through which attraction is gained, indeed created. Her main argument is that soft power may not be so soft, as the title suggests. The hard side of the soft power, in her view, stems from the inherent coercive nature of the means utilized in shaping the preferences of others. According to Mattern, shaping or influencing the behavior of others is done by socio-linguistically constructing 'reality' through verbal fighting - rather than persuasion - the strategy of which is representational force working through structuring narratives in such ways that they leave no possible out, no other possible choice for outsider and they threaten their subjectivity if they do not succumb to it.[59] In this view, attraction may not be so innocent, but it may rest upon an innate coercion, if not physical.

2.2 Similar Concepts

Soft power is sometimes used interchangeably with civilian power and normative power, both of which have emerged and been generally used in the context of European Union. Rather than signifying a specific type of power, these concepts were employed to represent the foreign policy identity of European Union.

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[59] Janice Bially Mattern. "Why soft power isn't so soft: representational force and attraction in world politics", in in *Power in World Politics*, Felix Berenskoetter and Michael J. Williams, eds. (London&New York:Routledge, 2007), 98-119.

2.2.1 Civilian Power

Originally developed by Duchêne François in 1972, 'civilian power' concept tried to create a new identity and a new role in international politics for the then European Community, now European Union. The idea that the concept was grounded on is that Europe can play a distinctive role in world politics given the economic prowess and the military weakness of the Europe, on the one hand, and the ideals, values that Europe represents on the other. Manners and Diez have reformulated Duchêne's original argument as such:

> He (Duchêne) argued that, given that the people of Europe had largely formed 'amilitary' values, the stalemate of the Cold War had 'devalued purely military power', and Europe was far from a consensus on its own development as a military superpower between the two poles, the then European Community 'would have a chance to demonstrate the influence which can be wielded by a large political co-operative formed to exert essentially civilian forms of power.[60]

From this marks, it can be argued that the civilian power concept is about the 'means' and the 'ends' of Europe[61], which it can use and pursue in its relations with the other states.

On the 'means' side, civilian power means a preference for the use of non-military instruments in conducting foreign relations. Those non-military instruments include economic and civilian elements. Given the limitations of Europe in pooling military capabilities and the lack of Common Foreign and Security Policy with one voice, due to the persistence of national considerations, the EC/EU tended to use its

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[60] Thomas Diez and Ian Manners. "Reflecting on normative power Europe", in *Power in World Politics*, Felix Berenskoetter and Michael J. Williams,eds.(London&New York:Routledge, 2007),177.
[61] Jan Orbie. "Civilian Power Europe: Review of the Original and Current Debates", *Cooperation and Conflict:Journal of the Nordic International Studies Association*, 41:1 (2006), 125.

economic power and civilian capabilities in its foreign relations. This position has been put forward by Karen Smith, as well:

> Because the European Community is a 'civilian group of countries long on economic power and relatively short on armed force', it has an interest in trying to domesticate relations between states, and Duchêne urged the Community to 'bring to international problems the sense of common responsibility and structures of contractual politics which have in the past been associated almost exclusively with "home" and not foreign, that is, *alien* affairs.'[62]

However, this never meant the renunciation of military power, the use of military instruments for Duchêne, the coiner of the term 'civilian power'.[63] The emphasis on the economic and civilian means vis-à-vis military instruments is the defining characteristic of a 'civilian power' actor.

On the 'ends' side, civilian power means the promotion of peace, international cooperation and several other values. In the words of Smith:

> The 'civilian ends' cited (or rather, preferred) by Maull and Duchêne are, therefore, international cooperation, solidarity, domestication of international relations (or strengthening the rule of law in international relations), responsibility for the global environment, and the diffusion of equality, justice and tolerance.[64]

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[62] Karen E Smith. "Still 'civilian power EU?", unpublished manuscript, London: London School of Economics and Political Science, 3.
[63] Tanja A. Börzel and Thomas Risse. "Venus Approaching Mars? The European Union as an Emerging Civilian World Power", Paper Prepared for the APSA Conference, Chicago, 2007, 4.
[64] Smith. "Still 'civilian power EU?", 3.

A similar argument has been made by Jan Orbie while he reviews the work of Stelios Stavridis:

> He (Stavridis) quotes Duchêne's remark that Europe 'must be a force for the international diffusion of civilian and democratic standards' and promote values that belong to its 'inner characteristics', such as 'equality, justice and tolerance' and an 'interest for the poor abroad'.[65]

The difference between the concepts of 'civilian power' presented in this section and that of 'soft power' is that the former represents a specific kind of identity for the states, while the latter corresponds to a specific kind of power, itself. If one tries to define the relationship between these two terms, it can be claimed that 'soft power' as an ability to get the outcomes one wants makes use of 'civilian power', that is, the inclination to use non-military means of power and the promotion of values. The way that these characteristics of civilian power is exercised can make a state a 'soft power state' if it chooses to utilize them in a co-optive manner, and also a 'hard power state' if it prefers to do so by commanding/coaxing the other states.

2.2.2 Normative Power

Dwelling on the conception of 'civilian power' presented above, Ian Manners developed another term to classify European Union in terms of its foreign policy identity with a firm theoretical basis, which is 'normative power', in his article *Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?*, published in 2000. He differentiates civilian, military and normative powers by giving E. H. Carr's and

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[65] Orbie. "Civilian Power Europe: Review of the Original and Current Debates", 126.

Johan Galtung's differentiations, and defines normative power as "the ability to shape the conceptions of 'normal'."[66] Normative power in the conceptualization of Manners is based on norms and conscience, aims at setting the standards, and focuses on the power of norms to influence actors' identity and behavior.[67]

According to Manners and Diez, the differences between civilian power and normative power are to be found in the tangibility of the resources used, the scope of the resources and intentions, and their position about the Westphalian state system. To quote:

> …the emphasis on material assets and physical power in civilian power approaches contrasts with the emphasis on the normative power of non-material exemplification found in the contagion of norms through imitation and attraction.
>
> …civilian power writings emphasize the communitarian nature of civilian resources, objectives and strategies, exercised primarily for the benefit of the owners. ….In contrast, the normative power approach emphasizes the cosmopolitan nature of EU normative power, in particular through reference to norms and principles considered more universal because they are embedded in UN treaties and organs.
>
> …Finally, civilian power writings have come to accept a Westphalian cultural emphasis on international society as the form and means of world politics….This acceptance of Westphalian culturation, including the status quo of an international society between states, contrasts with the emphasis of the normative power approach on transcending the 'normality' of world politics through world society.[68]

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[66] Ian Manners. "Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40:2 (2002), 239-240.
[67] Diez and Manners. "Reflecting on normative power Europe", 175.
[68] Diez and Manners. "Reflecting on normative power Europe", 179.

The normative power conception provided above resembles Nye's soft power conception in terms of the emphasis upon the ideas, values and norms in changing the behavior of others. However, these two concepts are different in practice. First of all, it is not very clear that how that normative power will be utilized in a co-optive or coercive manner. Secondly, soft power does not have universalistic claims, in contrast to the aim of normative power in shaping the normalcy.

2.3 A Refined Theory of Soft Power

As a result of the discussions above, a revised and refined theory of soft power can be laid down as such. First of all, it can be said that soft power is a relational concept. It characterizes a relation between two actors, and in this case these actors are sovereign states. It does not only depend on the power-holder states' capabilities and how they make use of those capabilities in a co-optive manner, but also on the perceptions of them by the other actors, the power-exerted states, in the international system. If other actors identify with the power-holder without any visible threats or inducements, then it can be claimed that power-holder state possesses soft power. Therefore, other actors should identify with the power-holder by applying the logic of appropriateness, but not the logic of consequences. They should comply with the power-holder not because they are afraid of being punished or they expect some benefits in material terms, but because they find it appropriate to act in accordance with it as they are admired by the attractiveness of the power-holder, or as they see the actions of it legitimate and credible, or they believe that they share the same values and norms with the power-holder.

It can be deduced from the explanation above that the identification process comprises the crux of the relational aspect of the soft power. In cases where the other actors would choose to act in line with the power-holder as a result of a cost/benefit analysis, it is likely that there exists no soft power relationship. In other words, when other actors are either coerced (cost) or induced (benefit), then one cannot talk about soft power. They do not identify with the power-holder spontaneously, through their own free will, but due to an expected punishment or reward. They are simply compelled to make a cost/benefit calculation. Therefore, it can be argued that when the logic of consequences is at play, it would be hard to claim that the power-holder has exerted its soft power on others. On the other hand, soft power does not hinge on a cost/benefit calculation by the power-exerted actors. When they behave in line with the logic of appropriateness, rather than due to the logic of anticipated consequences, then one can assume that a soft power relationship can be found. The logic of appropriateness implies that the actors upon which the power is exerted decide to go with the power-holder simply because they find it suitable to do so. They comply with the power-holder's position because they think that both share the same moral and normative values and the compliance with the power-holder is in conformity with the self-created identity characteristics of the power-exerted actor. In other words, the power-exerted actors obey the rule of power-holder since they think that it is normatively and morally valid, true, right, natural and good, and it is necessary to do so since it is seen as a kind of moral obligation emanating from the identity of them.[69]

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[69] For more information, see James G. March and Johan P. Olsen. "The logic of Appropriateness", *ARENA Working Papers* 04/09, 1-28, and Robert Nalbandov. "Battle of Two Logics: Appropriateness and Consequentiality in Russian Interventions in Georgia", *Caucasian Review of International Affairs*, 3:1 (Winter 2009), 20-36.

It is, also, highly plausible to argue that the suitability or appropriateness arises from the attractiveness of the power-holder in the eyes of the power-exerted actors. Then, how can the attractiveness be explained? In this regard, the conceptualization provided by Alexander Vuving will be utilized. As mentioned before, he talks about three power currencies that create soft power, in this conceptualization the attractiveness: benignity, brilliance and beauty. Benignity includes the foreign policy actions of the states and the approach adopted in foreign dealings. For example, Vuving counts 'paying attention to others, listening to them in international forums, engaging with foreign states in dialogue, whether bilateral or multilateral, promoting peace, economic aid, humanitarian assistance and diplomatic support' as all expressions of benignity.[70] Public diplomacy efforts aimed at creating positive relationships with foreigners are also mentioned as signs of benignity by Vuving.[71] The second power currency, brilliance, creates soft power as a result of the accomplishments of a state in terms of economy, politics, military, science and technology and many other fields. According to Vuving, 'a strong and awesome military, a wealthy and vibrant economy, a rich and radiant culture, and a peaceful and well-run society are manifestations of brilliance'.[72] In other words, if a state is economically and politically stable and strong, militarily triumphant and powerful, scientifically and technologically developed, then it is regarded as brilliant by the others. Hence, it can be claimed that brilliance represents the level of development of a state as a whole. The successes of a state turn it into a 'model' and attract the attention of other states who want to reach the same level of development through imitating the practices and policies of it. The last power currency, beauty, is about the values, ideals, visions represented and advocated by a state in the original

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[70] Vuving. "How Soft Power Works", 14.
[71] Vuving. "How Soft Power Works", 13.
[72] Vuving. "How Soft Power Works", 10.

conceptualization provided by Vuving. If a country acts as the agent of a value, is perceived as the avatar of an ideal, champions a cause, or articulate a vision compellingly, then it creates beauty.[73] The conduct of domestic policies on normative principles and the promotion of those values, such as liberal democracy, in foreign relations and the conduct of foreign policy through international institutions and organizations are projections of beauty, and therefore soft power, according to Vuving.[74] As an addition to Vuving's original conception of beauty, it can also be argued that the popular culture symbolizes a form of beauty in the first meaning of the term. Such an addition would also be in line with Nye's conception of the soft power resources, since he counts culture as one of the sources of soft power in several writings. For example, TV series, movies, books can contribute to the positive images of a country in other countries. These kinds of cultural assets can help create familiarity with and awareness of that culture on the side of audience by giving various clues about the domestic values and the lifestyle of that country. Therefore, they can be catalysts in attracting students, tourists, and workers to come to that country. In this way, they can build societal relationships as various cultural, educational, and business exchange programs do. Such developments at the societal level can be transferred into political level in the form of policies favoring the power-holder state, which indirectly means the increase of soft power of the power-holder.

To clarify the points that have been made about the theory of soft power and to make them suitable for practical analysis, the following table differentiating between hard power and soft power would be of enormous help.

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[73] Vuving. "How Soft Power Works", 11.
[74] Vuving. "How Soft Power Works", 15-16.

Kind of Power / Criteria		Hard Power	Soft Power
Power resources	Military	X	X
	Economic	X	X
	Ideological	X	X
Strategy	Command/Coaxing	X	-
	Co-optive	-	X
Logic of action	Logic of consequences	X	-
	Logic of appropriateness	-	X

Table 2: Hard Power vs. Soft Power

This table stands for the illumination of the differences between hard power and soft power in the context that is going to be used in the following analysis of Turkish Foreign Policy. It can be inferred from the table that there is not a distinction between two forms of power in terms of the power resources being utilized. Both kinds of power can use all sorts of resources. The distinction between them lies in the way that those resources are being employed. Hard power, in this regard, resorts to command/coaxing strategies and emerges when the logic of consequences is on the ground. On the contrary, soft power applies co-optive strategies and necessitates the operation of the logic of appropriateness on the side of power-exerted actors. Therefore, states making use of all kinds of power resources regardless of its type in a co-optive manner and being perceived and responded by others through the logic of appropriateness can be labeled as 'Soft Power States'. As explained beforehand, the running of the logic of appropriateness is closely related with the attractiveness of the

power-holder and the issue of attractiveness has been explained in previous pages through the application of Vuving's categorization of power currencies. It is thought that the actions representing these three power currencies - benignity, brilliance and beauty - will bring about the methodological variables that are going to be applied to the case of Turkish Foreign Policy. Therefore, multilateralism, peace promotion, and economic and humanitarian assistance efforts are going to be dealt under the heading of benignity. In the brilliance section, the level of development in terms of economy, politics and military, and the promotion of a 'model' to other countries will be the subtopics. For the last power currency, beauty, the adherence to universal values in domestic and foreign policies and the popularity of the culture abroad will be examined.

CHAPTER 3

SOFT POWER IN TRADITIONAL TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY: 1923-2002

This chapter is going to search for the clues of soft power in Turkish foreign policy from the year 1923, the year that the Turkish Republic was proclaimed, till 2002, when the Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, hereafter AKP, (Justice and Development Party, in English) came to power in Turkey. It does not examine the foreign relations of Turkey with other countries on a bilateral basis as many other writings have done. However, this chapter will try to analyze Turkish foreign policy between 1923 and 2002 from the exclusive perspective of soft power in the way that was presented in the previous theoretical and methodological chapter. After sketching out the framework and the basic principles of traditional Turkish foreign policy, the soft power strategies adopted by Turkish state in its foreign dealings and the issue of attractiveness of Turkey are going to be examined under the heading of Soft Power in Traditional Turkish Foreign Policy.

3.1 Main Determinants of the Traditional Turkish Foreign Policy

Before analyzing the characteristics of traditional Turkish foreign policy, it will be useful to examine the main framework of this policy in which it has been

shaped, evaluated and conducted. It can be claimed that the principles of Turkish foreign policy that are going to be examined later on emerged from this general framework set by various structural determinants. According to Mustafa Aydın, there are three main sets of structural determinants of Turkish foreign policy, and these are the legacy of the Ottoman Empire, the geographical realities, and the impact of Kemalism.[75]

3.1.1 The Legacy of the Ottoman Empire

It is almost unimaginable to assume that the Turkish Republic has not inherited anything from its predecessor Ottoman Empire. Despite of the fact that the founder cadre of the Republic, led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, tried to disassociate itself from the Ottoman Empire in every aspect of life as much as possible, it is far from evident that they established the new state on the ashes of the Ottoman Empire. The simple fact that they were serving in the Ottoman military clearly illustrates this point. Therefore, it was very likely that the newly-founded Turkish state would inherit the legacies of the Ottoman Empire in the foreign policy domain as well. Indeed, it is not going to be an exaggeration to argue that Turkish foreign policy is a continuation of the Ottoman diplomacy.

The first legacy of Ottoman Empire on the foreign policy of the Turkish Republic was the inheritance of the foreign affairs bureaucrats. According to George S. Harris, a specialist in late Ottoman and early Turkish diplomacy, 'two-thirds of the

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[75] Mustafa Aydın. "Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy: Historical Framework and Traditional Inputs", *Middle Eastern Studies*, 35:4 (1999), 152-186.

Ottoman Foreign Service made the transition into the Republic's Foreign Ministry'[76].

In addition to this, the ruling elite of the Turkish Republic had also been serving in the Ottoman system. On this issue, Aswini K. Mohapatra argues that "The fact that an estimated 93 per cent of the Empire's staff officers and 85 per cent of its civil servants retained their positions in the new republic suggests the continuity of the ruling elite from the Ottoman to the Kemalist era".[77] Being witnesses of the falling back of the Empire, the tragedy of First World War, which brought the Empire to an end, and the subsequent War of Independence, fought for regaining the lands lost due to the Sevres Treaty, these military officers had experienced a lot of misery and difficulties. Therefore, this experience had led them to avoid any military involvement in the first years after the establishment of the new Turkey. In accordance with this, the founders of Turkey didn't pursue any revisionist policies in terms of territorial gains. They stuck to the boundaries drawn by the Misâk-ı Millî, and they did not look for additional territories other than those defined by that document in order not to create other tragedies and not to put the newly-gained independence in danger. As a result of this development, one of the principles of traditional Turkish foreign policy can be considered as the maintenance of the status quo, which will be elaborated later.

The second legacy of the Ottoman Empire on Turkish foreign policy is the Western orientation. Contrary to the arguments that Westernization in Turkey started with the proclamation of Turkish Republic, it should be remembered that reforms on the Western model had well started to be introduced in the Ottoman Empire albeit for a different reason than the Turkish Republic. (The Ottoman reformers tried to

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[76] George S. Harris. "The Bureaucratic Reform: Atatürk and the Turkish Foreign Office", *Journal of American Institute for the Study of Middle Eastern Civilization*, 1:3-4 (1980-1981), 44.
[77] Aswini K. Mohapatra. "Democratization in the Arab World: Relevance of the Turkish Model", *International Studies*, 45:4 (2008), 283.

prevent the dissolution of the Empire, while Turkish modernizers initiated a nation-building project on the model of West.). At the same time, Ottoman Empire had a Western identity, i.e., it was accepted as an equal European country in the European system. The same can also be claimed for the Republic. Turkish Republic has identified itself as a European country, rather than as a Middle Eastern one, and consequently tried to be a member of various Western/European institutions. On this matter, Ali Karaosmanoğlu argues that:

> Turkey's integration process with Europe has undoubtedly been one of the major Ottoman legacies. Despite its ups-and-downs, it has been a fundamental aspect of the internal and external policies of the Republic. Turkey's alignment with NATO, memberships in the Council of Europe and the European Customs Union and Turkey's admission as a European Union membership candidate in the EU's 1999 Helsinki Summit have all been cornerstones in that yet-unfinished process.[78]

The third legacy of the Ottoman Empire inherited by Turkey is the skepticism toward other states. Ottoman diplomacy was suspicious of others' intention especially in the last years of the Empire. Due to a sense of insecurity, the Ottomans perceived the international system as a self-help system and therefore chose to rely on their own strength. This skepticism has mainly manifested itself as three fears: the fear of dismemberment, fear of encirclement and fear of abandonment. The best crystallization of this development, which, also, resulted in the continuation of such an understanding in the newly-founded Turkish Republic, was the Sevres Treaty and the subsequent partition of Anatolian peninsula among the victors of the First World War. In Turkey, the so-called 'Sevres Syndrome', according to which Turkey has lots of enemies trying to partition its lands, can be considered as the prolongation of

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[78] Ali Karaosmanoğlu. "The Evolution of the National Security Culture and the Military in Turkey", *Journal of International Affairs*, 54:1 (Fall 2000), 206.

the fears of Ottoman Empire about eventual annihilation. It can be claimed that an obvious, direct result of this perception has been the securitization of almost every issue in Turkish domestic and foreign politics, which paved the way for a militaristic foreign policy.

In line with the arguments above, it can be said that late Ottoman diplomacy and the diplomacy followed by the early Turkish Republic had a resemblance in terms of the playing off between great powers. As Aydın argues, the Ottomans conducted a successful diplomacy by taking advantage of the balance of power politics which delayed the actual dissolution of the Empire. Similarly, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk benefited well from the divisions among the European powers in finalizing the War of Independence in several fronts.

Finally, a line of similarity can be drawn between Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic in terms of the threat perceptions. For both Ottomans and Turks, the primary threat was coming from the northern neighbor, Tsarist Russia for the former and the Soviet Union for the latter, especially after the World War II. Edward Weisband illustrates this point by claiming that one principle guiding Turkish foreign policy was that the Soviet Union represented the primary threat to the security of the republic and that the very same northern threat had been existent for the Ottoman Empire as well.[79]

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[79] Edward Weisband. *Turkish Foreign Policy, 1939-1945: Small State Diplomacy and Great Power Politics*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 3.

3.1.2 Geographical Realities

The geography in which a country is situated is one of the most decisive factors in the formulation of its foreign policy. Holding of strategically significant spots, being located on trade routes, having specific topographic conditions are some of the important signifiers of geography which should be taken in the account by the policy-makers during the foreign policy-making process. Indeed, geography can be considered as a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it engenders great opportunities if these chances are realized and benefited. For example, an island country can enjoy huge security advantages and divert its energy to its economic and scientific development. On the other hand, geography poses serious challenges. For instance, it may require a security-driven foreign policy for a small or medium-sized country having a lot of neighbors. Of course, the choice about which perspective will be prevalent in the foreign policy-making depends on the perceptions of the policy-makers. In the case of Turkey, it can be argued that the second perspective, the emphasis upon the challenges entailed by geography, has been the traditional understanding of Turkey's geopolitics. According to Pınar Bilgin, the military establishment, especially, has been one of the powerful promoters of such an understanding of Turkish geopolitics through constituting geographical truths.[80] Therefore, the geographical realities to be mentioned in this section are going to be analyzed in this framework as well.

First of all, Turkey is situated at the heart of European, Asian and African land basins. Its closeness to these regions and its historical bounds with the countries in these regions make it a potential player in the politics of those regions. However,

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[80] For a detailed analysis, see H. Pınar Bilgin. "'Only Strong States Can Survive in Turkey's Geography': The Uses of "Geopolitical Truths in Turkey", *Political Geography*, 46:7 (2007), 740-756.

the topographic conditions of the Anatolian peninsula, which is mountainous in the east, required Turkey, as well as the Ottoman Empire, 'to look to the West rather than to the East for trade and cultural exchange'.[81] When the level of development of the West contrary to the backwardness and instability of the East has been taken into account, the establishment of closer links with the West seems reasonable for Turkey.

Secondly, Turkey hosts the Straits which are very crucial for European and Mediterranean and Black Sea countries. The ownership of Straits poses opportunities, but far more problems for Turkey. According to Aydın, 'the possession of the Straits conveys political and military advantages, and raises Turkey from the position of a purely local power to one having crucial international influence.'[82] However, this situation creates envy on the side of potential aggressors of Turkey. At the same time, the Straits are hard to defend against aerial and naval attacks, necessitating a staunch military force. Similarly, the encirclement of Turkey by seas on three sides, especially on the Aegean coast where the problem of Aegean islands continues, creates another security issue for Turkey. It can be argued that tense relations with Greece and Cyprus and the adoption of a military–first approach by Turkey are manifestations of the insecurity perceived by Turkey.

Another point further aggravating the problem mentioned above is the number of Turkey's neighbors. Baskın Oran, in his comprehensive book about Turkish foreign policy, writes that 'the existence of a strong relationship between the number and properties of a country's neighbors and the security of the very same

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[81] Aydın. "Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy: Historical Framework and Traditional Inputs", 166.
[82] Aydın. "Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy:Historical Framework and Traditional Inputs", 166.

country has been proved by quantitative researches.'[83] He continues to state that 'if the number of boundaries increases, the probability of being attacked, threatened or compelled to fight in several fronts simultaneously in wartime increases.'[84] Today, Turkey has eight land neighbors (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Greece, Iran, Iraq and Syria), and if the countries having coastal zones on the seas around Turkey (Republic of Cyprus, Romania, Russian Federation and Ukraine) are included, this number rises to twelve.[85] In line with the argument of Oran, it can be argued that Turkey has always felt the need to remain vigilant towards its neighbors.

One of the important dilemmas of Turkish geopolitical understanding has been the relations with the Soviet Union. As mentioned in the previous section, the primary existential threat to both Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic has emanated from its northern neighbor. Although the relations between Turkey and the Soviet Union had been friendly until the end of the Second World War, the shifting attitude of the Soviets towards Turkey led to the re-emergence of the fears on the Turkish side. The non-renewal of the 1925 Treaty of Neutrality and Non-Aggression by Soviet Union, the territorial demands on Eastern Turkey and concessions on the control of the Straits in 1945 was influential in pushing Turkey to look for the support of the West, which, at the end of the Second World War, was represented by the United States of America. While the relations between Turkey and its superpower neighbor started to improve with the Khrushchev's coming to power and several crises between Turkey and the United States, for instance, after Johnson's letter, the relations has continued to be dominated by a sense of insecurity on Turkish side.

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[83] Baskın Oran. "TDP'nin Kuramsal Çerçevesi", in *Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 1, Baskın Oran, ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), 24.
[84] Oran. "TDP'nin Kuramsal Çerçevesi", 24.
[85] Oran. "TDP'nin Kuramsal Çerçevesi", 25.

Lastly, the instabilities around the country, especially in the Middle East region, contributed to the security-dominated foreign policy in Turkey. Also, the hostilities inherited from the late Ottoman times between Turks and Arabs have played an important role in shaping Turkish foreign policy in general. First of all, Turks felt to be betrayed by Arabs, who fought against the Ottoman Empire as a result of the nationalist waves during the First World War. In return for this, Arabs are afraid of Turkey's neo-imperial ambitions. Therefore, there was a feeling of mistrust between these two communities. In addition, the developments during the Cold War, starting with the Suez Crisis of 1956, necessitated Turkey to be aware of the potential dangers stemming from the Middle East. The possibility of those crises' turning into superpower hot conflict and their spilling over to Turkish lands created great security concerns about the developments around the vicinity of Turkey. This perception added additional fuel to the securitized foreign policy of Turkey.

Turkey has also tried to maximize its interests by making intensive use of its geographical location. In other words, Turkey relied on its geographical location in order to strike deals with the Western countries in its favor. This situation can be frankly recognized in the relations with the USA during the Cold War years. Especially, the Menderes government in the 1950s resorted to such maneuvers in order to get more credits from the USA. The main argument of Turkey during that period was that Turkey is indispensible for Western interests due to its geography. This can be argued to represent the most obvious case where Turkey has tried to benefit from its geographical positioning.

3.1.3 The Legacy of Kemalism

The last structural determinant of traditional Turkish foreign policy is the ideological framework provided by the founder of the Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. According to Aydın, three goals and principles have influenced Turkish foreign policy.

The first one is the establishment and preservation of a nation-state with complete independence conditioned by Turkish nationalism.[86] This meant that the newly-established Turkish state would focus on its internal stabilization first. Rather than maintaining the policies of the Ottoman Empire such as pan-Islamism, pan-Turanism, pan-Ottomanism, the energy of the state would be devoted to domestic development and sustainability of the new regime. The important thing for the leaders of Turkish state was the internal reformation of the country as a whole. The reflection of this understanding on foreign policy domain has been that Turkey would not pursue any imperial policies aiming to resurrect the Ottoman Empire. On this issue, Atatürk said that '…the state should pursue an exclusively national policy…I mean…to work within our national boundaries for the real happiness and welfare of the nation and the country.'[87] In other words, it was guaranteed that Turkish state would not pursue an imperial foreign policy. Furthermore, the Turkish state did not intend 'to export its revolution to other countries as many contemporary revolutionary movements did'[88], according to Aydın. Sina Akşin provides another account of Turkey's reluctance to export its ideology by giving an example. According to him, Atatürk wanted the Cadre Journal (Kadro Dergisi, in Turkish), published from 1932 till 1935, to be abolished, since that journal was trying to export

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[86] Aydın."Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy:Historical Framework and Traditional Inputs", 171.
[87] Aydın."Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy:Historical Framework and Traditional Inputs", 172.
[88] Aydın."Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy:Historical Framework and Traditional Inputs", 176.

the Kemalist ideology by claiming that Turkish War of Independence had provided an example, forerunner for all the colonial peoples.[89]

The second principle set forth by Atatürk and influential in Turkish foreign policy has been 'the promotion of Turkey to the level of contemporary civilization by means of Kemalist principles'.[90] According to this principle, Turkey would be developed on the Western model, which is the ultimate civilization. This necessitated Turkey to import various laws, such as the Swiss Civil Code, and various other policies from the West. In order to complement the reformation process, Turkey tried to develop closer ties to Western states in the immediate aftermath of the War of Independence, although it fought against them during that war. Therefore, this principle provided another explanation of Turkey's Westernization path.

The third principle provided by Atatürk is 'the attachment to realistic and peaceful means in foreign policy actions'.[91] The first part of the explanation, realistic foreign policy, has, on the one hand, meant not to follow unattainable dreams, but to reconcile Turkey's capabilities with its goals.[92] Atatürk, himself, expressed this attitude by saying that:

> The government of the Turkish Grand National Assembly is national and material in its labors. It is realist...We are not swindlers who, in pursuit of great dreams, seem to do what we cannot do...This is the whole trouble. Instead of pursuing ideas which we cannot accomplish and increasing enemy pressure against ourselves, let us return our natural, our legal limits. Let us know our limits...[93]

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[89] Sina Akşin. "Atatürk'ün Dış Siyaset Modeli", in *Çağdaş Türk Diplomasisi: 200 Yıllık Süreç*, İsmail Soysal, ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınevi, 1999), 277.
[90] Aydın."Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy:Historical Framework and Traditional Inputs", 171.
[91] Aydın."Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy:Historical Framework and Traditional Inputs", 171.
[92] Atilla Sandıklı. *Atatürk'ün Dış Politika Stratejisi ve Avrupa Birliği*, (İstanbul:Beta Yayınları, 2008), 90.
[93] Aydın."Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy:Historical Framework and Traditional Inputs", 179.

In this context, Mehmet Gönlübol and Ömer Kürkçüoğlu maintain that it was a natural outcome of Atatürk's realistic outlook that he was indifferent to the Pan-Islamist, Pan-Turkist movements.[94] On the other hand, this principle can be argued to form the basis of military non-adventurism by Turkey. For example, Weisband argues that Turkish leaders rejected adventurist policies that threatened to bring Turkey into the war.[95] As mentioned above, the leading cadre of the Republic had witnessed the sufferings that the wars had brought to the country. Also, Turkish military was devastated during the War of Independence. In addition, the domestic reforms required a stable political environment in order for reforms to take root. Therefore, it was not only desirable for Turkey to avoid new conflicts, but also it was necessary not to involve in new military adventures. In terms of the peaceful means part of the principle, it can be said that Turkey tried to solve its problems through legal means and by applying a diplomacy-first approach. To quote from Aydın:

> In contrast to a good number of other contemporary states, Turkey showed great willingness to solve its major problems by legal means. During the inter-war period, it would have been possible to resolve some of Turkey's problems left behind by Lausanne (such as those of Straits and the Sanjak of Alexandretta) by force or *fait accompli* without waiting patiently for an opportunity to solve them peacefully, but Atatürk rejected such adventures.[96]

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[94] Mehmet Gönlübol and Ömer Kürkçüoğlu. "Atatürk Dönemi Türk Dış Politikasına Genel Bir Bakış", in *Atatürk Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası*, Berna Türkdoğan, ed. (Ankara, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2000), 14.

[95] Weisband. *Turkish Foreign Policy, 1939-1945: Small State Diplomacy and Great Power Politics*, 4.

[96] Aydın."Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy:Historical Framework and Traditional Inputs", 178.

3.2 Principles of Traditional Turkish Foreign Policy

The section above was intended to portray the general environment in which the traditional Turkish foreign policy has been structured. In this section, the characteristics of traditional Turkish foreign policy emerged in that broad scheme of determinants will be analyzed.

3.2.1 Maintenance of the Status Quo

The first thing to be inferred from the general framework of traditional Turkish foreign policy is that Turkey has been in favor of status quo. However, there is controversy on the meaning of status quo. In order to clarify what is meant by status quo in this context, it can be said that this status quo-oriented foreign policy means that Turkey has not pursued any irredentist policies, not aimed to get more territories, and that Turkey has tried to preserve the existing state of affairs as long as it is advantageous for her to do so. According to Kamer Kasım, the Turkish Republic, since its inception, has abstained from irredentist policies as a fundamental principle.[97] Similarly, Tayyar Arı argues that one of the tenets of Turkish foreign policy has been not to pursue irredentist policies.[98] The main connotation of the term 'status quo' has been the preservation of the existing conditions. However, it could be properly understood that status quo-based foreign policy does not amount to a passive one. On the contrary, Turkey has tried to change the status quo in its favor if the conditions have been available for such an alteration. For example, the resolution of the problems of the Sanjak of Alexandretta, Hatay, and that of Straits in line with

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[97] Habibe Özdal, Osman B. Dinçer and Mehmet Yegin, eds. *Mülakatlarla Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 1, (Ankara: USAK Yayınları, 2009), 249.
[98] Özdal, Dinçer and Yegin, eds. *Mülakatlarla Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 1, 102.

Turkish interests can be considered as active foreign policy efforts to change the then prevalent conditions, in other words as anti-status quo developments. On that occasion, Edward Weisband writes: 'With the exception of the Sanjak of Alexandretta, now the province of Iskenderun that was forcibly ceded to Turkey in 1939, Turkish foreign policy since the founding of the republic on October 29, 1923 has remained true to non-revisionist norms of Kemalist ideology.'[99] According to İdris Bal, the idea of preserving the status-quo based on the Lausanne Treaty has been one of the principles of Turkish foreign policy.[100]

Baskın Oran adds a third dimension to the status quo-based Turkish foreign policy as the perpetuation of the existing balances.[101] This balance has two dimensions. The first one is that Turkey has tried to sustain a balance between the West and its opponents[102], led by Soviet Union during the Cold War. Secondly, Turkey has tried to reach equilibrium among the constituents of the West[103] - among the Western European powers until the end of the Second World War, and between the United States and the Western Europe from that time on. He further argues that Turkey has not been fully successful in either of the balance initiatives. The policy of maintaining balances has been considered as one of the traditional principles of Turkish foreign policy by some other scholars as well. For example, İdris Bal counts the 'policy of balances' as one of the fundamental behavioral factors of Turkish foreign policy in his recent article, and he, further, argues that Turkish foreign policy makers have carried on the Ottoman practice.[104] Muharrem Hilmi Özev, TASAM Specialist, contends that the Ottoman practice of playing off between great powers

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[99] Weisband. *Turkish Foreign Policy, 1939-1945: Small State Diplomacy and Great Power Politics*, 8.
[100] İdris Bal. "Türk Dış Politikasının 87 Yıllık Analizi", retreived from
http://www.stratejikboyut.com/haber/turk-dis-politikasinin-87-yillik-analizi--31850.html
[101] Oran. "TDP'nin Kuramsal Çerçevesi", 49.
[102] Oran. "TDP'nin Kuramsal Çerçevesi", 49.
[103] Oran. "TDP'nin Kuramsal Çerçevesi", 49.
[104] Bal. "Türk Dış Politikasının 87 Yıllık Analizi".

has continued to play an influential role in Turkey and has become a traditional norm of Turkish foreign policy.[105]

As discussed above, one of the legacies of the Ottoman Empire - the inheritance of the military officers, which had experience prolonged wars during the last years of the Ottoman Empire, and their being the ruling elite of the Turkish Republic - has led to the emergence of non-revisionist policies. Moreover, the need for strengthening of the internal regime has been one of the principles of Kemalism, which called for the avoidance of new military adventures. At the same time, the weakness of the newly-emerged Republic in terms of military would not allow Turkey to go after territorially revisionist policies. The renunciation of pan-movements promoted during the last years of the Ottoman Empire in order to hold the imperial subjects together by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his colleagues provided another rationale for the policies of Turkish state in accordance with the continuation of the status quo. Furthermore, the geographical reality that Turkey has an abundance of neighbors has entailed another reason for the status quo-based foreign policy of Turkish state. The possibility of opening other fronts when Turkey has been involved in a huge military adventure has not been so small to be neglected by Turkish authorities. Therefore, Turkey has opted for the maintenance of the status quo in order not to jeopardize the overall security of the country. On that account, Ömer Kürkçüoğlu argues that 'there has been a need for cautious and prudent foreign policy as a requisite of Turkey's geography. From this point of view, Turkish foreign policy can be labeled as status quo-oriented.'[106]

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[105] Muharrem H. Özev. "Dünden Bugüne Türk Dış Politikası", retrieved from
http://www.tasam.org/index.php?altid=2939
[106] Özdal, Dinçer and Yegin, eds. *Mülakatlarla Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 1, 29 .

3.2.2 Western Orientation

The second feature of Turkish foreign policy has been its Western orientation. Many of the scholars tend to call this principle Westernism. However, since there is ambiguity on the term Westernism, it would be better to call it Western orientation.

As it was mentioned in the section explaining the general framework of Turkish foreign policy, all of the three structural determinants have included explanations for the Western orientation of Turkey. For the Ottoman legacy, Bal argues that the roots of the Westernism can be found in the last century of the Empire. According to him, the importation of various institutions and methods from the West was seen a cure for the preventing the dissolution of the Empire.[107] In terms of the effect of the geography on Turkey's Western orientation, the explanation provided by Aydın can be recalled. After mentioning about the mountainous nature of the Eastern Anatolia and the existence of impermeable mountain ranges on the northern and southern coasts of Anatolia, he writes that: 'This geographical setting has forced all states located on the Anatolian peninsula, including the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic, to look to the West rather than to the East for trade and cultural exchange.'[108] Lastly, the legacy of Kemalism had a profound influence on Turkey's Western orientation. The Kemalist goal of 'the promotion of Turkey to the level of contemporary civilization' has necessitated Turkey to look for closer relations with the Western countries.

In the light of these expressions, it can be claimed that there are two approaches to Westernism/Western orientation of Turkish foreign policy in the existing literature. The first one claims that Turkey takes the West as the model for

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[107] Bal. "Türk Dış Politikasının 87 Yıllık Analizi".
[108] Aydın "Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy:Historical Framework and Traditional Inputs", 166.

its own development, because the West was much more developed than any other part of the world. The statement of Atatürk reveals this point very fairly: 'There are many nations, but there is only one civilization. For the advancement of a nation, it must be a part of this one civilization...We wish to modernize our country. All of our efforts are directed toward the establishment of a modern, therefore Western, government.'[109] Various scholars, as well, have made similar marks about the development of Turkey on the Western model. Berna Türkdoğan, for instance, argues that 'Turkey has tried to establish the judicial and secular European model in political and modern terms'[110]. In a similar vein, İlhan Uzgel writes that: 'Turkey, since its establishment, has tried to construct its political, social and economic structures by taking the Western countries as the model.'[111]

For the second approach, in a sense closely related to the first one, Western orientation means the improvement of relations with the Western countries, and the Western world as a whole. In the first years of the Republic, in order to modernize the country and to promote it to the level of contemporary civilization, the co-operation with the West was a must for Turkish Republic. For this matter, Adnan Sofuoğlu argues that 'as the new Turkey has chosen the goal of reaching the level of most developed nations and surpassing that level, accordingly in the foreign policy domain, the improvement of the relations with the Western countries has been embraced as a fundamental.'[112] Therefore, Turkey has worked for establishing good relations with the Western countries by following policies closer to the Western

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[109] Aydın."Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy:Historical Framework and Traditional Inputs", 176.
[110] Berna Türkdoğan. "Avrupa Birliği ve Türkiye İlişkileri", in *Atatürk Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası*, Berna Türkdoğan, ed. (Ankara, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2000), 491.
[111] İlhan Uzgel. "Türk Dış Politikasının 75 Yılı: Batılılaşma Çabasından Batı Korkusuna", *Mülkiyeliler Birliği Dergisi* XXII:213 (1998), 40.
[112] Adnan Sofuoğlu. "Atatürk Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası I (1923-1930)", retrieved from www.ait.hacettepe.edu.tr/egitim/ait203204/II7.pdf

world. However, in time, Turkey has been unable to balance this Western orientation, and become heavily dependent on the West beginning from the end of the Second World War. Therefore, this pro-Western attitude of Turkish foreign policy has been criticized, from time to time, both domestically and internationally.

3.2.3 Peaceful Settlement of Disputes/Commitment to International Law

It can be argued that Turkey has followed a peaceful foreign policy meaning that Turkish foreign policy has never been aggressive towards other actors in the international system. Moreover, Turkish foreign policy can be claimed to be conducted within the boundaries of international law. Turkey strived hard to obey the rules of international law and not to act against the general principles of it.

Of course, the clearest illustration of the pacific nature of Turkish foreign policy has been the motto of 'peace at home, peace in the world' presented by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. He, first, mentioned this principle at the national declaration/appeal of May 20, 1931 by saying that 'We are working for the peace at home, peace in the world'.[113] Then, this phrase has turned out to be one of the unchangeable dicta of Turkish foreign policy. 'Peace at home, peace in the world' represents a comprehensive understanding of peace incorporating domestic, regional and international aspects of peace. From this understanding, it can be inferred that Turkey has worked for the installation of peace both in its region and in the whole world.[114] Accordingly, İsmail Soysal asserts that when the numerous agreements that Turkey signed with its neighbors and the multilateral pacts established with Turkish initiatives are taken into account, how much Turkey has strived for maintaining

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[113] Akşin. "Atatürk'ün Dış Siyaset Modeli", 275.
[114] Özdal, Dinçer and Yegin, eds. *Mülakatlarla Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 1, 28.

peace in its neighborhood and how much it has succeeded in that endeavor emerges.[115]

The first thing to be recognized as peaceful foreign policy behavior of Turkish state is that Turkey has prioritized diplomacy rather than war or the use, or threat, of force in settlement of its disputes. This can be clearly recognized from the following statement of Atatürk: 'War must be inescapable and vital. Unless the life of the nation is endangered, war is murder.'[116] Moreover, Soysal claims that 'Atatürk preferred the use of negotiations, in other words, the use of diplomacy, in solving national problems instead of resorting to *faits accomplis* like Mussolini and Hitler.'[117] Similar statements have also been made by other scholars. For instance, according to Tayyar Arı, the pacific settlement of disputes through diplomatic means has been one of the fundamentals of Turkish foreign policy.[118] In a similar vein, Faruk Sönmezoğlu argues that the Turkish understanding of taking diplomacy as the primary means in settlement of problems and of being apt to utilize and consume all diplomatic channels before resorting to military means has been continuing for a long time.[119] Another similar statement has been made by Ramazan Gözen. Gözen asserts that Turkey has tried to solve its problems, territorial and/or political/economic, in the international system through cooperating with the international actors and by way of dialogue, to some extent by making use of peaceful methods.[120] Kemal Kirişçi presents the peaceful characteristic of Turkish

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[115] İsmail Soysal. "İki Dünya Savaşı Arasında Avrupa'da Kuvvet Dengeleri ve Barışçı Türkiye", in *Çağdaş Türk Diplomasisi: 200 Yıllık Süreç*, İsmail Soysal, ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınevi, 1999), 295.
[116] İsmail Soysal. "Atatürk's Policy of Peace and Its Impact in the World", in *Between East and West: Studies on Turkish Foreign Relations*, İsmail Soysal, ed. (İstanbul, Isis Press, 2001), 135.
[117] Soysal. "Atatürk's Policy of Peace and Its Impact in the World", 137.
[118] Özdal, Dinçer and Yegin, eds. *Mülakatlarla Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 1, 101.
[119] Özdal, Dinçer and Yegin, eds. *Mülakatlarla Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 1, 121.
[120] Özdal, Dinçer and Yegin, eds. *Mülakatlarla Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 1, 265.

foreign policy by putting forward the statement of 'the avoidance from war and the use of violence' as a general principle of it.[121]

At the same time, Turkey has been cautious about observing the international law while generating and conducting its foreign policy. This also has been counted as one of the main principles of Turkish foreign policy by various scholars. Oran calls this principle 'legitimatism' (meşruîyetçilik). He argues that being a middle-sized country, Turkey needs international law.[122] In another account written by Muhittin Keskin, Oran is said to claim that the limited power of Turkey has dictated the principle of legitimatism on Turkey.[123] In addition, Keskin explains legitimatism as 'the reliance of the foreign policy decisions on law' and claims that Turkish Republic, since its foundation, has tried to abide by this principle.[124]

It can be argued that there are two dimensions of this principle. The first one is the legality of Turkish foreign policy actions. As Kürkçüoğlu argues, Turkey did not deviate from the international law in changing the status quo in its favor, especially on the issue of Straits, in contrast to the fact that many contemporaneous European powers tried to get what they wanted by force.[125] In addition, Turkey has tried not to be involved in activities violating the general international rules such as non-intervention in the domestic affairs of states.[126] Similarly, as Weisband argues,

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[121] Özdal, Dinçer and Yegin, eds. *Mülakatlarla Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 1, 10.
[122] Baskın Oran. "Türkiye Kabuk Değiştirirken AKP'nin Dış Politikası", retrieved from http://www.birikimdergisi.com/birikim/dergiyazi.aspx?did=1&dsid=167&dyid=2865&yazi=T%FCrkiye%20Kabuk%20De%F0i%FEtirirken%20AKPnin%20D%FD%FE%20Politikas%FD
[123] Muhiddin Keskin. "Türk Dış Politikasında Paradigma Değişimi mi?", retrieved from http://www.ekopolitik.org/public/news.aspx?id=4344&pid=4082
[124] Keskin. "Türk Dış Politikasında Paradigma Değişimi mi?"
[125] Özdal, Dinçer and Yegin, eds. *Mülakatlarla Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 1, 28.
[126] Özdal, Dinçer and Yegin, eds. *Mülakatlarla Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 1, 161.

the priority of peace, as a principle guiding Turkish foreign policy makers, was non-interventionist in implication.[127]

The second dimension relates to the commitment to international agreements. Aydın states this as such: 'In Turkey it is honorable to comply with international commitments.'[128] Kirişçi, also, argues that 'Turkey is a country committed to international agreements, having a tradition of working with the international organizations and trying to behave in accordance with the international society.'[129] Accordingly, Arı enumerates the adhesion to international undertakings, commitments to the full extent as one of the tenets of Turkish foreign policy.[130]

3.3 Soft Power in Traditional Turkish Foreign Policy: 1923-2002

In the light of the general framework of Turkish foreign policy and the fundamental principles stemmed from that setting, the soft power strategies that have been utilized in traditional Turkish foreign policy will be examined in this section. As previously mentioned, the scheme provided by Vuving will be adopted while searching for the soft power utilization by the Turkish state.

3.3.1 Benignity

Benignity concerns the way of behaving of the power-holder in its relations with the power-exerted actors. The way in which a state acts towards other actors

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[127] Weisband. *Turkish Foreign Policy, 1939-1945: Small State Diplomacy and Great Power Politics*, 4.
[128] Aydın."Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy:Historical Framework and Traditional Inputs", 181.
[129] Özdal, Dinçer and Yegin, eds. *Mülakatlarla Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 1, 9.
[130] Özdal, Dinçer and Yegin, eds. *Mülakatlarla Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 1, 101.

defines the first soft power currency mentioned by Vuving. If a state performs its foreign policy actions in a benevolent and gentle manner by taking into consideration the sensitivities and necessities of others and by cooperating with them, then that country can be argued to show symptoms of benignity. The treatment of others with benign intentions creates a sense of sympathy and appreciation on the side of power-exerted actors. It is through the production such feelings of affinity and gratefulness that benignity produces soft power, in other words attraction. Still the questions that 'Which actions are likely to be considered as benign?' and 'how can benignity be observed in the foreign policy domain?' remain to be examined. The coiner of the term, Alexander Vuving counts the actions of benignity as 'paying attention to others, listening to them in international forums, or engaging with foreign states in dialogues, whether bilateral or multilateral, promoting peace, providing economic aid, humanitarian assistance, and diplomatic support.'[131] In order to make these actions available for the research conducted, they are going to be handled under three subtopics in the following section: the actions of multilateralism, peaceful foreign policy and peace promotion, and economic and humanitarian assistance efforts. Therefore, the foreign policy actions of Turkish Republic between the years 1923 and 2002 are going be examined with a specific emphasis on these three subtopics.

3.3.1.1 Multilateralism

Although Turkey has been a part of many multilateral international and regional organizations, the multilateral processes that were initiated by Turkey will be the main focus of this section in order to maintain the relevancy of the subject

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[131] Vuving. "How Soft Power Works", 14.

matter with the theoretical analysis. The multilateral efforts of Turkish state date back to early 1930s. However, the inflexible environment of the Cold War era and the configuration of states around Turkey can be claimed to play a restraining role for the initiation of multilateral relations by Turkish state. It was obviously difficult to define common interests and adopt common positions on several matters among a number of countries in a neighborhood involving various states with different internal structures and different national interests. Therefore, the lack of numerous multilateral efforts in Turkish neighborhood seems understandable when the international context is borne in mind.

3.3.1.1.1 Security-related Multilateral Efforts

When the multilateral dealings of Turkey before and during the Cold War years are investigated, one factor outshines: the search for security of the Turkish state. In all of the regional multilateral initiatives that are going to be analyzed in this section, Turkey aimed to provide additional security for the country.

Before the Second World War, there were two multilateral agreements, pacts that Turkey signed with its neighbors. The first one was 'the Pact of Balkan Agreement (or the Balkan Entente)'[132] that was signed between Greece, Romania, Turkey and Yugoslavia on February 9, 1934. The Pact was the result of four consecutive multilateral conferences among Balkan countries that was held in Athens (1930), in Istanbul (1931), in Bucharest (1932) and in Thessaloniki (1933). During these conferences, various issues, starting with the conclusion of a pact that would guarantee the common borders and the pacific settlement of disputes, had been

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[132] Retrieved from http://www.rastko.rs/istorija/diplomatija/pbs_e.html

discussed. For example, in the First Balkan Conference, organized with the participation of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Turkey and Yugoslavia, the participants agreed to create a Permanent Secretariat that would ease the establishment of Balkan Union by getting the Balkan nations closer in political, economic, social and cultural terms. Also, in the Third Balkan Conference, the Balkan states decided on the foundation of several institutions like Balkan Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Balkan Bureau of Labor, Balkan Postal Union and even a Balkan Customs Union.[133] The Pact of Balkan Agreement that was concluded only addressed the security aspect of the multilateral relations. According to William Hale: 'Under the pact, the four states agreed that in the event of aggression against any of them, they would each guarantee the frontiers of the signatory state against the aggressor, and would consult to with one another in the event of any threat to peace in the region.'[134] However, other issues that were discussed during the conferences were not altogether put aside. With the signing of the Statute of Balkan Entente Organization in order to create the institutional mechanisms on November 2, 1934, a Council of Foreign Ministers that would meet twice a year, a Council of Economics and a Special Commission were set up.[135] Although the institutionalization of the Pact had been obtained, the Balkan Entente did not live long and vanished with the start of the World War II.

The importance of the Entente for Turkey was that it provided the easement of the worries of an attack that would come from the Balkans. In other words, the underlying motivation of the Turkish state in participating into the Balkan Entente

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[133] For more information, see Melek Fırat. "1923-1939 Yunanistan'la İlişkiler", in *Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 1, Baskın Oran, ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), 350-353, and Mehmet Gönlübol and Cem Sar. "1919-1939 Dönemi", in *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası: 1919-1995*, Mehmet Gönlübol, ed. (Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi, 1996), 99-106.
[134] William Hale. *Turkish Foreign Policy, 1774-2000*, (London&Portland,:Frank Cass, 2002), 61.
[135] Fırat. "1923-1939 Yunanistan'la İlişkiler", 352.

had been to secure its Balkan borders. Since the Turkish state was not allowed to remilitarize the Straits and the Thracian border according to the Lausanne Treaty, Turkey was almost defenseless in its Western borders. The regional context provided additional fuel to the Turkish concerns. To remind, right after the World War I, there were two divisions in the Balkans. On the one hand, there was pro-status quo camp including Greece, Romania and Yugoslavia, which gained territory at the end of World War I, and hence, adopted an anti-revisionist stance. On the other hand, there was the revisionist camp including Bulgaria and Hungary, which were unsatisfied with the territorial settlements of the First World War and tried to revise it in their favor. Also, Italy emerged as one of the revisionist states especially with Mussolini's coming to power. It was in such an environment that the Balkan Entente came out and helped Turkey feel a little bit more secure.

The second multilateral undertaking of Turkish state in the interwar period was the Saadabad Pact. It was signed among Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq and Turkey on July 8, 1937 in Tehran. It was the extension of a trilateral treaty among Iran, Iraq and Turkey that was concluded in Geneva in 1935. The Saadabad Pact was a non-aggression and friendship agreement in its essence. Hale's explanation clearly shows this point: 'This obliged four states to preserve their common frontiers, not to interfere in one another's internal affairs, to commit no aggression against one another's territory, and to consult together on all matters of common interest.'[136] Similar to the Balkan Entente, this pact was also institutionalized with an additional protocol that established a Council of Ministers and a Secretariat General. However, the fate of Saadabad Pact also resembled to that of the Balkan Entente. With the start

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[136] Hale. *Turkish Foreign Policy, 1774-2000,* 62.

of the World War II, the Saadabad Pact was neglected, albeit not formally dissolved until today.

The rationale of states in coming together around the idea of a pact is argued to bring final solutions to the border disputes among its members.[137] There were bilateral frontier problems between Iran-Turkey, Iran-Afghanistan, Iran-Iraq. Also, there was a trilateral Kurdish problem among Iran, Iraq and Turkey, that would turn into secessionist movements. Hence, with such a multilateral initiative, it can be argued that all of those disputes were aimed to be resolved permanently. Mehmet Gönlübol and Cem Sar contend that Turkey became involved in this kind of a multilateral scheme due to the increasing Italian aggression that became crystallized with its attack on Ethiopia. In line with that claim, it can be argued that Turkey took part in, even initiated, the project in order to guarantee its eastern border in the case of an attack from Italy that would come from the Balkans. Whatever the true motivation of Turkish officials of the time had been, whether the fear of Kurdish secessionism and the fear of an external attack, it can be observed that Turkey had prioritized its security needs in this multilateral initiative.

Two similar multilateral projects in the same geographical zones as the ones that were mentioned were also initialized in the 1950s as well. Although there was a different international system after two World War II, a bipolar one, the core logic of Turkish state in partaking the multilateral efforts around its environs has remained unchanged: to provide and maintain the security of the state. Although in the interwar years, the main threat to Turkey was emanating from the Balkans, Bulgaria and/or Italy, the centuries-old traditional threat to the Turkish state, and the Ottoman

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[137] Atay Akdevelioğlu and Ömer Kürkçüoğlu. "1923-1939 Orta Doğu'yla İlişkiler", in *Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 1, Baskın Oran, ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), 367, and Hale. *Turkish Foreign Policy, 1774-2000,* 62.

Empire, stemming from its northern neighbor re-emerged in the body of the Soviet Union during the Cold War. However, an additional raison d'être can be argued to play a substantial role in the initiatives of the 1950s. It was to prove beneficial to the Western alliance in order to get extra foreign economic aid and/or debt. It was the idea of the Menderes government that if Turkey participated in such multilateral dealings in order to expand the zone of security alliances against the Soviet threat, the value of the country in the Western eyes would increase, and, in turn, this would help the government find further foreign aid/debt from the Western countries.

The first initiative emerged in the Balkans. On February 28, 1953 Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia signed an Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation in Ankara. According to this document, these three countries agreed upon cooperation in security, military matters (Articles 2 and 3) and in economic, technical and cultural domains (Article 4). They also decided on the peaceful settlement of disputes among them (Article 5). Moreover, it was concluded that foreign ministers of the respective states would meet once a year. In line with the last point, the first summit meeting of foreign ministers was held in Belgrade on 7 November 1953. At that meeting, it was determined that a Permanent Secretariat would be established, the ways of intensifying cooperation in military field would be investigated and a trilateral committee would be set up for economic cooperation. In this process of escalating cooperation among these states, the Agreement was turned into an alliance with the conclusion of the Balkan Defense Pact[138] or the Agreement on Alliance, Political Cooperation and Mutual Assistance[139] on 9 August 1954 in Bled, Yugoslavia by the very same states. It was Article 2 of the document that portrayed

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[138] Hale. *Turkish Foreign Policy, 1774-2000*, 124.
[139] Melek Fırat. "1945-1960 Yunanistan'la İlişkiler", in *Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 1, Baskın Oran, ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), 590.

the nature of alliance of that cooperation. According to that article, 'an attack on any of the signatories would be counted as an attack on all of them and they would immediately take all measures, including the use of armed force, for their common defense'.[140] It was also stated in the Article 4 of the Pact that a Permanent Council composed of the parties' foreign ministers would meet twice annually on a regular basis. The multilateral cooperation was tried to be deepened at the intergovernmental level with the formation of a Permanent Assembly that was decided to be launched in the first meeting of the Permanent Council in March 1955. However, the changing international context, especially seen in the softening Soviet foreign policy towards Yugoslavia and Turkey with Stalin's death, and the rise of bilateral problems between Greece and Turkey on the Cyprus issue brought the end of the efforts of increasing multilateral cooperation. According to Gönlübol, the pact was officially dissolved in June 1960.[141] For Fırat and Gönlübol, it was not very astonishing that the Pact could not survive for the time period it was envisaged, initially for 20 years, since the cooperation was interpreted differently by the signatories. Fırat asserts that there was a marked cleavage between Turkey and Yugoslavia on the principal areas of cooperation. While Turkey emphasized military cooperation more, Yugoslavia insisted on the enhancement of multilateral cooperation in other domains than the military.[142] Gönlübol, also, agrees with this argument and provides the accounts of Yugoslav and Turkish government officials' speeches that proved the divergence of perceptions between the two signatories.[143]

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[140] Hale. *Turkish Foreign Policy, 1774-2000*, 124.

[141] Mehmet Gönlübol, A. Haluk Ülman, A. Suat Bilge and Duygu Sezer. "1945-1965 Dönemi", in *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası 1919-1995*, Mehmet Gönlübol, ed.(Ankara Siyasal Kitabevi, 1996), 249.

[142] Fırat. "1945-1960 Yunanistan'la İlişkiler", 590.

[143] For detailed information, Mehmet Gönlübol, A. Haluk Ülman, A. Suat Bilge and Duygu Sezer. "1945-1965 Dönemi", in *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası: 1919-1995*, Mehmet Gönlübol, ed. (Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi, 1996), 245-246.

The Baghdad Pact that was signed between Iraq and Turkey and enlarged with the inclusion of Great Britain, Pakistan and Iran later on was the second multilateral initiative in Turkish vicinity in the 1950s. It provided a multilateral defense system on the eastern borders of Turkey. The first indication of the Pact came with the signing of the bilateral Karachi Agreement between Turkey and Pakistan on 2 April 1954. It was mainly about the friendly cooperation between the signatories on the matters of economics and culture.[144] Afterwards, on 24 February 1955, Turkey and Iraq concluded the Agreement on Mutual Cooperation, also known as the Baghdad Pact, 'for their mutual security and their defense'[145]. Britain joined the Pact on 4 April, Pakistan on 23 September and Iran on 3 November 1955. With the reaching of 5 members, the Permanent Council, which was foreseen to be established in the Baghdad Pact, came together in late November 1955. According to the official statement published at the end of that meeting, it was decided that special permanent committees for military planning, economic planning and counter-subversion would be set up.[146] However, the Pact did not last long in its original form and was turned into Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) in August 1959 with the formal withdrawal of Iraq from the pact as a result of the coup d'état that occurred in July 1958. With the Iranian Revolution in 1979, CENTO, too, came to an end.

It should be kept in mind that both of the initiatives, the Balkan Pact of 1954 and the Baghdad Pact of 1955, were originally foreseen as defense structures like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Indeed, it is argued by some scholars that they were complementary regional institutions to NATO. Therefore, the main aim of them was to extend the defense mechanism of the West, i.e., NATO, to the

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[144] Melek Fırat and Ömer Kürkçüoğlu. "1945-1960 Orta Doğu'yla İlişkiler", in *Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 1, Baskın Oran, ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), 622.

[145] Hale. *Turkish Foreign Policy, 1774-2000*, 126.

[146] Hale. *Turkish Foreign Policy, 1774-2000*, 126.

regions around Turkey. Seen in this perspective, it can be argued that the United States was the main architect of those structures. In spite of the fact that the USA never became an official member of those pacts, it is widely known that it staunchly supported these seemingly regional initiatives, especially the Baghdad Pact.

3.3.1.1.2 Other Multilateral Dealings

Even though Turkey's principal motive in joining multilateral formations had been to augment the security condition of state, Turkey has taken part in various multilateral enterprises prioritizing other issues in time. The multilateral economic relations, especially, gained more weight.

Despite the failure of the Baghdad Pact in terms of the defense system it aimed to create, three of CENTO members, i.e., Iran, Turkey and Pakistan, came together and found Regional Co-operation for Development (RCD) on 21 July 1964. This organization aimed at speeding up the development of those countries and ensuring cooperation in domains like culture, communications, transportation, trade, tourism, banking and insurance.[147] With the Islamic Revolution in Iran, which terminated the CENTO, the military forerunner of RCD, RCD did continue to exist at a dormant manner, but not officially dissolved. In 1985, it was transformed into Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO).

Another multilateral undertaking was initiated by Turkey in the early 1990s in the Black Sea region. The end of the Cold War and the demise of the communism sharply changed the geopolitical picture of the region. It is widely believed that the

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[147] Melek Fırat and Ömer Kürkçüoğlu. "1960-1980 Orta Doğu'yla İlişkiler", in *Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 1, Baskın Oran, ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), 804.

disintegration of the Soviet Union has created a power vacuum in the Black Sea region. Therefore, the idea of creating an organization in order to contribute to the overall security and stability of the region has emerged. Such an idea was put forward for the first time in early 1990 by the Turkish ambassador to the USA during the 1980s, Şükrü Elekdağ, who is an MP from the Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, in Turkish) today. He stated that the original aim of the project was to provide the necessary conditions and institutional arrangements in order to improve and diversify the economic cooperation among the Black Sea countries.[148] Various international summit meetings were convened subsequently, in Ankara in December 1990, in Bucharest in March 1991, in Sofia in April 1991 and in Moscow in July 1991. As a result, the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization was formally established with a declaration published at the end of the Istanbul Summit on 25 June 1992. The signatories of the declaration were Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Greece, Moldova, Romania, Russia, Turkey and Ukraine. Later on, Serbia and Montenegro, also, applied for membership and became a member in 2003.

The declaration creating the BSEC consisted of 18 articles. The important ones are: Articles 2, 3, and 4 emphasize the importance of democracy, human rights, economic prosperity, equality, geographical proximity and environmental problems for the BSEC. Article 5 focuses on the cooperation on economic field by stating the intention to create a Europe-wide economic area and to integrate the region to the world economy. Article 10 presents the gradual nature of economic cooperation. Articles 12 and 13 provide the cooperation fields and priority areas for the organization. Article 16 is about the financial matters and states the objective of

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[148] Gökhan Koçer. "Karadeniz'in Güvenliği: Uluslararası Yapılanmalar ve Türkiye", *Akademik Bakış*, 1:1 (Kış 2007), 209.

establishing a bank for trade and investment. Article 17 lays the basics of the institutional structure of the BSEC by stating the authority of the Council of Foreign Ministers.

The Charter of the Organization of Black Sea Economic Cooperation was signed by the Heads of States or Governments of the eleven BSEC participating states in Yalta on 5 June 1998 and eventually entered into force on 1 May 1999. With the entry into force of the Charter, the BSEC officially became a "regional economic organization" with an international legal identity. It enabled to combine all the summit declarations and statements into a one structured document. It brought together and presented the objectives, areas of cooperation, principles, institutional and organizational structure, legal and financial provisions in a coherent manner.

3.3.1.2 Peaceful Foreign Policy and Peace Promotion

Peaceful foreign policy has been one of the legacies of the Kemalist foreign policy. Apart from the implementation of peaceful methods such as diplomatic initiatives in its foreign relations, Turkish state has worked for the enlargement of the zone of peace, both regionally and internationally.

The bilateral peace, friendship, neutrality agreements that Turkey signed with the countries in its vicinity can be argued to represent Turkish efforts of promoting peace. İsmail Soysal provides a rich account of the agreements that was concluded in the interwar years between Turkey and other states.[149] Some of them include: the Agreement of Friendship and Settlement in 1925, the Agreement of Neutrality in

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[149] İsmail Soysal. "İki Dünya Savaşı Arasında Avrupa'da Kuvvet Dengeleri ve Barışçı Türkiye", in *Çağdaş Türk Diplomasisi: 200 Yıllık Süreç*, İsmail Soysal, ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınevi, 1999), 295.

1929 with Bulgaria; the Agreement of Friendship and Security in 1926, the Agreement of Security, Neutrality and Non-aggression in 1932 with Iraq; the Agreement of Friendship and Cooperation in 1928 with Afghanistan; the Agreement of Friendship in 1937 with Egypt.

Also, Turkish mediation initiatives for international disputes, conflicts can be considered as peace promotion. However, the number of such efforts conducted in the Cold War years is not very impressive. Ertuğrul Apakan, the Permanent Representative of Turkey to the United Nations, attributes this situation to the rigid nature of the international system during the Cold War in his speech at the UN last November.[150] The limited cases of such attempts include: the arbitration efforts between Iran and Afghanistan for frontier disputes in 1934[151]; Turkish mediation between Afghanistan and Pakistan in March 1956 over Pakhtunistan[152]; Turkish mediation efforts under Özal during the Iran-Iraq War[153]. The attempts of İsmail Cem, together with its Greek counterpart, George Papandreou, in bringing the Palestinians and Israelis on negotiation table in the late 1990s can also be added to Turkish mediation initiatives.[154]

Turkey has also tried to promote peace by participating in the United Nations Peace Operations. Although the number of Turkish contribution to UN peacekeeping operations during the Cold War years is not more than only 1, starting with the 1990s, Turkey actively took part in those operations especially carried out in the

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[150] Retrieved from http://www.turkishny.com/hot-news/50-hot-news/17668-bueyuekelci-apakan-bmye- arabuluculuu-anlatt?format=pdf

[151] Akdevelioğlu and Kürkçüoğlu. "1923-1939 Orta Doğu'yla İlişkiler", 365.

[152] Derrick V. Frazier. "Third Party Characteristics, Territory and the Mediation of Militarized Interstate Disputes", *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 23:4 (2006), 271.

[153] Melek Fırat and Ömer Kürkçüoğlu. "1980-1990 Orta Doğu'yla İlişkiler", in *Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 2, Baskın Oran, ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), 156.

[154] Meliha Benli Altunışık. "Worldviews and Turkish foreign policy in the Middle East", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 40 (2009), 186.

regions adjacent to it. According to Oğuzlu and Güngör, the first and the unique case

of Turkish contribution during the Cold War was the UN military operation in Korea

in 1950. In that article, Oğuzlu and Güngör provide a very useful background of

Turkish participation in UN peace operations. According to the same article:

> Since 1988, Turkish armed forces have actively joined various peace
> operations with various observation functions: four UN, one OSCE,
> one regional peace operation with military observers and eight UN
> peace operations with military contingents. In summary these include
> the following operations:
>
> *In the Balkans*, Turkey participated in the UN Protection Force in
> Bosnia-Herzegovina (UNPROFOR) in 1993-95, Implementation
> Force (IFOR) and Stabilization Force (SFOR) in Bosnia-Herzegovina
> (1996-present), Combined Police Force in Bosnia-Herzegovina
> (1995), UN Preventive Deployment Force in Macedonia (1995-
> present), International Police Task Force in Bosnia-Herzegovina
> (1997-present), Operation 'Alba' in Albania (1997), Kosovo
> Verification Force (1998-99), and Kosovo Force (2001-present)…
>
> *In the Middle East*, Turkey contributed to the UN Iran-Iraq Military
> Observer Group (1998-91), the UN Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission
> (1991-2003), Operation 'Provide Comfort'/ 'Northern Watch' after
> the Gulf War of 1990-91 (1991-2003), and Temporary International
> Presence in Hebron in Israel-Palestine (1997-present
>
> *In the Caucasus*, Turkey has contributed to the UN Observer Mission
> in Georgia (1993-present) with five officers since the 21 October 1994
> within the framework of OSCE. Elsewhere, Turkey also participated
> in the UN Operation in Somalia (1992-94) and the UNMISET (United
> Nations Mission in Support East Timor) with two officers and 20
> policemen. ..[155]

Although Turkey has adopted a peaceful foreign policy towards its neighbors,

its relations with the surrounding countries have not been free from problems, in

which Turkey had to resort to force or threatened to do so from time to time. For

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[155] H. Tarık Oğuzlu and Uğur Güngör. "Peace Operations and the Transformation of Turkey's
Security Policy", *Contemporary Security Policy*, 27:3 (2006), 476-477.

example, it is alleged that Turkish government under Menderes took up the idea of military interventions in Syria and Iraq in the late 1950s in the face of the communist takeovers in these countries, in spite of the fact that these thoughts were denied by the governmental officials several times.[156] Moreover, during the crisis with Syria in 1990s, due to the Syrian support for PKK, a terrorist organization with separatist claims, and the problems in the sharing of water from Euphrates and Tigris, Turkey used a hawkish rhetoric, including military threats to Syria if Turkish demands are not responded.[157]

However, the most prominent example of such an attitude is the notorious Cyprus dispute. According to Fuat Aksu, Turkey resorted to coercive diplomacy twice, during the problems in 1963-64 and in 1967, in the period leading up to the subsequent military intervention in 1974.[158] It can be argued that although Turkey's actions were legal, since the Treaty of Guarantee signed in 1960 allows such activities, Turkey could not be able to defend its cause effectively in the international forum. On this matter, Aydın argues that: "The failure of its diplomatic efforts, begun in the 1960s, to gain support among Arab and non-aligned countries for its policies in Cyprus was strikingly displayed at the 1976 Colombo Conference of non-aligned nations (as it had been at Lima in the previous year), while a UN General Assembly vote on a draft resolution on Cyprus in November 1976 showed 94-1 against Turkey, with 27 abstention."[159] It cannot be argued that the seemingly

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[156] Hale. *Turkish Foreign Policy, 1774-2000*, 128-129, and Mehmet Gönlübol, A. Haluk Ülman, A. Suat Bilge and Duygu Sezer. "1945-1965 Dönemi", in *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası 1919-1995*, Mehmet Gönlübol, ed.(Ankara Siyasal Kitabevi, 1996), 287-309.
[157] For a recent account on Turco-Syrian relations, see Carolyn C. James and Özgür Özdamar, "Modeling Foreign Policy and Ethnic Conflict: Turkey's Policies Towards Syria", *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 5 (2009), 17-36.
[158] For a detailed analysis of Turkish coercive diplomacy cases, see Fuat Aksu, *Türk Dış Politikasında Zorlayıcı Diplomasi*, (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 2008).
[159] Aydın. "Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy: Changing Patterns and Conjunctures during the Cold War", 130.

aggressive attitude of Turkish state constitutes the sole reason behind the lack of support for Turkish stance regarding the Cyprus dispute. However, it can be claimed to show that military operations or other command strategies may portray countries' actions as illegitimate in the eyes of other states even if they are acting within the legal boundaries.

3.3.1.3 Economic and Humanitarian Assistance

The Turkish tradition of providing economic and humanitarian assistance to the needy states has also started to be developed in the 1980s. Until that time, Turkey initiated bilateral aid programs to the countries requested help. The poor economic conditions of the country played the leading role in the paucity of the foreign aid provided by Turkey. It should be noted, here, that Turkey was one of the prominent aid-gatherer states especially from the United States of America in the immediate aftermath of the World War II. Turkey was in great need of foreign assistance. In this context, it could not be expected for Turkey to be a donor country.

Still however, Turkey tried to provide assistance to the countries in terms of technical and educational matters. For example, Turkey helped Afghanistan a great deal. Starting with the signing of an agreement on 1 March 1921, even before the official proclamation of the Turkish Republic, Turkish-Afghan relations were mainly based on the Turkish cultural and technical aid.[160] According to the Article 8 of that agreement, Turkey has undertaken the responsibility to assist Afghanistan in cultural domain and to send teachers and military officers there.[161] Similar marks can also be

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[160] Melek Fırat and Ömer Kürkçüoğlu. "1919-1923 Orta Doğu'yla İlişkiler", in *Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 1, Baskın Oran, ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), 208.
[161] Fırat and Kürkçüoğlu. "1919-1923 Orta Doğu'yla İlişkiler", 208.

found in the Agreement of Friendship and Cooperation between Turkey and Afghanistan signed in 1928. This kind of Turkish assistance efforts has been multiplied since 1980s. For instance, Turkish military officers were sent to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait in order to train those countries' armies after the conclusion of an agreement between Turkey and Saudi Arabia in February 1984.[162] In the 1990s, Turkey expanded the area of its educational assistance to the states in the Balkans. After the Dayton Peace Agreement that halted the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1995, Turkey took part in the train and equip program and started to educate the Bosnian military personnel in 1996.[163] A military education program was also initiated with Albania. In that program, almost 600 Albanian military personnel were trained in Turkey.[164]

Apart from the technical and educational aid activities, Turkey started to be involved in economic assistance initiatives in the mid-1980s. In the article written by Hakan Fidan and Rahman Nurdun, it is stated that: 'Turkey started its aid activities on 5 June 1985 when it prepared a comprehensive aid package worth $10 million to the Sahel countries (Ethiopia, Sudan, Somalia, Mali, Niger and Chad) under the coordination of Undersecretariat of State Planning Organization of Turkey (SPO)'.[165] However, Turkish economic assistance efforts boomed in the period after the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the subsequent emergence of Turkic Republics in the Caucasus and the Central Asia. According to Aydın, Turkey aiming to have economic and political influence through trade relations and foreign aid in the region

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[162] Fırat and Kürkçüoğlu. "1980-1990 Orta Doğu'yla İlişkiler", 125-126.
[163] İlhan Uzgel. "1990-2001 Balkanlarla İlişkiler", in *Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 2, Baskın Oran, ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), 502.
[164] Uzgel. "1990-2001 Balkanlarla İlişkiler", 503.
[165] Hakan Fidan and Rahman Nurdun. "Turkey's role in the global development assistance community: the case of TIKA", *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 10:1 (2008), 99.

wanted to be the leading foreign aid country in the years 1991-1993.[166] In this context, Turkey started to provide huge amounts of economic aid and to give credits to those republics. For instance, according to a report prepared by the State Planning Organization in 1998, Turkish bilateral aid between the years 1992-1996 is almost 1.9 billion USD and 86.4 per cent of this amount was given to Turkic Republics.[167] In terms of the credits, Turkey, via the Turkish Eximbank[168], extended a total of 1,203.26 million USD to those countries until 2000.[169] The establishment of the Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency (TIKA) under the Foreign Ministry on 24 January 1992 provided the institutional mechanism for Turkish foreign aid. In another article, Hakan Fidan summarizes the responsibilities of TIKA as such: 'TIKA's primary duty was to coordinate Turkey's cooperation with the Turkic Republics in the fields of economics, education, culture, art, history, research, language and alphabet, ethnography, tourism, administration, justice, security, communication, environment, science and technology.'[170] In 1999, TIKA was attached to the Prime Ministry and began to play a substantial role in planning and coordinating Turkish development assistance activities in the neighboring regions.

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[166] Mustafa Aydın. "1990-2001 Kafkasya ve Orta Asya'yla İlişkiler", in *Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 2, Baskın Oran, ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), 426.
[167] For detailed information, see Nuri Birtek. *Türkiye'nin İkili Dış Yardımları (1992-1996)*, (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı, 1998)
[168] Eximbank web page.
[169] Aydın. "1990-2001 Kafkasya ve Orta Asya'yla İlişkiler", 427.
[170] Hakan Fidan. "Turkish foreign policy towards Central Asia", *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 12:1 (2010), 113.

3.3.2 Brilliance

Brilliance means the achievements of a country in terms of politics, economics, military, science and technology. For Vuving, 'it generates soft power through the production of admiration.'[171] If a country is perceived by others successful, then, those countries try to emulate the successes of that country by adopting the strategies, policies implemented by it in order to achieve the level of development of that country. In other words, other states' perception of the accomplishments of a country and their inclination to draw lessons from the story of that country composes the basis of the brilliance. According to Vuving, 'a strong and awesome military, a wealthy and vibrant economy, a rich and radiant culture, and a peaceful and well-run society are manifestations of brilliance'.[172] In line with the explanations of Vuving concerning the manifestations of brilliance, the extent of Turkish soft power on the eyes of other states will be analyzed under the headings: the economic development, the political maturity and the military strength.

3.3.2.1 Economic Development

The economic situation of the Turkey was not pleasant in the first years of the Republic. The country just got out of a series of wars. The Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, the World War I that lasted from 1914 to 1918, and the subsequent War of Independence between 1919 and 1923 further deteriorated the economic conditions in the country. There was no private sector able to invest in the resurrection and the development of the state economically. Therefore, the state took the upper hand and tried to achieve economic development through the public sector under the policy of

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[171] Vuving. "How Soft Power Works", 8.
[172] Vuving. "How Soft Power Works", 10.

statism/étatism especially with the 1930s. On that matter, Halil Erdemir writes as such:

> As a result of the neutrality policy which followed the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, and the lack of private capital and investments, the Turkish authorities had to pursue a statist economic policy for structural and industrial investments for rapid development of the newly established state over the next three decades.[173]

Starting with the 1950s, Turkish economy was based on foreign aid and debts. Moreover, the industrial development of the country could not be achieved. In the 1960s, Turkey turned back to economic planning with the establishment of State Planning Organization in 1960. In those years, Turkish economy recovered from the negative effects of the previous era to some extent. However, the oil crisis in 1973 and the Cyprus intervention in 1974, together with the domestic political instabilities, damaged seriously the improving economy. In the 1980s, Turkish economy underwent a great transformation with the January 24th Economic Austerity Measures, and from then on, started to be integrated into the global economy.

As it can be observed from this very brief Turkish economic history, Turkey could not be perceived as successful in economic terms. Still however, there are several aspects of Turkish economic situation appreciated by other states. The first of these aspects is that Turkey achieved to get rid of capitulations that put a significant burden on the Ottoman economy. It was with Article 28 of the Treaty of Lausanne that capitulations were eventually lifted. This created a hope for other colonized people. The second one is the gradual transformation of the economy into the free market in the 1980s. Especially after the emergence of independent Turkic states in the early 1990s, Turkey started to be presented as a model for those republics in

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[173] Halil Erdemir. *Turkish Political History*, (İzmir: Manisa Ofset, 2007), 162-163.

economic terms. It was stated that those newly-independent states could look for Turkish example and transform their planned economies into free market economies. Mario Zucconi writes by giving an indigenous declaration as an example:

> As a cultural kin, and due to its more advanced stage of economic development and integration with the industrial West, Turkey was looked upon as an important model of development by the former Soviet republics of Central Asia (four of the five republics are Turkic, together with Azerbaijan in the Caucasus; four are mostly Muslim) as the Cold War ended and the USSR came apart. "I announce to the world that my country will go forward by the Turkish route," Uzbekistan's President Islam Karimov announced the very day of the formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States in December 1991.[174]

The declarations of US officials, also, deserve being mentioned in this regard. For example, as cited by Hale: 'Meanwhile, during a trip to several capitals in the region (Central Asia), the US Secretary of State James Baker urged the new republics to adopt the 'Turkish model' of economic and political development.'[175]

3.3.2.2 Political Maturity

Turkey was established as a republic and the rule of people, popular sovereignty was put forward as a fundamental principle of Turkish state from its inception. However, Turkey has not been recognized as a stable political entity due to a number of factors, despite the establishment of democracy. On this matter, Mohapatra writes that:

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[174] Mario Zucconi. "The Impact of the EU Connection on Turkey's Domestic and Foreign Policy", *Turkish Studies*, 10:1 (2009), 31.
[175] Hale. *Turkish Foreign Policy, 1774-2000*, 291

> While the Arabs ridicule Turkey's democracy as a complete farce and a 'democracy of tanks', Western critics harp on its illiberal character reflected in the absence of democratic political culture, high level of human rights abuse and denial of cultural liberties to the minority Kurds.[176]

The first factor constituting such an imagination of Turkish political and democratic immaturity was the continuation of the one-party rule till 1946. Although several attempts were made in transiting the political arena to multi-party system in the 1920s and 1930s, all of these initiatives could not succeed due to the fragile political conditions of the country. The Progressive Republican Party, the second political party in Turkey that was established on 17 October 1924, was closed after the Sheikh Said rebellion. The Free Republican Party or the Liberal Republican Party, also, was established in the August 1930 and gained popularity in a short period of time. However, when it was realized that the party became the point of gathering for the conservative opponents, it was dissolved by its founder in November 1930. Therefore, the inability of such efforts for transition to multi-party democracy in Turkey further strengthened the one party rule of the Republican People's Party. Turkey had to wait until 1950s in order to achieve a truly multi-party system.

The second factor of weakness of Turkish political system was the interruptions to the democratic rule. Turkey witnessed three military interventions in the years 1960, 1971 and 1980. Apart from the military coup d'état on 27 May 1960, the others, but especially the last military intervention in 1980, created huge problems for the delicate democracy in Turkey. Furthermore, the influence of military in Turkish political sphere has been put forward as one of the obstacles in

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[176] Mohapatra. "Democratization in the Arab World: Relevance of the Turkish Model", 278.

front of further democratization of the country by several circles inside and outside Turkey. At the same time, the abundance of short-lived coalition governments in Turkish political history can be shown as the sign of an unstable political environment in Turkey. The analysis of Mustafa Aydın can be mentioned in this context. He argues that:

> [In the 1970s], As far as foreign relations were concerned, increasing political and social instability generated by political violence and terrorism seriously damaged Turkey's image in the world at a time when Turkey was in great need of economic and political support.[177]

The last factor contributing to the Turkish political immaturity concerns the increasing ethnic problems. The rise of Kurdish nationalism in mid-1980s has provided additional troubles for the Turkish political weaknesses. The inability to solve this problem through political means and the transformation of the problem into violence, armed struggles has been regarded as the symptoms showing the underdevelopment of Turkish political life. The remarks of Aydın and Ismael can be mentioned in this context. They write that:

> As long as Turkey is not full control of domestic situation, freedom of movement in foreign and security politics will be subjected to and limited by requirements of Kurdish issue. Also, it is quite obvious that a country with such a domestic problem could not convincingly claim to be a role model for stability and democratic-liberalism to anyone.[178]

In the light of these factors, it would be hard to expect Turkey to attract less politically developed countries to follow the Turkish example. Nevertheless, Turkey

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[177]Mustafa Aydın. "Determinants of Turkish Foreign Policy: Changing Patterns and Conjunctures during the Cold War", *Middle Eastern Studies*, 36:1 (2000), 119.
[178] Mustafa Aydın and Tareq Y. Ismael, eds. *Turkey's Foreign Policy in the 21st Century: A Changing Role in World Politics*, (England: Ashgate, 2003), 21.

was portrayed as a 'model country' in the early 1990s especially for the countries gaining their independence from the Soviet Union. For this issue, Kirişçi writes that:

> …it was not surprising that *the Economist* in December 1991 declared Turkey to be the 'Star of Islam' and presented Turkey with its democracy, secular form of government and liberal market economy as a 'prototype' to be emulated by the newly independent states of former Soviet Union.[179]

3.3.2.3 Military Strength

The military awesomeness can be argued to represent the only domain in which Turkey gets the attraction of other states right from the establishment of the republic. The attainment of independence against the imperialist powers made Turkish War of Independence as one of the first examples of anti-colonial struggles. Therefore, the victory set in motion by Turkish Army led by Mustafa Kemal during the War of Independence may be claimed to inspire other states dreaming of their own political independence. On this issue, Sandıklı writes that:

> We attribute this influence primarily to the fact that the struggle he (Mustafa Kemal Atatürk) gave aroused the hope for independence and freedom in nations oppressed by Western imperialism and colonialism. The extent of the impact in the Muslim world from Morocco to Indonesia and many African countries was not clear at the beginning. But as these countries achieved their independence, they expressed their admiration for Atatürk. The statements of Bourghiba in Tunis, of the members of the Young Officers Movement in Egypt which put an end to the kingdom in 1952, and of Sukarno of Indonesia are examples of such admiration nourished secretly. [180]

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[179] Kemal Kirişçi. "Turkey's Foreign Policy in Turbulent Times", *Chaillot Paper* No.92, (2006), 12.
[180] Soysal. "Atatürk's Policy of Peace and Its Impact in the World", 141

In a similar vein, Meliha Benli Altunışık asserts that:

> Turkey was considered as a model in the Islamic world in the early twentieth century for it was the only successor state of the Ottoman Empire, which "succeeded in rebuffing the newly emerging international system, and in fashioning its own destiny".[181]

In another article, Altunışık clarifies her point by writing that:

> After all, unlike the other countries of the region, Turkey was born out of a determination not to accept the post-WW I settlement that was imposed on it by the winners of the war. Turkey's war of independence was closely monitored by nationalists in different parts of the Arab world, who were formulating their own plans for independence.[182]

The military education programs mentioned above can also be asserted to illustrate the Turkish military strength and other countries' motivation to learn from Turkish experience in the military domain. To remind briefly, Turkey educated and trained Afghan, Saudi Arabian, Bosnian and Albanian military personnel.

Also, the participation of Turkish military in the peace operations conducted under the leadership of the United Nations could be seen as a sign of Turkish brilliance in terms of military matters.

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[181] Meliha Benli Altunışık. "The Turkish Model and Democratization in the Middle East", *Arab Studies Quarterly*, 27:1&2 (2005), 57.
[182] Meliha Benli Altunışık. "The Possibilities and Limits of Turkey's Soft Power in the Middle East", *Insight Turkey* 10:2 (2008), 42.

3.3.3 Beauty

Beauty corresponds to the values, norms that are embraced and advocated by a state in its internal and external relations, and the appealing nature of such values to the other countries. As Vuving argues, it 'generates soft power through the production of inspiration'.[183] The conduct of domestic policies on normative principles and the promotion of those values, such as liberal democracy, in foreign relations and the conduct of foreign policy through international institutions and organizations are projections of beauty, and therefore soft power, according to Vuving.[184] In other words, if a country takes into account the prevailing norms of the international society in its dealings with its own citizens and its international relations, and if it works for the spread of those of values to the other countries, then, it can be argued to have soft power in terms of beauty. The functioning of domestic institutions on universal principles, the upholding of such values in the implementation phase of the foreign policies generates beauty in the perceptions of other states. In addition to the original formulation of beauty by Vuving, the popularity of a country's culture can be argued to form another basis of that power currency. The images that are displayed by the cultural products of a country can contribute to the understanding of that country in others positively. These kinds of cultural assets can help create familiarity with and awareness of that culture on the side of audience by giving various clues about the domestic values and the lifestyle of that country. Therefore, the Turkish case in terms of beauty will be explored under two headings: The adherence to universal values in domestic and foreign policies and the popularity of Turkish culture abroad.

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[183] Vuving. "How Soft Power Works", 8-9.
[184] Vuving. "How Soft Power Works", 15-16.

3.3.3.1 Adherence to Universal Values

Turkey having situated its domestic politics predominantly on the Western model is expected to conduct its domestic and foreign policies according to the principles championed by the Western world. Although the foreign policies seem to be less problematic in terms of the application of such values and principles, there are serious problems on the realization of those values in the domestic sphere especially. According to Ramazan Gözen, Turkey did not fully succeed in the adoption of the civilized norms and values embraced by the West, or even by the whole world.[185] He develops his argument by writing that:

> If examined more tangibly: a real and truly democratic order could not be established, because the democratic processes, which are intrinsically civil/civic, participatory, based on popular will and stable, i.e., the principles of democracy, considered as the touchstones of contemporary civilization was not/could not be operated….a free and pluralist democratic order could not be established…the system of human rights and freedoms could not be built.[186]

3.3.3.1.1 Domestic Policies and Institutions

The inabilities of Turkey in achieving a smooth transition to the multi-party democracy and the late achievement of a truly liberal economy have been mentioned in the brilliance section. Hence, the domestic issues other than those such as human rights, multiculturalism, and secularism in the light of the civil-military relations will be explored in this section.

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[185] Ramazan Gözen. "Türkiye'nin Batılılaşma Serüveni ve AB'nin Rolü", in *İmparatorluktan Küresel Aktörlüğe: Türkiye`nin Dış Politikası*, Ramazan Gözen, ed. (Ankara: Palme Yayıncılık, 2009), 467.
[186] Gözen. "Türkiye'nin Batılılaşma Serüveni ve AB'nin Rolü", 467.

It can be argued that these issues came to the fore with the airing of a "Turkish model" right after the end of the Cold War by the United States officials.[187] However, there remained serious obstacles in front of the projection of the 'Turkish model' concerning the issues mentioned above. These issues can be summarized well by quoting from Ziya Öniş's article. He writes that:

> During the early 1990s, Turkey had the potential to present itself as a model of multiculturalism and a secular version of Islam. Nevertheless, the country's democratic deficits, particularly as reflected in its inability to extend democratic rights to its own minorities, effectively meant that its potential as a role model could not be realized in practice. Furthermore, the democratic deficit also manifested itself as a rather rigid form of secularism that effectively failed to incorporate the demands for religious freedoms on the part of the more liberal Islamist groups. Both of these aspects have reduced the attractiveness of Turkey as a model of multiculturalism both for the West and the Islamic world.[188]

The first issue that has been creating troubles for Turkey is the respect for human rights. Although the Turkish Constitution of 1961 provided the most liberal and democratic system in Turkey respecting the human rights almost fully, especially with the worsening political conditions of the 1970s and the military coup in 1980, Turkey has been started to be accused of committing human rights violations by West, to a great extent by the European Council, European Community/Union, and to a lesser extent by the United States. According to Gökçen Alpkaya, Turkey carried the title of 'Violator of Human Rights' in the 1980s.[189] It was the suppressive rule of the military regime that suspended democracy and resorted to violent means with the purpose of restoring the domestic order. Furthermore, the 1982 Constitution, which

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[187] Altunışık. "The Turkish Model and Democratization in the Middle East", 45.
[188] Ziya Öniş. "Turkey and the Middle East After September 11: The Importance of the EU Dimension", *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, 2:4 (2004), 87.
[189] Gökçen Alpkaya. "1980-1990 İnsan Hakları Konusu", in *Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 2, Baskın Oran, ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), 188.

was prepared under the supervision of that military regime, helped the anti-democratic practices become embedded in Turkish political life. For Oran, the 1982 Constitution was based on the limitation of societal and individual rights against the state and the government.[190] Although Turkey turned to democratic rule, albeit limited, in three years time with the holding of general elections on 6 November 1983, the problems regarding the human rights abuses continued to exist as an important agenda item of Turkish foreign relations.

The deterioration of the Kurdish problem and the internationalization of that issue also coincided with that period. The negligence in searching for the root causes of the problem and the perception of the problem only from the perspective of PKK terrorism required military measures to be implemented instead of working to ameliorate the living conditions of the population in the southeastern Turkey. Under these circumstances, Turkey was criticized for not respecting the minority rights of the Kurds. The restrictions on the use of Kurdish language put forth by the 1982 Constitution and the Law on the Fight against Terrorism entering into force on 12 April 1991 were the sources of such critiques.

Although there were several improvements initiated in the same period such as the vesting the right of individual application to the European Commission of Human Rights in 1987, the ratification of European Social Charter in 1989, the establishment of the Human Rights Inquiry Committee in the Turkish Grand National Assembly in 1990, Turkey could not have been viewed as a country respecting enough individual, societal and minority rights in the period up to 2002.

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[190] Baskın Oran. "1980-1990 Dönemin Bilançosu", in *Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 2, Baskın Oran, ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), 21.

The third issue concerns the role of military in Turkish politics. As mentioned before, Turkish Army intervened in Turkish political life three times in the years 1960 and 1980 with coup d'états, in 1971 with a memorandum. The role of the army was first ensured with the establishment of the National Security Council in line with the 1961 constitution. However, the National Security Council was criticized as unbalancing the civil-military relations in Turkey. Consequently, Turkey has been forced by the European states in order to restore the civil-military balances in favor of civilian rule by either reforming or dissolving the Council.

Turkey, on the other hand, was successful in achieving gender equality in political life. Even before many of the European states, such as France, Italy and Switzerland, Turkish women had acquired the right to elect and to be elected.

Therefore, it will not be wrong to argue that Turkey has failed to uphold the universal values in practice to a great extent, in spite of the fact that these values are accepted in principle. The poor record of Turkish state in human rights conditions, in providing a political solution to the Kurdish problem and in sustaining the civil-military balances can be claimed to portray the failure of Turkey in complying with the universal norms starting with the 1980s.

3.3.3.1.2 Foreign Policies and Institutions

In stark contrast to the inabilities in observing universal norms in Turkish domestic politics, the foreign policy of the Turkish state can be argued to be bound by common values and practices. For example, Turkey has abstained from intervention in matters under the domestic jurisdiction of other states, which shows that Turkish state respects to the principles of territorial sovereignty and non-

intervention. Similarly, the priority of peaceful means in the resolution of disputes, rather than unilateral coercive practices, constitutes another domain where Turkey advocates a universal value. The signing of bilateral friendship and non-aggression agreements with a number of countries also provides another instance of the prevalence of the norm of peace in Turkish foreign policy. The multilateralism can also be claimed to be a value championed by Turkish state. Instead of unilateral initiatives, Turkey prefers multilateral efforts. Even before the unilateral military intervention launched by the Turkish military on the Cyprus Island in 1974, Turkish Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit had gone to London in order to convince the British government for a multilateral intervention. This can be cited as the most important signifier of the multilateral approach adopted by Turkey. The Turkish insistence on a multilateral intervention in the Bosnian War can also be considered another case of Turkish multilateralism. Turkey has, also, worked for the spread of universal values like democracy, liberal economy by creating multilateral institutions. The Organization of Black Sea Economic Cooperation can be cited as the most significant initiative of Turkey in this regard. Within the framework of this organization, Turkey has aimed to consolidate democratic structures in those states and to integrate them into the global economic.

3.3.3.2 Popularity of Turkish Culture

The cultural domain may be claimed to constitute the area where the state organs have the least control in terms of soft power production. Nonetheless, the states can be involved in the distribution of various TV programs, educational leaflets, movies in order to send positive images of the country to the outside world.

It is hard to estimate the real influence of the cultural assets on the production of attraction, inspiration, admiration. It can be achieved through the conduct of several public polls. However, there is found no data on the popularity of Turkish culture for the years between 1923 and 2002.

However, the linguistic initiatives can be mentioned in this context. The emergence of Turkic republics in the former Soviet Union lands with similar linguistic characteristics to Turkish language provided another avenue to increase Turkish influence in that region. For this reason, Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT) established a channel to be broadcasted in the former Soviet Union republics in 1992 named as 'TRT Eurasia'. Also, a common Turkic alphabet consisting of 34 letters was created and adopted by the Alphabet-Spelling Conference organized by TIKA on 8-10 March 1993.[191]

3.4 Analysis

In general, it can be concluded that Turkish state during the period up to 2002 has some degree of soft power. The main determinants of traditional Turkish foreign policy and the principles emerging from that broad setting can be claimed to play a substantial role in the production of Turkish soft power in the eyes of other states and in the execution of soft power strategies by Turkish Republic in its international relations. For example, the adoption of a relatively peaceful foreign policy attitude towards other countries, the adherence to legal means in the resolution of conflicts in most cases, the inception of several multilateral initiatives, the mediation efforts that are mentioned in the 'benignity' section can be argued to represent the soft power

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[191] Aydın. "1990-2001 Kafkasya ve Orta Asya'yla İlişkiler", 391.

strategies that Turkey has implemented. In this regard, Turkey can be perceived as fairly successful in the adoption of soft power strategies in its foreign relations. On the other hand, in terms of the 'brilliance' and 'beauty', Turkey can be said to show symptoms of failure when the low level of economic and political development hampered by various internal problems is taken into account, despite the popularity of Turkish example, i.e., 'Turkish model', in its neighborhood during the early periods of the Republic and the early 1990s.

CHAPTER 4

SOFT POWER IN TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY UNDER THE AKP GOVERNMENTS: 2002-2009

This chapter will examine the soft power character of Turkish foreign policy that was conducted under the three successive AKP governments[192] between the years 2002 and 2009. Like in the previous one, this chapter does not attempt to provide a chronological account of Turkish foreign policy between those years, but to search for the soft power elements found in Turkish foreign policy according to the theoretical scheme provided in the related chapter. The chapter begins with the foreign policy understanding of the AKP. In this section, the concept of 'strategic depth' suggested by Ahmet Davutoğlu, which was considered as the backbone of the AKP's foreign policy approach, the party program, the election manifestos and the governmental programs that were declared by the AKP officials, and the principles of AKP's foreign policy outlook will be elaborated on. The foreign policy initiatives and activities of Turkey under the AKP governments will be examined in the light of the soft power theory presented in the concerning chapter.

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[192] There are three governments formed by the AKP. The first AKP government was formed by the Abdullah Gül in 2002, since Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the party leader, was politically banned. After a constitutional amendment, Erdoğan returned to politics and formed a new cabinet in early 2003. The third AKP government was formed by Erdoğan following the general elections in 2007.

4.1 Foreign Policy Understanding of the AKP and AKP Governments

Ahmet Davutoğlu, the former chief foreign policy advisor to the Prime Minister Erdoğan and the current Minister of Foreign Affairs[193], has generally been regarded as the main architect of the foreign policy of the AKP. Having an academic background,[194] Davutoğlu can be argued to provide the theoretical basis for the foreign policy understanding of the AKP with its seminal work 'Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu (Strategic Depth: Turkey's International Position)' which was published in 2001. Therefore, it is better to summarize the main points that Davutoğlu presents in his book in order to provide the general framework taking part in the shape of AKP's foreign policy.

4.1.1 Strategic Depth Doctrine

4.1.1.1 Origins

The book written by Davutoğlu consists of three main parts. The first part presents the conceptual and historical framework. In the sections comprising the first chapter, Davutoğlu deals with the issues of the conception of power and the historical depth mainly. Davutoğlu begins his book with a new power conception. According to him, there are two kinds of parameters of power: the constant parameters (CP): history, geography, population and culture; and the potential parameters (PP): economic, technical and military capabilities. Also, strategic

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[193] Ahmet Davutoğlu was appointed as the Minister of Foreign Affairs with the revision of cabinet on 1 May 2009.
[194] Ahmet Davutoğlu holds a masters degree in Public Administration and a PhD degree in Political Science and International Relations from Boğaziçi University. He became a full professor in 1999.

mentality (SM), strategic planning (SP) and political will (PW) affect the power of a country in his conception. With the combination of these elements, Davutoğlu argues that the power of a country can be shown with the following formula: "Power = (CP+PP) x (SMxSPxPW)"[195]

Afterwards, Davutoğlu looks at the prior power conceptions of Turkey, and argues that Turkish power has been calculated in an erroneous manner mainly due to the lack of a strategic theory. He presents the reasons of the lack by looking at three dimensions: the institutional and structural background, mainly the problems in the foreign policy making process; the historical background, the problems caused by the stark contrasts between the foreign policies of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic; and the psychological background, the problems related to the self-identification of Turkish state. It can be deduced from Davutoğlu's book that the problems found in these areas/backgrounds has hindered the development of a strategic theory that would correctly evaluate the power of Turkey and help Turkey position itself properly in the international stage.

In the light of his power conception and the lack of a strategic theory in Turkey, Davutoğlu tries to portray the international position of Turkey in a historical order, where he puts forward the concept of the 'historical depth' of Turkey. According to him, the historical background is the fundamental determinant of a society's position in the temporal dimension.[196] Therefore, Davutoğlu traces the issue back to the Ottoman era and tries to assess the process of international positioning of the current Turkish state from that time till the early 2000s. Davutoğlu pays special attention to the end of the Cold War in that historical process. According to him, the

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[195] Ahmet Davutoğlu. *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu*, (İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2001), 17.
[196] Davutoğlu. *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu,* 65

post-Cold War era brought together an enormous scaling up in the dynamic framework and the fact that Turkey has found itself psychologically and strategically unprepared against the global and regional scaling up necessitates the redefinition of Turkey's international position and the readjustment of its cultural, geographical, economic, political and strategic parameters according to this redefinition.[197] Then, Davutoğlu examines the external and internal parameters of international position in the post-Cold War period. It can be said that the external parameters of the international position, which allows for "a large field of action/movement for the countries trying to level up in the 'categorization of states'[198]",[199] and the domestic parameters of the international position[200], which basically means the revival of the past for claiming a central role for Turkey in its neighborhood, have played an important role in showing the historical depth of Turkey in terms of the redefinition of its position.

In the concluding section of the chapter, Davutoğlu criticizes the present-day interpretation of the historical depth of Turkish state and gives some clues about the possible positive outcomes of an eventual re-interpretation of it. On that issue, Davutoğlu writes that:

> The formation of a unilateral and uniaxial (with one axis only) domestic political culture and a related foreign policy making prevents Turkey from developing a political and diplomatic attitude which is

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[197] Davutoğlu. *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu,* 73-74.

[198] According to Davutoğlu, there are four different categories according to their strategic and tactical capabilities of maneuver: the super states, the big states, the regional powers and the small states. Turkey is classified as a regional power. For detailed information, see Davutoğlu. *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu,* 74-75.

[199] Davutoğlu. *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu,* 76.

[200] It can be inferred from the book that the internal parameters of the international position are signaled with the re-emergence of political currents of Ottomanism, Islamism, Westernism and Turkism in their new guises as a result of the inability to obtain an honorable position in the hierarchy of states despite the efforts of the political elite and the re-emergence of the central role Turkey once played as a result of the relaxation of the geocultural relations with the Middle East, the Balkans and the Caucasus. For detailed information, see Davutoğlu. *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu,* 79-90.

able to adjust itself to different scenarios and to realize the value of Turkey's multi-directional historical accumulation of experience. Such a uniaxial approach, which is devoid of a vision open to all kinds of alternatives, strategic decisiveness and tactical flexibility, neither perceives the shifts of axis in the international relations in a timely manner, nor utilizes the advantages that will elevate Turkey into a position of a country which is influential in its region and has a weight in international politics from that of an ordinary state in the region, which the big powers see as a passive element of their tactical objectives.[201]

In the second chapter of the book, Davutoğlu presents the geographical framework. He examines the geopolitical theories present in the literature, criticizes the inability of Turkish state in making use of its geopolitical situation properly despite the extensive use of geopolitical rhetoric, and provides a new geopolitical theory for Turkish foreign policy. According to Davutoğlu, the Turkish geopolitical understanding is too narrow and static due to the lack of dynamic reinterpretations in different periods[202], and the post-Cold War era is one of these periods that requires a re-interpretation of Turkey's geopolitics. One of the significant points made by Davutoğlu is that "geopolitical position is not an asset itself, but turns into one when it becomes an effective instrument of a foreign policy strategy set forth in a convenient manner with this position"[203]. In line with this understanding, Davutoğlu maintains that "the geopolitical position (of Turkey) shall no longer be seen as a means of a strategy of the maintenance of the status-quo led by the impulse of the protection of the borders. On the contrary, this geopolitical position should be seen as a tool for a gradual opening to the world and the conversion of regional influence into a global one.[204] As a result of this new geopolitical approach, the Turkish foreign policy strategy for the 21st century is summarized by Davutoğlu as such: "the

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[201] Davutoğlu. *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu,* 91-92
[202] Davutoğlu. *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu,* 116
[203] Davutoğlu. *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu,* 117
[204] Davutoğlu. *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu,* 117

reorganization of the relations with the power centers in an alternative manner and the formation of a hinterland with which the long term cultural, economic and political bonds are reinforced, consolidated."[205]

Davutoğlu defines three geopolitical zones of influence, hinterlands as the geopolitical basis of the Turkish foreign policy strategy aimed at strengthening its global position. These hinterlands are contiguous land basin, consisting of the Balkans, the Middle East and the Caucasus; the maritime basin, comprised of the Black, Eastern Mediterranean, Caspian seas and the Persian Gulf; the continental basin, including the Europe, North Africa, South Asia, Middle and East Asia.

In order to briefly mention about Davutoğlu's thinking related to these areas, it can be said that he proposes a progressive approach starting from the neighboring regions to the global sphere. According to Davutoğlu, Turkey is an indivisible part of its contiguous land basin both historically and geographically and Turkey's international position will be bound to its influence and performance in this hinterland.[206] Therefore, Davutoğlu asserts that "Turkey's regional influence depends on reorganization of its relations with its neighbors, because it is impossible for a state having continuous crises with its land neighbors to generate regional and global policies"[207]. Davutoğlu also makes several policy recommendations. For example, Davutoğlu writes that: "Turkey, on the one hand, should pioneer regional security and cooperation endeavors in its contiguous land basin and, on the other hand, should take steps that will reinforce the interdependency on economic and cultural fields."[208]

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[205] Davutoğlu. *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu,* 118
[206] Davutoğlu. *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu,* 119
[207] Davutoğlu. *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu,* 144
[208] Davutoğlu. *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu,* 145

For the maritime basin, Davutoğlu argues that Turkey does not have any long-term and well-coordinated seas and water routes strategy despite being surrounded by 3 seas and situated at the crossroads of water routes, inland seas and gulfs.[209] For the Black Sea basin, Davutoğlu suggests that the Black Sea should be seen as a gateway to East and North Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia and that the transportation policies which would connect Eastern Europe and the Asian steppes to the Middle East and Indian Ocean should be devised[210]. For the Straits, which he defines as the strategic knot of the Afro-Eurasian mainland, Davutoğlu argues that Turkey should develop a flexible diplomatic method and strengthen the legitimate/legal basis of its control over the Straits.[211] In terms of the Eastern Mediterranean basin, which includes the most troublesome maritime relations of Turkey, i.e., the Aegean problems and the Cyprus question, Davutoğlu argues for a pro-active and offensive policy emphasizing the linkages of the Aegean Sea with other maritime basins and adopting a comprehensive approach to the Cyprus dispute. The Persian Gulf and the Indian basin are significant in terms of "transforming Turkey's regional influence into continental one"[212] in the Davutoğlu's framework. Lastly, "the Caspian basin is the key maritime basin for Turkish openings to the Central Asia"[213], Davutoğlu writes. He argues for "three fundamental tactical principles for Turkey's Caucasus-Caspian-Central Asia policy of linkage: to strengthen the status of North Caucasian states within the Russian Federation in order to provide the connection between the Caspian and Black seas; to revive and strengthen the relations with Iran in a dynamic and rational economic cooperation

[209] Davutoğlu. *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu,* 151
[210] Davutoğlu. *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu,* 161
[211] Davutoğlu. *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu,* 169
[212] Davutoğlu. *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu,* 180
[213] Davutoğlu. *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu,* 181

scheme to counterbalance Russian influence in Central Asia and the Caucasus; to promote all kinds of cooperation among the Central Asian states."[214]

The continental basin, made up of the Europe, North Africa, South Asia, Middle and East Asia, constitutes the last element of Davutoğlu's geographical framework. According to Davutoğlu, identifying continental basin for Turkey will determine the continental connections providing the transitivity between the regional-scale and global-scale policies.[215] Davutoğlu also maintains that "the making of a new continental basin definition by Turkey provides an essential alternative to the Turkish foreign policy settlement which has a peripheral role in the European system. A country like Turkey cannot look for a unidirectional, one-sided international position."[216]

In the third main chapter, Davutoğlu deals with the implementation of the broad conceptual and theoretical understanding provided in the previous chapters by focusing on the strategic instruments, i.e., the international and regional organizations, and the regional policies for the Balkans, the Middle East, the Central Asia and the Europe. When examined in detail, it can be recognized that this chapter gives specific policy prescriptions for Turkish foreign policy regarding these organizations and areas. According to Davutoğlu, "Turkey should revise its foreign policy instruments based on the alliance relationships which it developed within the specific conditions of the Cold War and the instruments gaining prominence in the post-Cold War era in a strategically integrated way that takes into account the transformations these instruments have undergone in the dynamic international

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[214] Davutoğlu. *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu,* 181
[215] Davutoğlu. *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu,* 184
[216] Davutoğlu. *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu,* 217-218

conjuncture"[217]. Therefore, Davutoğlu elaborates on Turkey's relations with the NATO, OSCE, OIC, ECO, BSEC, D-8 and G-20 and evaluates the current state of relations together with providing some road-maps for Turkey on its way to increase its regional and global influence. The last point is also relevant for the sections of the book dealing with the Turkey's foreign policies in the neighboring regions in depth. The main argument of these sections can be argued that Turkey should have a grand strategy aiming at creating a sphere of influence in order to become a truly global power which should be devised according to the specific sensitivities, problems and advantages of the respective regions and the interactions between them.

4.1.1.2 Interpretations of the Strategic Depth

It can be argued that the concept of 'the strategic depth' coined by Davutoğlu has become too popular both in the national and international academia, as well as in political circles. Therefore, it is important to consider the ways it is perceived and interpreted for clearly presenting the foreign policy approach of the AKP.

Although the term was coined and comprehensively presented by Davutoğlu in 2001, many scholars argue that Turkey has entered into a process of awareness about its depth in the immediate aftermath of the Cold War. The Turkish foreign policy during Özal period, for instance, is argued to form the basis of the current foreign policy of AKP. On this issue Rabasa and Larrabee writes that:

> This process of broadening and deepening Turkey's ties to areas beyond the West began well before the AKP came to power. Under Ozal, for instance, Turkey made a concerted effort to establish closer ties to Central Asia. But efforts to expand Turkey's ties to areas where it has had strong historical and cultural ties have gained greater

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[217] Davutoğlu. *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu,* 222

impetus under the AKP and have been heavily influenced by the doctrine of Strategic Depth, a concept developed by Ahmet Davutoğlu, a Turkish academic who became Erdoğan's chief foreign-policy advisor after the AKP won the November 2002 elections.[218]

Many of the scholars interviewed by USAK (Uluslararası Stratejik Araştırmalar Kurumu, in English, the International Strategic Research Organization) also maintain similar arguments. For example, Şaban Çalış says that: "We should admit that the AKP's foreign policy understanding, at least in some domains, shows parallelism with the foreign policy that Özal tried to conduct"[219]. Mustafa Türkeş asserts that "the AKP reproduces and implements the policies of the Özal period" and there is continuity between these two periods.[220] Similar statements can be found in the interviews with other academics, such as Tayyar Arı, Faruk Sönmezoğlu, Ersel Aydınlı, Kamer Kasım, etc., throughout the books published by the USAK.[221]

Meliha Benli Altunışık argues that İsmail Cem, who served as the Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1997 to 2002, the period just before AKP's term, has also mentioned about the depths of Turkish state in terms of foreign policy options. Altunışık claims that:

> Cem's vision was based on the critique of traditional foreign policy, which was characterized as "being bereft of a historical dimension", "lacking 'depth' with respect to time and 'breadth' with respect to space", and having an inadequate approach to culture.[222]

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[218] Angel Rabasa and F. Stephen Larrabee. "The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey", *RAND Corporation*, (2008), 75.

[219] Habibe Özdal, Osman B. Dinçer and Mehmet Yegin, eds. *Mülakatlarla Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 2, (Ankara: USAK Yayınları, 2010), 97.

[220] Özdal, Dinçer and Yegin, eds. *Mülakatlarla Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 2, 271.

[221] For detailed information, see relevant parts of the interviews in Özdal, Dinçer and Yegin, eds. *Mülakatlarla Türk Dış Politikası* Ciltler 1&2.

[222] Altunışık, "Worldviews and Turkish foreign policy in the Middle East", 184, and İsmail Cem. *Turkey in the New Century*, (Nicosia: Rustem Publishing, 2001), 2.

When the writings of İsmail Cem is reviewed, there can be found lots of similarities with the Davutoğlu's 'strategic depth' concept, and in terms of aims and methods to be used in Turkish foreign policy presented by the two thinkers, although they use different words to portray their opinions. For example, the aim of the two thinkers is to make Turkey's international position elevate into a place where Turkey will be able to have an influence in regional and global affairs. However, Cem formulates his aim as "becoming a 'world state'"[223], while Davutoğlu uses the term 'a central global power'[224]. While Cem defines Turkey as a European and Asian country[225], Davutoğlu enlarges the definition and says that Turkey is a European, Asian, Balkan, Caucasian, Middle Eastern and Mediterranean country[226]. From these points, it can be argued that the work of Davutoğlu presents the ideas formerly expressed by Cem in a more solid framework with a firm conceptual and theoretical background underneath.

There are also very different interpretations of the term 'strategic depth' found in the literature. It can be argued that many of these comments revolve around the centrality of 'historical and geographical depth' as the two main constitutive elements of the 'strategic depth'. For example, Nicholas Danforth claims that historical depth and geographic depth are 'the two components of the eponymous strategic depth'[227]. Alexander Murinson argues that "the main thesis of this doctrine

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[223] Cem. *Turkey in the New Century*, 20.
[224] Davutoğlu. *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu,* 563.
[225] Cem. *Turkey in the New Century*, 22.
[226] Davutoğlu. *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu,* 92.
[227] Nicholas Danforth. "Ideology and Pragmatism in Turkish Foreign Policy: From Atatürk to the AKP", *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, 7:3 (Fall 2008), 91.

is that strategic depth is predicated on geographical depth and historical depth."[228]

Similarly, Rabasa and Larrabee also write:

> The core idea of the doctrine of Strategic Depth is that a nation's value in international relations depends on its geostrategic location. [....] In addition, the concept of Strategic Depth emphasizes the importance of Turkey's Ottoman past and its historical and cultural ties to the Balkans, the Middle East, and Central Asia.[229]

In a similar vein, Öniş and Yılmaz contend that:

> Davutoğlu argues that in order to formulate a long-lasting strategic perspective one needs to take into account "historical depth," which provides a sound assessment of the links between the past, present, and future, as well as a "geographical depth," penetrating into the intricate dynamics of the relations between domestic, regional, and global factors.[230]

In terms of the foreign policies that the adoption of the 'strategic depth' perspective will bring about, many scholars converge on the point that Turkey will diversify its foreign policy alternatives and deepen its relations with the regions surrounding it, especially with the contiguous land basin in Davutoğlu's terminology. For instance, Oğuzlu writes that:

> According to this (strategic depth), Turkey is a country which is never be able to follow a one-sided and one-dimensional foreign policy and which should position itself always at the center while determining its interests mainly because of the geography it is situated on and the historical and cultural legacies it possesses.[231]

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[228] Alexander Murinson. "The strategic depth doctrine of Turkish foreign policy", *Middle Eastern Studies*, 42:6 (2006), 947.
[229] Rabasa and Larrabee. "The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey", 75-76.
[230] Ziya Öniş and Şuhnaz Yılmaz. "Between Europeanization and Euro-Asianism: Foreign Policy Activism in Turkey during the AKP Era", *Turkish Studies*, 10:1 (2009), 9.
[231] H. Tarık Oğuzlu. "Türk Dış Politikasında Davudoğlu Dönemi", *Ortadoğu Analiz*, 1:9 (Eylül 2009), 44.

Danforth, also, writes that "Davutoğlu argued that Turkey is located at the center of several "geo-cultural basins" –the West (including the United States), the Middle East, the Balkans and Central Asia– and that Turkey should pursue an active policy to take advantage of the opportunities that exist in all of them."[232] Öniş, in another article of him, claims that: "In Davutoğlu's vision, foreign policy is no longer perceived as a series of bilateral relations or foreign policy moves but as a series of mutually reinforcing and interlocking processes.[233] Öniş, furthermore, claims that the central country character of Turkey and the fact that Turkey has several regional identities necessitates Turkey 'to extend its influence simultaneously to Europe, the Middle East, the Balkans, the Black Sea, the Caucasus, Central Asia, the Caspian and the Mediterranean'.[234] In an article appeared in the Economist last year, after stating that the strategic depth constitutes one of the pillars of Davutoğlu's approach, it is said: "This (strategic depth) calls for a Turkish zone of political, economic and cultural influence, primarily among neighbors (many of them former Ottoman dominions) in the Balkans, the south Caucasus and the Middle East."[235] Murinson, as well, reports that "Davutoglu argues that Turkey [....] needs to develop a genuinely multi-directional foreign policy by utilizing its geostrategic advantages."[236]

It is thought that the information provided about the 'strategic depth' concept and doctrine has done enough to portray the general framework drawn by Ahmet Davutoğlu in terms of the foreign policy understanding of the AKP and the governments formed by it. Therefore, it would be fruitful to assess the effect of

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[232] Danforth. "Ideology and Pragmatism in Turkish Foreign Policy: From Atatürk to the AKP", 90.
[233] Ziya Öniş. "The New Wave of Foreign Policy Activism in Turkey: Drifting away from Europeanization", *DIIS Report* 2009:05, 9.
[234] Öniş. "The New Wave of Foreign Policy Activism in Turkey: Drifting away from Europeanization", 10.
[235] "Dreams from their fathers". *The Economist*, July 23, 2009.
[236] Murinson. "The strategic depth doctrine of Turkish foreign policy", 952.

Davutoğlu in the formulation of Turkish foreign policy in the minds of AKP officials by analyzing the documents prepared by them concerned with the foreign policy issues.

4.1.2 Party Program and Election Manifestos

As a political party that was established in the post-Cold War period,[237] the foreign policy outlook presented with the party program, the election manifestos and the programs of the AKP governments signal the conditions of that era in compliance with the general framework drawn by Davutoğlu. Indeed, it can be argued that the foreign policy sections of all these documents include the evaluation of the post-Cold War environment made by Davutoğlu as a basis for the AKP's projection of Turkish foreign policy.

In an interview with Yaşar Yakış, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the first AKP government (58.Turkish government), he asserts that he has written the foreign policy section of the party program, which was also used in their election manifesto and the subsequent governmental program.[238] Yakış also argues that this document that he has penned constitutes the general framework of Turkish foreign policy since that time.[239] Therefore, several identical statements can be found in different documents related to AKP's foreign policy vision. For example, the party program, the election manifesto of 2002 and the AKP's first and second governmental programs of 2002 and 2003 have the same statements almost with no change.

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[237] The AKP was formally founded on 14 August 2001.
[238] Özdal, Dinçer and Yegin, eds. *Mülakatlarla Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 2, 314
[239] Özdal, Dinçer and Yegin, eds. *Mülakatlarla Türk Dış Politikası* Cilt 2, 314

However, the party program will be utilized mostly since it is the first official document writing down the principles of AKP's foreign policy understanding.

It can be argued that the party program makes a redefinition of Turkish geopolitical stationing in the dynamic conditions of the post-Cold War period that is in stark contrast to geopolitical imagination of Turkey under the very rigid, static conditions of the Cold War era. First of all, it is argued in the party program that "the dynamic circumstances brought about by the post cold war period have created a suitable environment for developing a foreign policy with several alternatives"[240]. In the light of this statement, the party program suggests Turkey to "rearrange and create its relations with centers of power with alternatives, flexibly and with many axes"[241]. On this matter, Hasret Dikici Bilgin writes that: "In the party program, foreign policy was formulated to be based on multiple axes and reciprocal interests so as to establish flexible relations with power centers."[242] Also, it is argued in the same document that "against changing regional and global realities, our Party believes that Turkey must redefine its foreign policy priorities and create a balance between these realities and its national interests"[243]. Hence, it can be inferred from the party program that, under the new circumstances brought about with the end of the Cold War and globalization, Turkey is expected to diversify its foreign relations and to enrich its foreign policy options by forging new relations with the regions/states that it does not have any contacts and by revitalizing its relations with the lately neglected areas. With the 'strategic depth' concept analyzed in the previous

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[240] AKP Party Program, retrieved from http://eng.akparti.org.tr/english/partyprogramme.html#6
[241] AKP Party Program.
[242] Hasret Dikici Bilgin. "Foreign Policy Orientation of Turkey's Pro-Islamist Parties: A Comparative Study of the AKP and Refah",*Turkish Studies*, 9:3 (2008), 412.
[243] AKP Party Program.

section in mind, it can be argued that these statements totally correspond to the vision and suggestions made by Davutoğlu.

Another important theme mentioned in the party program is the significance of international and regional cooperation. It is the first article of the party program that it was mentioned. According to that article, "the geopolitical situation of Turkey has the potential to create an attraction zone for many cooperation projects"[244]. However, the importance of security and stability for the development of cooperation is emphasized, and it is argued that "Turkey shall make more efforts for providing security and stability in its near surroundings, shall increase its attempts to maintain good relations with its neighbors based on dialogue, thus it shall contribute more to the development of regional cooperation"[245]. In addition to this statement, it can be derived from the party program that Turkey will be more active in the maintenance of security and stability in its region by contributing to the crisis management and conflict resolution efforts. According to the party program, "it (Turkey) shall take more initiative in the spots of crisis in regions neighboring Turkey and try to make a more concrete contribution to the solution of the crises"[246]. Bilgin formulates these two points as such: "A noticeable approach in the party program in terms of foreign policy is the repeated emphasis on the leadership role for Turkey in conflict and crisis resolution, as well as regional initiatives."[247]

After years of experience in the office, the AKP revised and rewrote its foreign policy section in the 2007 election manifesto. In addition, the program of the 60.Turkish government, the third government under the AKP rule, can be considered

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[244] AKP Party Program.
[245] AKP Party Program.
[246] AKP Party Program.
[247] Bilgin. "Foreign Policy Orientation of Turkey's Pro-Islamist Parties: A Comparative Study of the AKP and Refah", 412.

as a summary of that election manifesto. With a general view, it can be argued that in these recent documents, the points that have been mentioned in the previous written records lying down the AKP's foreign policy outlook are better conceptualized and put together in a more coherent manner. It should be noted, here, that Ahmet Davutoğlu, the-then chief foreign policy advisor to the Prime Minister Erdoğan, has increased his effectiveness in the formulation process of these documents. His impact can be realized from the similarity of the languages utilized in his work, 'the Strategic Depth', and these documents.

In the recent election manifesto, Turkey was defined as a "multi-directional and multi-dimensional country in terms of foreign policy agenda and responsibility areas"[248]. Later on, the necessity for "a multi-dimensional foreign policy based on a well-identified and integrated framework owing to the historical accumulation, geographical and cultural depth, and the strategic location of the country"[249] has been mentioned. It can be argued that these statements correspond to the calls for a foreign policy with alternative options in the previously mentioned records and they do comply with the remarks of Davutoğlu.[250] Another point in these new documents is that the AKP shall adopt a vision-oriented approach, but not a crisis-oriented one. Therefore, according to them, "the main goal of the AKP foreign policy is to get Turkey out of a reactive, defensive posture and to make it a decisive actor steering the developments with a regional and global vision"[251]. In the subsequent lines, the foreign policy methods in order to reach that goal are explained in the following way:

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[248] AKP Election Manifesto 2007. Retrieved from
http://www.yayed.org.tr/resimler/ekler/718499c1c8cef67_ek.doc?tipi=&turu=&sube=
[249] AKP Election Manifesto 2007.
[250] See Footnotes 10&45
[251] AKP Election Manifesto 2007.

"To achieve this goal, the use of our deterrent/coercive hard power and our soft power with its diplomatic, economic and cultural qualities within a well-coordinated form is an absolute necessity. That is why we embrace a pro-active and dynamic foreign policy method which is principled, balanced, performed in contact with all global and regional actors, based on rational grounds and well-timed."[252]

In terms of the relations with the neighboring states, the election manifesto declares that the principle of 'zero problems with the neighbors' constitutes the backbone and the method used is defined as 'constant contact'.[253] This principle, as well, is linked to the grand aim of becoming a 'central country'. For the neighboring regions, the point made in the party program and the election manifesto of 2002 is reiterated that Turkey will strive for peaceful resolution of the conflicts in those regions in order to prevent the spillover of these crises.

As a reflection of the recommendations that Davutoğlu made regarding the international and regional organizations, it is mentioned in the election manifesto that "the AKP will work for increasing the existence, representation and efficiency in international organizations and forums"[254]. The huge influence of Davutoğlu in this document can also be realized from the following statements: "We define the global position of our country not with a role of reactionary and passive bridge, but on the axis of an active and effective central country of its own. This definition is not a conjuncture-bounded and tactical, but a permanent and strategic one necessitated by our country's deep historical accumulation and geopolitical position"[255]

It is thought that a general overview of the AKP's foreign policy understanding has been presented with the examination of the documents prepared

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[252] AKP Election Manifesto 2007.
[253] AKP Election Manifesto 2007.
[254] AKP Election Manifesto 2007.
[255] AKP Election Manifesto 2007.

by the AKP cadres with an eye on the effect of Davutoğlu's concept of 'strategic depth'. Furthermore, it can be recognized, especially from the election manifesto of 2007 that foreign policy principles of the AKP governments have started to come out and be presented in a clearer manner as a result of the maturation of AKP's foreign policy understanding and the experience gained in office during the period between 2002 and 2007. Therefore, it is better to shed light on these principles governing the foreign policy conducted by the AKP in order to fully grasp the approach of AKP towards foreign policy issues before searching for the clues of soft power elements.

4.1.3 Principles of AKP Foreign Policy

The first attempt to define the principles guiding the AKP foreign policy was made by Ahmet Davutoğlu, again. In the article he published in 2008[256], which is based on a transcript of a TV program he attended, Davutoğlu makes the principles of AKP's foreign policy public almost for the first time. In the following years, he has developed his stance, and it seems that Davutoğlu has given the eventual shape of the principles in the very recent article he wrote for the Foreign Policy magazine[257]. According to this article, there are three methodological and five operational principles driving Turkish foreign policy.

The first methodological principle is the 'vision-oriented/visionary' foreign policy approach instead of a 'crisis-oriented' one, which means that rather than taking issues into consideration on a case-by-case basis in the face of crises, Turkey has started to evaluate the cases according to the integrated visions it has developed.

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[256] Ahmet Davutoğlu. "Turkey's Foreign Policy Vision: An Assessment of 2007", *Insight Turkey*, 10:1 (2008), 77-96.
[257] Ahmet Davutoğlu. "Turkey's Zero-Problems Foreign Policy", *Foreign Policy*, May 20, 2010.

According to Davutoğlu, there is a Turkish vision on almost every issue, ranging from Middle East to the Caucasus, and from climate change to the political economy.[258] As a result of the adoption of a visionary approach, Davutoğlu argues, "It (Turkey) has to take on the role of an order-instituting country in all these regions. …Turkey is no longer a country which only reacts to crises, but notices the crises before their emergence and intervenes in the crises effectively, and gives shape to the order of its surrounding region."[259] In the first speech he gave as the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Davutoğlu declared that the vision of Turkey has three legs.[260] The first one is about our country. According to Davutoğlu, Turkey will be one of the prosperous countries in the world in which the equilibrium/balance between security and freedom is well-established. The second vision is about the neighboring regions and basins, according to which Turkey will proceed from 'zero problems' to 'maximum benefits/cooperation' with the neighbors and Turkey should have the responsibility of an "order-instituting country"[261] in the regions surrounding it. Lastly, the global vision aims at making Turkey a country which is 'lent a careful ear on a myriad of regional and international issues'[262].

The second methodological principle, suggested by Davutoğlu, is "to base Turkish foreign policy on a "consistent and systematic" framework around the world."[263] It can be argued that this principle ensures the integrity of the visions

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[258] Speech of Ahmet Davutoğlu and Ali Babacan, retrieved from http://www.mfa.gov.tr/devlet-bakani-ve-basabakan-yardimcisi-sayin-ali-babacan-ile-disisleri-bakani-sayin-ahmet-davutoglu_nun-devir-teslim-vesilesiyle.tr.mfa
[259] "New FM Davutoğlu to build order-instituting role for Turkey", *Today's Zaman*, 4 May 2009. Retrieved from http://www.todayszaman.com/tz-web/news-174284-new-fm-davutoglu-to-build-order-instituting-role-for-turkey.html
[260] Speech of Ahmet Davutoğlu and Ali Babacan.
[261] Y. V. Gaber. "Turkey's New Foreign-Policy Strategy: Local, Regional and Global Dimensions", 651. Retrieved from http://www.nbuv.gov.ua/portal/natural/vonu/Sip/2009_13/pdf/t14v13s648-653.pdf
[262] Davutoğlu. "Turkey's Zero-Problems Foreign Policy".
[263] Davutoğlu. "Turkey's Zero-Problems Foreign Policy".

about different issues under a coherent scheme. In other words, the visions should not contradict with another in any case. In Davutoğlu's words:

> Similarly, in foreign policy, you have to put the colors in such a way, that those who are observing the foreign policy they will feel that there is one political brain, one approach behind this policy. Today, the advantage of Turkey, in the last 6-7 years, there is one party government, therefore you can follow. There is consistency, and continuity.[264]

Bülent Aras, commenting on the Davutoğlu's foreign policy line, claims that "(According to Davutoğlu) Turkey needs to develop a new policy of integrating foreign policy issues within a single policy formulation framework."[265] He develops his argument by writing that: "Turkey has multiple regional identities and thus has the capability to follow an integrated foreign policy to bring a variety of issues into the same picture, from the Middle East peace process to Caucasian stability, giving priority to immediate issues without ignoring other foreign policy concerns."[266] Also, Y.V. Gaber writes that "Elaborating an "integrated foreign policy approach", Davutoglu aims to build relations with other global actors on a complementary, not competitive basis."[267]

The third methodological principle defined by Davutoğlu is "the adoption of a new discourse and diplomatic style"[268]. Davutoğlu continues by writing that "Although Turkey maintains a powerful military due to its insecure neighborhood, we do not make threats. Instead, Turkish diplomats and politicians have adopted a new language in regional and international politics that prioritizes Turkey's civil-

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[264] Ahmet Davutoğlu. "Principles of Turkish Foreign Policy", Address by H.E. Foreign Minister of Republic of Turkey Ahmet Davutoğlu at the SETA Foundation on December 8, 2009. Retrieved from http://www.setav.org/ups/dosya/14808.pdf
[265] Bülent Aras. "Davutoğlu Era in Turkish Foreign Policy", *SETA Policy Brief* No:32, (May 2009), 8.
[266] Aras. "Davutoğlu Era in Turkish Foreign Policy", 8.
[267] Gaber. "Turkey's New Foreign-Policy Strategy: Local, Regional and Global Dimensions", 652.
[268] Davutoğlu. "Turkey's Zero-Problems Foreign Policy".

economic power."[269] In another record, Davutoğlu calls this instrument 'Soft Power'.[270] On this subject, Oğuzlu, in his article titled 'Türk Dış Politikasında Davudoğlu Dönemi (Davutoğlu Period in Turkish Foreign Policy)', mentions the instruments to be used in the Davutoğlu approach as an additional point to the five operational principles and argues that "according to Davutoğlu school, there is the fundamentality of the persuasion of the other side through attraction and reasoning, and the preference of non-military instruments as a supplement."[271] Still however, it can be argued that this point has not been elucidated enough, but deserves to be dealt closely and deeply. Therefore, this paper will constitute a modest contribution to the endeavor searching for the role of soft power in AKP's foreign policy.

After lying down the methodological principles, Davutoğlu goes on to explain the operational principles leading Turkish foreign policy. The first operational principle is the 'balance between security and democracy'. This principle provides the linkage between domestic and foreign domains. According to Davutoğlu, "if there is not a balance between security and democracy in a country, it may not have a chance to establish an area of influence in its environs. The legitimacy of any political regime comes from its ability to provide security to its citizens; this security should not be at the expense of freedoms and human rights in the country."[272]

The second operational principle, 'zero problems towards neighbors', has turned out to be the most popular one in the academic and journalistic fields. It can be said that this principle is headed to normalize and deepen -politically, economically and culturally- Turkey's relations with the neighboring countries.

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[269] Davutoğlu. "Turkey's Zero-Problems Foreign Policy".
[270] See Ahmet Davutoğlu. "Principles of Turkish Foreign Policy", 7.
[271] Oğuzlu. "Türk Dış Politikasında Davudoğlu Dönemi", 46.
[272] Davutoğlu. "Turkey's Foreign Policy Vision: An Assessment of 2007", 79, and Davutoğlu. "Turkey's Zero-Problems Foreign Policy".

Kirişçi explains this principle as "to address and attempt to resolve bilateral problems and actively develop closer relations with the neighbors".[273] Other scholars place this principle into a wider framework, such as a new neighborhood policy of Turkey. For instance, Özgür Ünlühisarcıklı argues that the new foreign policy approach of the AKP governments includes the development of "a neighborhood policy which requires zero problems and maximum cooperation with neighbors"[274]. Bülent Aras thinks alike and writes that "Turkey's new neighborhood policy appropriated a vision of minimizing the problems in its neighboring regions, which has been called 'zero problem policy' by Davutoğlu himself, while avoiding involvement in international confrontations."[275] Although, there are several arguments on the novelty of this principle[276], it should be noted that these efforts can be considered as a continuation of the policy initiatives started during İsmail Cem's tenure. In his book, Cem writes by quoting his speech at the United Nations General Assembly in 1997 that:

> Improving our relations with our neighbors is another priority. When I took office, observing that we were not on best terms with several neighbors, I thought that some of the fault should lie with us. We thus adopted and declared the principle that if one positive step comes from the other party, we will respond by two.[277]

In a supplementary manner to the argument presented above, it is written by the European Stability Initiative experts that:

> Inspired by his conviction that "we need a Turkey that has friendly relations with the regions with which it shares history and culture,"

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[273] Kirişçi. "Turkey's Foreign Policy in Turbulent Times", 50.
[274] Özgür Ünlühisarcıklı. "EU, Turkey and Neighborhood Policies", *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, 8:3 (Fall 2009), 77.
[275] Aras. "Davutoğlu Era in Turkish Foreign Policy", 6.
[276] For example, Öniş and Yılmaz think that' zero problems towards neighbors' represents 'a deviation from the classical fixed positions of Turkish foreign policy'. For more information, see Öniş and Yılmaz. "Between Europeanization and Euro-Asianism: Foreign Policy Activism in Turkey during the AKP Era", 7-24.
[277] Cem. *Turkey in the New Century*, 58.

> Cem's "positive steps" diplomacy was to mark a profound change in Turkey's engagement with its neighbors. It was also a change that some in Ankara regarded with suspicion.[278]

The third operative principle is "'proactive and pre-emptive peace diplomacy', which aims to take measures before crises emerge and escalate to a critical level."[279] As a natural extension of the vision-oriented approach, Turkey will try to be active as much as possible in the maintenance of regional and global peace and stability, since the crises and conflicts around Turkey would have negative implications for domestic politics as well. Therefore, Turkey will intend to take all necessary measures to prevent the escalation of crises to a critical level and to bring them to a satisfactory solution for all parties involved with its effective intervention through peaceful means.

"The adherence to a multi-dimensional foreign policy" constitutes the fourth operational principle of Turkish foreign policy according to Davutoğlu. It can be claimed that what Davutoğlu means by this principle is that Turkey should have "compatible global relations"[280], meaning that the forthcoming relationships should not contradict with the existing ones and the initiatives of Turkey in increasing its alternative foreign policy options should not be understood as deviations. In Davutoğlu's words, "Turkey's relations with other global actors aim to be complementary, not in competition"[281]. It can be inferred from this statement that this principle is the display of the second methodological principle, 'consistent and systematic framework', on the ground.

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[278] "Turkish foreign policy: from status quo to soft power", European Stability Initiative, April 2009. Retrieved from http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/esi_picture_story_-_turkish_foreign_policy_-_april_2009.pdf

[279] Davutoğlu. "Turkey's Zero-Problems Foreign Policy".

[280] Davutoğlu. "Principles of Turkish Foreign Policy".

[281] Davutoğlu. "Turkey's Zero-Problems Foreign Policy".

"The 'rhythmic diplomacy', which aspires to provide Turkey with a more active role in international relations"[282] is the fifth operational principle of Turkish foreign policy put forward by Davutoğlu. It corresponds to the "active involvement in all global and international issues, in all international organizations"[283], which is compatible with the global vision of Turkey. Davutoğlu seems to confirm this claim by writing that "Turkey's aim is to intervene consistently in global issues using international platforms, which signifies a transformation for Turkey from a central country to a global power."[284] Öniş and Yılmaz explain this principle like this: "Turkey has tried to act within a framework of what Davutoğlu named 'rhythmic diplomacy,' pushing for a sustained pro-activism in the field of diplomacy, trying to achieve a more active role in international organizations, and opening up to new areas where Turkish contacts have been limited in the past"[285].

4.2 Soft Power in Turkish Foreign Policy during the AKP Era

In the light of the explanations provided about the foreign policy understanding of the AKP, this section will investigate the soft power strategies used by the AKP governments. The general theoretical framework which is used in the previous chapter will be utilized in this section as well.

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[282] Davutoğlu. "Turkey's Zero-Problems Foreign Policy".
[283] Davutoğlu. "Principles of Turkish Foreign Policy".
[284] Davutoğlu. "Turkey's Foreign Policy Vision: An Assessment of 2007", 83.
[285] Öniş and Yılmaz. "Between Europeanization and Euro-Asianism: Foreign Policy Activism in Turkey during the AKP Era", 12.

4.2.1 Benignity

Without repeating the points regarding benignity, the examples of multilateralism, peaceful foreign policy and peace promotion, and economic and humanitarian assistance efforts by the AKP governments will be presented in the following sections.

4.2.1.1 Multilateralism

It can be argued that taking part in multilateral initiatives, instituting new ones and increasing the effectiveness of Turkey in the multilateral organizations in which Turkey is already a member is a requisite for the global vision presented by the AKP governments, which wants to make Turkey a global power through increasing its effectiveness in the international arena. The multilateral efforts of the AKP governments can be collected under two broad headings: the initiation of novel multilateral organizations and the enhancement of Turkish position in the existing ones.

4.2.1.1.1 New Multilateral Dealings

One such fresh initiative is 'Iraq's Neighboring Countries Process' which was institutionalized in early 2003 with the meeting of foreign ministers of countries neighboring Iraq in İstanbul for the first time.[286] It is argued by several journalists that it was the-then Turkish Prime Minister Abdullah Gül who started this process in

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[286] The first meeting of foreign ministers of countries neighboring Iraq was held in İstanbul on 23 January 2003. The attendants were from Egypt, Iran, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Turkey. Kuwait was involved in the process with the second meeting in Damascus. Iraq participated in the process at the fifth gathering in Kuwait in 2004.

early 2003.[287] On this subject, it can be said that it was not a mere coincidence that this gathering was realized just after the visits of Gül together with Foreign Minister Yaşar Yakış to several Middle Eastern countries.[288] Although the initial aim of this process was to prevent the impending war in Iraq by convincing it to comply with the related UN requirements[289], it was turned into a forum where the participant countries declare their commitment to the territorial integrity of Iraq, devise policies for the reestablishment of stability and order in Iraq, and combine their strategies to help the Iraqi authorities in reconstruction efforts starting with the second gathering in Damascus on 2-3 November 2003. From that time on till early 2009, there convened nine official and three non-official summits of foreign ministers, five official meetings of interior ministers. In 2007, these regional meetings were broadened to include representatives from five members of the UN Security Council, the European Commission, the Organization of Islamic Conference, the Arab League and G-8 countries. The first expanded meeting of Iraq's neighbors was convened in Sharm el-Sheikh in May 2007. The second of these meetings was held in Istanbul in November of the same year. The last one was convened in April 2008 in Kuwait. According to Davutoğlu, "The meetings of the Extended Neighboring Countries of Iraq have made a serious contribution to the Iraqi question in the international arena. Turkey's efforts have not only helped to establish the legitimacy of the Iraqi government, but also paved way for Iraq to be not solely an American but an international issue to be dealt with within the framework of the United Nations."[290]

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[287] See for example, Hüsnü Mahalli. "Şam toplantısında PKK da konuşuldu.", *Yeni Şafak*, 3 November 2003.
[288] "Gul seeks peaceful solution to Iraq crisis in Mideast", *Turkish Daily News*, 6 January 2003.
[289] See "The Joint Declaration of Regional Initiative on Iraq", *Turkish Daily News*, 25 January 2003.
[290] Davutoğlu. "Turkey's Foreign Policy Vision: An Assessment of 2007", 84.

The second multilateral initiative is the 'Alliance of Civilizations'[291] which was developed in tandem with the Spanish government. Actually, it was the Spanish Prime Minister Zapatero who first proposed the initiative "between the Western and the Arab and Muslim world to the secretary general of the United Nations in his speech at the fifty-ninth UN General Assembly on September 21, 2004"[292]. Kofi Annan, the-then UN Secretary General supported the idea and proposed that a Muslim country should also be included in the process as a co-sponsor, and consequently the position was offered to Turkey because of its dual identity as an Islamic country culturally and a Western one politically, and its stance towards the global terrorism.[293] After negotiations, Turkey decided to support the initiative and the project was officially launched under the auspices of the UN on July 14, 2005. Then, the State Minister Mehmet Aydın became the co-chair of 'the group of wise men', which was established for drawing up an action plan that would determine the basic functions of an initiative launched by UN[294] Later on, "Turkey became a more vocal advocate of the project than even Spain, promoting it at numerous international platforms such as the EU General Affairs Council Meeting in March 2006, during the Arab League Summit on March 28, 2006, and at the World Economic Forum on May 20–21, 2006."[295] It can be argued that this initiative shows the ambitions of the AKP government in rejecting the clash of civilizations scenarios by highlighting the sui generis model of the Turkish state combining Islamic and Western elements. The following remarks of Prime Minister Erdoğan seem to confirm this argument:

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[291] For a detailed analysis, see Ali Balcı and Nebi Miş. "Turkey's Role in the Alliance of Civilizations: A New Perspective in Turkish Foreign Policy?", *Turkish Studies*, 9: 3 (2008), 387-406, and visit the website of the UNAOC, http://www.unaoc.org/
[292] Balcı and Miş. "Turkey's Role in the Alliance of Civilizations: A New Perspective in Turkish Foreign Policy?", 392.
[293] Balcı and Miş. "Turkey's Role in the Alliance of Civilizations: A New Perspective in Turkish Foreign Policy?", 392-393.
[294] "Alliance of Civilizations action plan to be ready in one year", *Turkish Daily News*, 16 July 2005.
[295] Öniş and Yılmaz. "Between Europeanization and Euro-Asianism: Foreign Policy Activism in Turkey during the AKP Era", 12.

"Turkey presents an important opportunity and is a model country which can negate the 'clash of civilizations' scenarios." According to Balcı and Miş, its importance lies in the fact that "Turkey has assumed the position of the spokesperson of Islamic world and for the first time has undertaken a pioneering role in a global initiative"[296].

The third area where the AKP governments participated in multilateral efforts is the Caucasus. In terms of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia, "Turkey initiated a trilateral process of dialogue among the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, Armenia and Azerbaijan – the first meeting was held in Reykjavik in May 2002, followed by many other such meetings, one of the last taking place in New York in September 2008."[297] It should be mentioned that the process started with the initiatives of İsmail Cem, who "suggested Turkey hold trilateral talks with troubled neighbor Armenia and close ally Azerbaijan to help solving the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict"[298], but the AKP government has embraced the issue and worked for the continuation of the talks between these countries. However, the main multilateral initiative proposed by the AKP government in this region is the 'Caucasus Stability and Cooperation Platform'. Although the process of forming such an institution began well before the AKP term[299], the project re-emerged following the Russian-Georgian conflict in 2008. The project was aired by Prime Minister Erdoğan during his visits to Moscow and Tbilisi. This multilateral

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[296] Balcı and Miş. "Turkey's Role in the Alliance of Civilizations: A New Perspective in Turkish Foreign Policy?", 400.

[297] Adam Szymanski. "Turkey's Potential Added Value to the EU: Resolution of Regional Conflicts", *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, 8:3 (Fall 2009), 130-131.

[298] "Cem proposes Armenia, Azerbaijan and Turkey talk over Karabakh". Agence France-Presse (AFP), 17 February 2001. Retrieved from http://www2.reliefweb.int/rw/RWB.NSF/eacea085bacc7974c1256ec40042c62b/0bb94fbab8feecd4c12569f800382ce3?OpenDocument

[299] The project of establishing a Stability Pact for the South Caucasus was first floated by regional leaders at the 1999 Istanbul summit of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). See, Ahto Lobjakas. "South Caucasus: Prospects For Regional Stability Pact Recede", http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1068369.html, and Natalie Tocci. "The Stability Pact Inititatives: Reactions and Perspectives", http://www.ceri-sciencespo.com/archive/june01/tocci.pdf

mechanism is designed to include Russia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Turkey and "to tackle common security, economic and energy security issues; be based on the principles of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe or OSCE; and resolve common problems in the region before their emergence to avoid further crises"[300]. According to Aras, the Turkish initiative was welcomed by other organizations as well. He writes that: "The EU gave the green light to this initiative, and the EU progress report on Turkey's accession negotiations positively mentioned the project. NATO supported the platform as a constructive step for security in the wider Black Sea region with reference to Turkey's constructive policy line during the crisis."[301] These remarks can be considered as the proof of Turkish multilateral initiatives' having a sound effect in the regional and global politics.

4.2.1.1.2 Increasing Effectiveness in Multilateral Settings

As a result of the intentions of the AKP governments to raise the regional and international reputation of Turkey, Turkey has started to work for increasing its influence in the multilateral organizations and institutions of which it is a member. The most important achievement in this regard can be argued to gain the non-permanent seat at the UN Security Council. Turkey occupied this position for three times before for a total of 5 years in 1951-52, 1954-55 and 1961. However, the fact that Turkey could not serve as a temporary member in the Security Council for almost 50 years shows the inability of Turkey to play a role in the world politics. In order to put an end to this situation, Turkey applied for full membership for the 2009-2010 council term on July 21, 2003 and actively worked to get the seat. As a

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[300] "Erdoğan on promotion tour for Caucasus idea", *Turkish Daily News*, 15 August 2008.
[301] Aras. "Davutoğlu Era in Turkish Foreign Policy", 13.

result of the Turkish efforts in this vein,[302] Turkey won a seat as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council in the election held on October 17, 2008 by getting 151 votes out of 192 at the General Assembly. Turkey is now "chairing three critical commissions concerning Afghanistan, North Korea, and the fight against terror"[303]. It should be noted here that the establishment of relations with the countries in Africa, South America and the Pacific has enabled Turkey to win the seat.[304] Therefore, it can be argued that Turkish openings to the previously neglected areas in line with the multidimensional approach of the AKP governments have paid off.

Another important development is witnessed in the Organization of the Islamic Conference. The election of Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, a Turkish academic, as the Secretary General of the OIC on 16 June 2004 is significant in terms of three points. First of all, it was the first time in the organization's 35 years of history that the Secretary General of the organization was determined with the democratic election process through the initiatives of Turkey. Until that time, the Secretary General was decided through compromise. In other words, İhsanoğlu is the first by-vote-elected Secretary General of the OIC.[305] Secondly, it was also the first time that a Turkish candidate was assigned to the post.[306] Yaşar Yakış, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs was also nominated for the post, however, he decided to withdraw and support the previous Secretary General of the organization, Abdelouahed Belkeziz.[307] Thirdly, the OIC is the second biggest international organization after

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[302] See for example, Hasan Kanbolat. "Turkey's bid for membership on UN Security Council", *Today's Zaman*, 27 December 2007.

[303] Davutoğlu. "Turkey's Zero-Problems Foreign Policy".

[304] Akif Kireçci. "Turkey in the United Nations Security Council", *SETA Policy Brief*, 28, (January 2009), 4.

[305] See http://www.oic-oci.org/page_detail.asp?p_id=58

[306] Hilal Köylü. "İKÖ'ye ilk Türk Genel Sekreter", *Radikal*, 16 June 2004.

[307] "Türkiye, Prof. İhsanoğlu ile İslam Konferansı Örgütü'ne çağ atlatacak", *Zaman*, 16 June 2004.

the United Nations with its 57 members and it is the world's largest Muslim body.[308] It means that Turkey is accepted to represent and lead this huge organization by the Muslim community in the world. Altunışık asserts on that issue that: "The election of a Turkish secretary general, Ekmelleddin Ihsanoglu, to the Organization of the Islamic Conference, was a sign of Turkey's improved standing among the governments of the Islamic world."[309]

One of the recent developments is the election of Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, an Antalya deputy for the ruling AKP, to the position of the president of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe on 25 January 2010. Çavuşoğlu is the first Turkish president in the body's 61-year history and will hold the post for next two years. It is generally commented by Turkish scholars and journalists that Çavuşoğlu's election confirms the Europeanness of Turkey. For instance, Erhan Akdemir from the Ankara University European Union Research Center said that "It provides significant evidence that Turkey is part of Europe. A Turk will head a European institution."[310] It is also significant in terms of portraying the effectiveness of Turkish foreign policy in the European politics.

Another example of increasing Turkish effectiveness in multilateral settings has been witnessed very recently in the Asian continent. Turkey now holds the Chairmanship of CICA, Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia,[311] for the next two years effective from 8 June 2010 till 2012. CICA is a multi-national forum for enhancing cooperation towards promoting peace, security and stability in Asia which was established with the initiatives of the

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[308] "Ihsanoglu: Good pick for post" and "Turkey wins hard battle for OIC leadership", *Turkish Daily News*, 17 June 2004.
[309] Altunışık. "The Turkish Model and Democratization in the Middle East", 58.
[310] Döndü Sarıışık. "Turkish parliamentarian elected president of PACE", *Hürriyet Daily News*, 25 January 2010.
[311] For more information, see CICA website at http://www.s-cica.org/page.php?lang=1.

President of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev in 1992. It has 22 member states located in the Middle East and Asia. The Turkish Chairmanship of CICA is important because it signifies that Turkey does not ignore, disregard the Asian continent and tries to have a say in the regional politics of Asia as well.

Other efforts of Turkish government in terms the augmenting effectiveness at the multilateral initiatives can be summarized well by Davutoğlu's own statements:

> Turkey undertook the chairmanship-in-office of the South-East European Cooperation Process, a forum for dialogue among Balkan states and their immediate neighbors, for 2009 and 2010. Turkey is also a member of G-20, maintains observer status in the African Union, has a strategic dialogue mechanism with the Gulf Cooperation Council, and actively participates in the Arab League.[312]

Another dimension related to multilateralism is the hosting of international and regional summit meetings in Turkey. On this matter, Meltem Müftüler-Baç and Yaprak Gürsoy contend that "Turkey has participated in and hosted several international meetings with an attempt to 'gain […] more influence in international organizations'."[313] The examples in this regard include the summits of the OECD, the OIC and NATO in June 2004. Also, Kireçci provides a good account of summit meetings convened in Turkey. The examples provided by Kireçci cover the summit between Turkey and the member states of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) which was held on August 21-23 2008, "The First Africa-Turkey Cooperation Summit" between 18-21 August 2008, and the United Nations Ministerial

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[312] Davutoğlu. "Turkey's Zero-Problems Foreign Policy".
[313] Meltem Müftüler-Baç and Yaprak Gürsoy. "Is there an Europeanization of Turkish Foreign Policy? An Addendum to the Literature on EU Candidates", *RECON Online Working Paper* 2009/15 (December 2009), 10.

Conference of the Least Developed Countries which took place in Istanbul July 9–11, 2007.[314]

At the same time, Turkey has renewed its multilateral efforts in the Central Asia. In this sense, the tenth Turkish Congress was held in Antalya in 18-20 September 2006. This reflects a renewed effort to revive the relations with the Central Asian countries since the last congress was held in 2001. Similarly, the summit of Turkic-speaking countries, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkey, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, was convened in November the same year. At the latest gathering of this initiative in Nakhchivan last October, the participating states decided to institutionalize the project by establishing a permanent council. According to the agreement signed at the end of the meeting, it was determined that the following institutions will be set up: the Turkic-speaking Countries Cooperation Council, the permanent secretariat to be based in İstanbul, Turkic-speaking Countries' Heads of State Council, Turkic-speaking Countries' Foreign Ministers Council, Senior Officials Council and a Wise Men Delegation.[315]

4.2.1.2 Peaceful Foreign Policy and Peace Promotion

It is mentioned in the previous section that 'zero problems with the neighbors' has been one of the operative principles of Turkish foreign policy defined by Davutoğlu. In this section, the illustrations of this attitude will be provided.

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[314] Kireçci. "Turkey in the United Nations Security Council", 4, 6.
[315] Süleyman Kurt. "Turkic world to put ties in institutional framework in Nakhchivan", *Today's Zaman*, 3 October 2009, and "Turkic Speaking Countries Cooperation Council to be established", *Hürriyet Daily News*, 2 October 2009.

First of all, Turkey has started to take up a reconcilable attitude towards its neighbors with which Turkey has enduring problems. The most important change in this regard has been experienced in the Cyprus dispute. With the AKP governments, Turkey has abandoned the passive policy of 'deadlock is a solution' and embraced a "we will always be a step ahead of the Greeks" attitude.[316] This attitude has boldly manifested itself in Turkish support for the Annan Plan prepared under the auspices of the UN, which calls for a 'bi-communal, bi-zonal federation'[317]. However, the rejection of the plan by the Greek Cypriots has resulted in the perpetuation of the existing situation in the island.

A second development has been witnessed in Turkey's relations with Armenia. Due to the problems between these two countries about the so-called "Armenian genocide" and the occupation of Azerbaijani's Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and seven adjacent districts by Armenia, these two neighbors were not on good terms for a long time. However, the "zero problems" principle has pushed Turkey to normalize its relations with Armenia. As a reflection of this, the relations began to improve from 2008 onwards. The visit of Turkish President Abdullah Gül to Armenia on 6 September 2008 for the football match between Turkey and Armenia for the World Cup qualifying round marked the beginning of the rapprochement between the countries. In the words of Nona Mikhelidze:

> The Turkish-Armenia rapprochement began in September 2008 with the so-called "soccer diplomacy", when Turkey's President Abdullah Gül travelled to Yerevan and attended a soccer match between the two countries' national teams. Later Armenian President Serzh Sargsyan

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[316] Levent Köker. "Solution process in Cyprus should pick up from where Talat left off", *Today's Zaman*, 9 May 2010.
[317] Heyecan Veziroğlu. "Can EU and Turkey Break the Deadlock in Cyprus?", *TurkishLife News*, 26 May 2010.

became the first Armenian leader who visited Turkey in order to attend the return soccer match.[318]

From that time on, the two countries have taken several steps to further their relationship. For instance, on 22 April 2009, the two countries announced that they had initiated a "roadmap" setting out the parameters for formalizing ties.[319] As a consequence of the negotiations conducted in line with the roadmap, "On October 10, 2009 Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu and his Armenian counterpart Edward Nalbandian signed two historical documents – the "Protocol on the establishment of diplomatic relations" and the "Protocol on the development of bilateral relations"."[320] According to these protocols, both countries will work for "the enhancement of trade, economic and cultural relations especially in the framework of international (UN, the OSCE, the Council of Europe, the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council) and regional (BSEC) organizations. Furthermore both parties have undertaken the commitment to "make the best possible use of existing transport, communications and energy infrastructure and networks."[321] However, these documents are still waiting to be ratified, which prevents the achievement of stable relations between these countries.

The conclusion of bilateral agreements with neighboring countries[322] and the establishment of high-level strategic council meetings with Iraq, Syria, Greece and

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[318] Nona Mikhelidze. "The Turkish-Armenian Rapprochement at the Deadlock", Istituto Affari Internazionali, Documenti 10:5 (March 2010), 3
[319] Amberin Zaman. "Turkey and Armenia: Soccer Diplomacy Shifting Rules are Creating a Zero-Sum Game", German Marshall Fund of the United States, *On Turkey Series*, 31 August 2009.
[320] Mikhelidze. "The Turkish-Armenian Rapprochement at the Deadlock", 2.
[321] Mikhelidze. "The Turkish-Armenian Rapprochement at the Deadlock", 3
[322] For example, Turkey has signed 48 agreements with Iraq and 51 agreements with Syria in 2009.

Russia[323] can also be considered as indications of peaceful foreign policy of Turkey. According to Davutoğlu, "There are also preparations to establish similar mechanisms with Bulgaria, Azerbaijan and Ukraine as well as other neighboring countries."[324] At the same time, the lifting of visa requirements can be considered as signs of benevolent approach embraced by Turkish state. Davutoğlu has noted, on this issue, that "Turkey abolished visa requirements with, among others, Syria, Tajikistan, Albania, Lebanon, Jordan, Libya and Russia."[325] One of the very recent developments in this regard occurred in the Turkish-Arab Cooperation Forum (TAC), organized in early June this year. The signing of an agreement calling for the establishment of free trade zone among Turkey, Syria, Lebanon and Jordan can be considered as a contribution to the regional peace initiatives of Turkey. According to the joint political declaration, it has been agreed that a "Quadripartite High Level Cooperation Council" and a zone of free movement of goods and persons among the four countries mentioned will be established.[326]

Turkey has also ameliorated its record on international mediation efforts during the AKP era. According to some commentators and the AKP officials, it is a responsibility bestowed upon the Turkish state to contribute to the regional peace and stability. Ünlühisarcıklı, for example, argues that "Turkey's historical and cultural ties with countries and peoples in the Balkans, Caucasus, Central Asia and Middle East provide Turkey with the opportunity and responsibility to play the role of a

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[323] The first meeting of the Turkey-Iraq High Level Strategic Cooperation Council was held in Istanbul on September 17-18, 2009, The first meeting of the Turkey-Syria High Level Strategic Cooperation Council of Ministers in Halab and Gaziantep on October 13, 2009. The Councils with Greece and Russia were set up last May.
[324] Davutoğlu. "Turkey's Zero-Problems Foreign Policy".
[325] Davutoğlu. "Turkey's Zero-Problems Foreign Policy".
[326] Joint Political Declaration on the Establishment of the High Level Cooperation Council among Turkey, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon. Retrieved from http://www.mfa.gov.tr/joint-political-declaration-on-the-esthablishement-of-the-high-level-cooperation-council-among-turkey_-syria_-jordan-and-lebanon.en.mfa

mediator in regional conflicts and contribute to peace and stability."[327] Therefore, Turkey has actively been involved in mediation efforts in the Israeli-Palestinian, the Israeli-Syrian disputes and recently on Iranian nuclear program. In terms of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Natalie Tocci and Joshua Walker argue, Ankara tried to mediate twice. They write:

> The first was over a prisoners' exchange deal in the aftermath of the capture of Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit in June 2006. Then Turkish Prime Minister advisor Ahmet Davutoğlu travelled to Damascus several times to broker a deal. [….] The second instance of Turkish mediation with Hamas was during Operation Cast Lead in December 2008-January 2009. Egypt played a crucial role, yet the well-known difficulties between Hamas and the Egyptian regime also opened a space for Turkey. Davutoğlu readily used it by holding two meetings with Hamas leader Meshal and shuttling between Damascus and Cairo in order to secure a ceasefire by Hamas in return for an Israeli ceasefire and the lifting of Israel's closure of Gaza. French President Nicolas Sarkozy, appreciated Turkey's called for Turkey's role. Following the end of the Israeli offensive, Turkey's efforts were openly praised by the Arab League, Syria, France and the European Union.[328]

As an addendum to these initiatives, Szymanski mentions the direct talks between the leaders of two conflicting parties. In the words of him:

> President Mahmud Abbas and Prime Minister Ehud Olmert traveled to Turkey on 12-13 November 2007, just prior to the summit in Annapolis (27 November 2007), which Turkey also participated. For the first time ever, they were invited together to the presidential palace by the Turkish head of state. They took part in the Ankara Forum for Economic Cooperation, during which they signed a declaration where they expressed their support for the actions of Turkish private

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[327] Ünlühisarcıklı. "EU, Turkey and Neighborhood Policies", 77.
[328] Natalie Tocci and Joshua Walker. "The sea change in Turkey's middle eastern policy", *openDemocracy*, 16 March 2010.

enterprises on the territory of the Palestinian Autonomy and the new Tarkumia industrial zone in the West Bank.[329]

The main mediation efforts of Turkey have been realized in terms of the Israeli-Syrian dispute. Turkey played the role of a facilitator between these two countries by carrying messages to each party about their willingness to restart talks. For example, "Following his conversation with the Syrian president, the AKP conveyed information about the Syrian desire to revive peace talks with the Israeli ambassador in Ankara, Pinhas Avivi."[330] However, the real achievement came in mid-2008 with the personal initiatives of Prime Minister Erdoğan. After his visit to Damascus and a subsequent telephone call with Ehud Olmert in late April, both countries agreed to resume talks under Turkish mediation.[331] In the end of these efforts, "Israeli and Syrian authorities declared on May 21 that they started indirect talks under the supervision of Turkish diplomats in Istanbul."[332] As a result, "between May 2008 and December 2008 four rounds of official indirect talks via Turkish shuttle diplomacy took place."[333] While the direct talks between these two parties were on the verge of installment[334], the Israeli attack on Gaza strip in the last days of 2008 put an end to this process.[335] Recently, Davutoğlu stated that "Turkey is ready to try again to broker a peace agreement between Israel and Syria if they agree to resume the stalled initiative" [336] in January this year.

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[329] Szymanski. "Turkey's Potential Added Value to the EU: Resolution of Regional Conflicts", 132.
[330] Szymanski. "Turkey's Potential Added Value to the EU: Resolution of Regional Conflicts", 132.
[331] "Turkish PM meets Assad to discuss Syrian-Israeli peace mediation", *Turkish Daily News*, 26 April 2008, and "Peace efforts initiated with Erdoğan-Olmert phone call", *Turkish Daily News*, 1 May 2008.
[332] Bülent Aras. "Turkey between Syria and Israel: Turkey's Rising Soft Power", *SETA Policy Brief*, 15 (May 2008), 5.
[333] Tocci and Walker. "The sea change in Turkey's middle eastern policy", 1.
[334] "Olmert presses for direct talks with Syria", *Today's Zaman*, 24 December 2008
[335] Tocci and Walker. "The sea change in Turkey's middle eastern policy", 1.
[336] "Turkey offers to resume Israel-Syria mediation", *Tehran Times*, 31 January 2010.

As a recent initiative, Turkey has increased its efforts to mediate between Iran and the Western world on the issue of Iranian nuclear program. Turkey has declared its willingness to play a mediator role in this dispute through the statements of President Abdullah Gül, Prime Minister Erdoğan and Foreign Minister Davutoğlu.[337] However, the last attempt developed in tandem with Brazil seems to be the most ambitious initiative in this regard. In this regard, the signing of a tripartite agreement between Brazil, Turkey and Iran on the issue of uranium swap, in which Iran has accepted to "ship most of its low enriched uranium out of the country in exchange for higher enriched non-weapon grade fuel rods used for research in cancer treatment",[338] on 17 May 2010 is significant in terms of showing the effectiveness of Turkish mediation efforts.

Turkish mediation efforts are not confined solely in the areas mentioned above. Turkey has also been very active in working to bring about satisfactory solutions to the conflicts in the Balkans and the Southeast Asia. For instance, Turkey has been mediating between Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to achieve a durable peace with regard to the long-enduring Bosnian dispute coming from the early 1990s. The process was initiated by Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu, who brought together the foreign ministers of both countries in October 2009 for the first time. From then on, ministerial meetings have continued and the process has been turned into a Balkan Summit. The Trilateral Balkan Summit was convened in İstanbul with the participation of the Presidents and Foreign Ministers of Turkey, Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina on April 24, 2010. It has been regarded as a

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[337] See Sabrina Tavernise. "Turkey volunteers to mediate U.S.-Iran talks", *The New York Times*, 12 November 2008, "Turkey offers to mediate between Iran, West over nuclear talks", *BBC News*, 20 April 2010.

[338] Chandra Muzaffar. "Nuclear Energy: The Brazil-Turkey-Iran Initiative". 22 May 2010. Retrieved from http://www.countercurrents.org/muzaffar230510.htm

historic move since the President of Serbia and its Bosnian counterpart came together for the first time as a result of the initiatives of Turkey.[339]

A similar initiative was launched between Turkey, Afghanistan and Pakistan in April 2007. The tripartite summit was held upon the invitation of former Turkish President Ahmet Necdet Sezer, following the visit of the-then Turkish Foreign Minister Abdullah Gül to Islamabad, extended to Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf and Afghan President Hamid Karzai to visit Ankara, which has signaled the pioneering role of Turkey in the initiative. From that time on, four rounds of tripartite talks have been held.[340] In a recent document emerged after the trilateral meeting of foreign ministers, the importance of the summit process has been mentioned as such:

> The Ministers of Foreign Affairs recalled the invaluable contribution of the Trilateral Summit Process as a robust platform, since its launch on 30 April 2007, in furthering the multi-dimensional dialogue and cooperation among the three countries for their peoples' as well as their region's benefit. They underscored the importance of the Trilateral Summit Process as a useful mechanism to develop, implement and oversee cooperation in a broad range of issues including, among others, trade, economy, including support to private sector interaction, education, security and intelligence. They further emphasized the added value brought by the Trilateral Summit Process in facilitating exchanges among parliamentarians, high-level government officials, members of the armed forces, intelligence circles and businesspersons.[341]

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[339] "Balkan nations bury enmities in historic İstanbul summit", *Today's Zaman*, 26 April 2010, and Erhan Türbedar. "Trilateral Balkan Summit in İstanbul", TEPAV, 3 May 2010.

[340] The first of the summits was held in Ankara on April 1, 2007, the second in İstanbul on December 6, 2008, the third in Ankara on April 30, 2009 and the last in İstanbul on January 25, 2010.

[341] Joint Statement Adopted at the Conclusion of the Trilateral Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Republc of Turkey, 7 June 2010. Retrieved from http://www.mfa.gov.tr/joint-statement-07062010.en.mfa

4.2.1.3 Economic and Humanitarian Assistance

In line with the ameliorating economic conditions of the country, Turkish economic and humanitarian efforts have boomed in the AKP era as well. In the AKP election manifesto of 2007, it is stated that as a result of the increased level of Turkish foreign aid and the commencement of the recording of these aids according to the international standards, Turkey has been given the title of 'donor country' by the UN and the OECD. Similarly, Abdullah Gül, in one of his speeches, has stated:

> [..] extending from Asia to Africa, Turkey is an appreciated country in terms of the humanitarian and technical aid it provides. I just want you to note that once Turkey was the recipient country. I would like to remind you that today Turkey is in the club of aiders and has made donations totaling one billion dollars just in terms of humanitarian aid.[342]

As a supportive document, in the monthly newsletter UNDP Turkey, New Horizons, it is stated that: "Turkey has come a long way in terms of development aid. These aids, achieved through rapidly increasing budgets, have greatly contributed to Turkey's emerging role as a donor."[343] When the statistics of the OECD-DAC (Development Assistance Committee) is reviewed, the rising amount of Turkish aid can be easily realized. (See Table 3).

Dataset: ODA by Donor								
Donor	Turkey							
Amount type	Current Prices (USD millions)							
Aid type	I. ODA							
Flow type	Net Disbursements							
Year	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
	72,97	66,63	339,15	601,04	714,21	602,24	780,36	718,2

Table 3. Turkish Official Development Assistance between 2002 and 2009.
Source: OECD DAC, http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DatasetCode=ODA_DONOR

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[342] Abdullah Gül. "Turkish Foreign Policy in the New Era", Lecture at USAK, 16 December 2009.
[343] "Turkey as an emerging donor". *New Horizons*, 46 (October 2009).

When Table 3 is analyzed, it can be clearly noticed that Turkish ODA (official development assistance) has increased ten-fold between 2002 and 2009. It should be pointed out that this period also corresponds to the time section when the AKP has been in power in Turkey.

It should be emphasized that Turkish foreign aid does not only consist of official development assistance. In an interview with the president of TIKA, Musa Kulaklıkaya has noted that "Turkish foreign aid from both private and public sources totaled $3 billion last year."[344] Kulaklıkaya has also reported that "Turkey's humanitarian assistance, reconstruction aid and technical support programs have helped 131 countries so far."[345] The last point he made is of importance in terms of showing the global reach of Turkish foreign aid initiatives. Moreover, it should be mentioned here that TIKA has 23 liaison offices in 20 countries and there are plans on the way to augment this number. Recently, "the State Minister Faruk Çelik said the agency was working to raise its project coordination offices in 23 countries to 30."[346] Another initiative displaying Turkish effectiveness in the global development assistance community is mentioned by Kulaklıkaya in another interview of him. Kulaklıkaya has said that: "There's even a policy dialogue on development and cooperation started through our initiative which aims to host conferences to establish policies between DAC members and non-members. The first one was hosted in Istanbul in 2006. The 4th one will be hosted in Mexico, September 28-29 this year."[347]

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[344] Abdullah Bozkurt. "TİKA boosts Turkey's international standing through aid projects", *Today's Zaman*, 22 May 2009.
[345] Bozkurt. "TİKA boosts Turkey's international standing through aid projects".
[346] "Turkish Government Plans to Review Tika Law", *The Journal of Turkish Weekly*, 22 January 2010.
[347] "Turkey as an emerging donor". *New Horizons*, 46 (October 2009).

The Central Asia and the Caucasus comes first in the allocation of Turkish official development assistance. According to Hakan Fidan, "sixty per cent of Turkey's US$702 million in development aid in 2007 was allocated to Central Asia and the Caucasus."[348] There are two places deserves a deeper explanation. The first one is Afghanistan. According to the TIKA Report of 2008, Afghanistan is the country which received the highest level development assistance from Turkey with a figure of USD 141.96 million.[349] One of the examples of aid provided to Afghanistan is mentioned by Aydemir Erman, Turkey's former envoy to Afghanistan. Erman contends: "Since 2006, the Turkish government has spent $20 million in the province funding a police training academy, building schools, restoring a mosque and setting up a medical clinic."[350] It should also be mentioned that Turkey has been actively providing emergency aid after natural disasters. For instance, Turkey has aided Pakistan, Indonesia, Haiti, etc. Turkey provided USD 2.68 million in emergency aid to Pakistan alone, allocated 8.62% of the total 2008 emergency aid budget to this country.[351] Also, Pakistan comes second after Afghanistan when the total amount of Turkish assistance is evaluated on a country basis.[352]

Palestine can be suggested as an example of the sensitivity of Turkish people and their contribution to humanitarian assistance efforts. According to the data of the Turkish Red Crescent Society, a total of 2.285 tons humanitarian assistance supplies were sent to Gaza after the Israeli attack in late 2008.[353] The total amount of aids

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[348] Fidan. "Turkish foreign policy towards Central Asia", 118.
[349] 2008 Turkish Development Assistance Report, 23.
[350] Aydemir Erman. "How Turkey's Soft Power Can Aid NATO in Afghanistan", *New Perspectives Quarterly*, 27:2 (Spring 2010), 40.
[351] 2008 Turkish Development Assistance Report, 10.
[352] See Graphic 21 in 2008 Turkish Development Assistance Report, 23.
[353] Türk Kızılayı Gazze İnsani Yardım Operasyonu Bilgi Notu. Retrieved from http://www.kizilay.org.tr/dosyalar/1252485847_Turk_Kizilayi_Guncel_Bilgi_Notu_Gazze_09_09_2009.pdf

gathered was above 63 million Turkish liras on 2 February 2009 in almost a month of time from the beginning of the attack, according to the news.[354]

In terms of the reactions to Turkish assistance efforts, it can be said that they are generally welcomed. In order to give an example, the following quotation from Erman would be of enormous help.

> Halim Fedai, the governor of Wardak province, has said: "The Turkish programs are very well received and readily accepted by Afghans because they work within Afghan culture. They are sensitive to Afghan values. We have very good, strong, historical relationships with Turkey." [355]

4.2.2 Brilliance

In this section, the issue of brilliance in the sense provided in the theoretical chapter and put into usage in the previous chapter will be analyzed for the period when the AKP has been ruling the country. Therefore, the issues will be dealt with under the headings of economic development and political maturity.

4.2.2.1 Economic Development

It has been generally asserted that Turkey has become the most developed country in its region as a result of the economic reforms gaining pace under the AKP rule. Sedat Laçiner, for instance, gives all credit to the AKP governments on this manner. He says in an interview: "Turkish economy, in terms of trade, direct Turkish investments, foreign investments in Turkey, tourism, industrial production etc., has

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[354] "Gazze'ye Yardımlar 63 Milyon TL'yi Aştı." Retrieved from
http://www.trt.net.tr/haber/HaberDetay.aspx?HaberKodu=167bd5c5-0168-416e-a70c-8ba8062eab89
[355] Erman. "How Turkey's Soft Power Can Aid NATO in Afghanistan", 40.

boomed in the last five-six years."[356] Similarly Öniş and Yılmaz give several examples of the success of the AKP governments by writing that:

> […]the economy has also become stronger during the AKP era. The 1990s-style foreign policy activism had been hampered by the chronic instability of the Turkish economy and recurrent financial crises. Under the AKP, given the party's strong commitment to monetary and fiscal discipline, inflation has been reduced to single-digit levels and significant growth has been generated.[357]

Turkey has been defined in the top-20 economies of the world by several scholars and journalists as well. For example, Gökhan Türk thinks that Turkey has the 16th largest economy in the world[358], while Cengiz Çandar classifies Turkey as the 15th largest economy in the world and the 7th in Europe. Laçiner, in another occasion, compares the level of Turkish economic development with other Muslim countries and concludes that "Turkey is the biggest economy among Muslim countries in the world."[359] Fuat Keyman, in a similar vein, claims that Turkey is one of the important, but not pivotal, emerging market economies of today's economic globalization with its dynamic economy, recursive growth rates and young population.[360] The economic development of Turkey under the AKP governments has also attracted the attention of foreign thinkers. Matein Khalid, who defines Turkey as 'the Anatolian tiger' and 'an emerging economic powerhouse in the Islamic world', makes one of the comprehensive comments on the success of the AKP's economic policies. Khalid argues that:

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[356] Kaitlin MacKenzie. "'Turkish Soft Power Changes Middle East'", Interview with Sedat Laçiner, *The Journal of Turkish Weekly*, 12 November 2009.

[357] Öniş and Yılmaz. "Between Europeanization and Euro-Asianism: Foreign Policy Activism in Turkey during the AKP Era", 19.

[358] Gökhan Türk. "Türkiye'nin Yumuşak Güç Potansiyeli".

[359] Sedat Laçiner. "Turkey's New Middle Eastern Approach". Retrieved from http://www.usak.org.tr/EN/makale.asp?id=890

[360] Fuat Keyman. "Globalization, modernity and democracy: In search of a viable domestic polity for a sustainable Turkish foreign policy", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 40 (2009), 18.

Economic reform has underwritten Turkey's spectacular return to grace on the international stage. Erdogan's government slashed inflation into single digits for the first time in modern history, reengineered a historic currency reforms that saw the lira lose five zeros against the dollar, committed Ankara to EU mandated reform on subsidies and competition, and, above all, attracted $80 billion in FDI, more foreign investment than all his predecessors had managed since the establishment of the Turkish Republic.[361]

Still however, there are voices that Turkey should be cautious about the potential problems it might face in the coming years in terms of its economic development process. For example, Keyman points out the deficit of the Turkish economy in making itself a sustainable economy in terms of its success in human development.[362] Öniş and Yılmaz warn Turkey on this matter by recording that:

In spite of recent improvements in overall economic performance and the growing strength of Turkish private capital, elements of vulnerability still remain. The presence of a large current account deficit and the heavy dependence of the growth process on large inflows of external capital and favorable global liquidity conditions suggest that there might be problems in terms of sustaining the high growth generated during the early part of the decade.[363]

In addition to the points raised by Öniş and Yılmaz, it can be argued that Turkish economy has still been suffering from various structural economic problems as well. For example, the income distribution has not been achieved in a fair manner. The income gap between the rich and the poor continues to augment. Moreover, GNI (Gross National Income) per capita is less than expected from a country like Turkey which is argued to be the 17th largest economy in the world.

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[361] Matein Khalid. "Transformation of Turkey", *Tehran Times*, 25 May 2010.
[362] Fuat Keyman. "Turkish Foreign Policy in the Era of Global Turmoil", *SETA Policy Brief,* 39 (December 2009), 4.
[363] Öniş and Yılmaz. "Between Europeanization and Euro-Asianism: Foreign Policy Activism in Turkey during the AKP Era", 19-20.

4.2.2.2 Political Maturity

In terms of the maturity of the political life in Turkey, the AKP's coming to power, itself, has been regarded as a clear illustration, since the AKP has been considered as the heir/successor of the Islamist tradition in Turkish domestic politics after the Virtue Party (Fazilet Partisi, in Turkish) was banned from politics in 2001. Such a thought seems reasonable because the AKP has been founded by the former MPs of the Virtue Party. However, it was the reformist wing of the Virtue Party who established the AKP, while the traditionalist wing within the Virtue Party came up with the another political party called the Felicity Party (Saadet Partisi, in Turkish).

Altunışık thinks that the AKP's coming to power in Turkey is an asset for two reasons. The first one is that 'it demonstrates the evolution of the Islamist movement in Turkey', and the second reason, according to her, is that it presents 'the potential for reconciling democracy and Islam'.[364] Altunışık, also, claims that there has occurred a favorable change in the perceptions of the Arabs on Turkey due to the AKP's coming to power.[365] In another article, Altunışık comments on the AKP's coming to power as such:

> The AKP's coming to power has also become an asset for the Turkish model as it demonstrated the reconciliation of a party with Islamist roots with democracy and secularism. Thus the Turkish experience seems to lend support to the argument that the Islamic movements can be moderated through democracy.[366]

In a similar vein, Elie Podeh writes that: "The coming to power of the Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AKP) in November 2002

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[364] Altunışık. "The Possibilities and Limits of Turkey's Soft Power in the Middle East", 44.
[365] Altunışık. "The Possibilities and Limits of Turkey's Soft Power in the Middle East", 47.
[366] Altunışık. "The Turkish Model and Democratization in the Middle East", 56.

eventually seemed to be an auspicious event, demonstrating that Islamic movements could be moderated through democracy."[367] Podeh expands this argument by saying that:

> Arab and Muslim thinkers and politicians began to portray Turkey as a model to be imitated, particularly with regard to three issues: its moderate version of Islam; reforms; and democracy.
>
> The importance of the Turkish model, according to this thinking, is derived from the fact that it showed Arabs and Muslims that Islam, modernization, and democracy are not necessarily incompatible concepts […].[368]

Also, Dr. Mustafa Ellabbad, the Director of Alshaq Center for Regional and Strategic Studies in Cairo, says regarding the changing Turkish perception in the Arab world that: "Turkey's image is much better than it was only one decade ago. So many factors are playing a role here; coming to power of the AK Party, the collapse of Arab imagination of the Middle East, the rising of Turkey and emergence of a Turkish model played role."[369] As a supplementary, Ellabbad says that "Arabs also appreciates Turkish modern power to rotation since there was no political process in Arab countries like in Turkey where opposition was coming to power."[370]

The Tezkere crisis (the Bill/Motion crisis), in which Turkey did not allow the US to station its troops on Turkish soil to open a northern front to Iraq in March 2003, has also been seen as a reflection of the political maturity and resulted in a change in the perception of Turkey especially in the Middle East. The decision of the

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[367] Elie Podeh. "'The Final Fall of the Ottoman Empire': Arab Discourse over Turkey's Accession to the European Union", *Turkish Studies*, 8: 3 (2007), 323.
[368] Podeh. "'The Final Fall of the Ottoman Empire': Arab Discourse over Turkey's Accession to the European Union", 323.
[369] Arzu Turgut. "Turkey Is a Regional Power", Interview with Dr. Mustafa Ellabbad, *The Journal of Turkish Weekly*, 19 April 2010.
[370] Turgut. "Turkey Is a Regional Power".

Turkish parliament can be regarded as an indication of a well-operating parliamentary system. It is significant in terms of breaking the grounded image of Turkey in the Middle Eastern states as a 'servant' of the West, emanating from the Cold War years. On this matter, Baskın Oran argues that, after the incident, international media and public opinion, as well as several states, has given up treating Turkey as a 'mercenary', but appreciated the Turkish stance, and there emerged writings titled 'Turkish Parliament Rejects Bribe'.[371] As a foreign scholar thinking similarly, Dietrich Jung can be given as an example. Jung writes in his article that:

> Furthermore, the decision of the Turkish Parliament on 1 March 2003, not to allow the US to deploy combat troops on Turkish territory for the upcoming war in Iraq, contradicted the traditional image of the country as an instrument of American politics in the Middle East.[372]

Altunışık, as well, argues in a likely manner on the Tezkere crisis:

> Finally, the Turkish parliament's refusal to allow the U.S. to station its troops on Turkish soil to open a second front against Iraq increased Turkey's credibility in the Arab world. This decision challenged Turkey's image as a stooge of the U.S. in the region, and garnered respect for Turkey as an independent actor looking after its own interests.[373]

The civilianization of decision-making processes in domestic and foreign policy issues can also be presented as another example of increasing political maturity in Turkey. One of the most significant developments in this regard has been the changing status and composition of the National Security Council, which was

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[371] Oran. "Türkiye Kabuk Değiştirirken AKP'nin Dış Politikası".
[372] Dietrich Jung. "Turkey and the Arab World: Historical Narratives and New Political Realities", *Mediterranean Politics*, 10: 1 (2005), 13.
[373] Altunışık. "The Possibilities and Limits of Turkey's Soft Power in the Middle East", 49.

believed to determine the foreign policy actions of Turkey. In line with the demands of the European Union via its Copenhagen membership criteria, the civil-military relations in Turkey have been reorganized starting with the changes in the National Security Council. The process of reform in the council began well before the AKP term. For example, the number of civilian members was increased with the 2001 Constitutional amendments. Furthermore, "the NSC secretariat has been transformed into a consultative body that is no longer able to conduct national security investigations on its own initiative. The secretariat of the NSC is now deprived of its executive powers, such as "requesting reports from government agencies on how they were dealing with the threats for which the NSC had recommended specific measures'."[374] In addition to these changes, the balance between civil and military members of the council was further developed in favor of the civilians in 2003. Gencer Özcan comments on that issue as such:

> 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.[375]

Another instance showing the primacy of civilians over the military in decision-making processes has been witnessed when the EU began to prepare to take over the operation in Kosovo from the UN in 2007. The inclusion of the Greek Cypriot state into an EU-led operation that would utilize NATO assets created

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[374] Senem Aydın and Ali Çarkoğlu. "EU Conditionality and Democratic Rule of Law in Turkey".
[375] Gencer Özcan. "Facing its Waterloo in diplomacy: Turkey's military in the foreign policy-making process", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 40 (2009), 88-89.

tensions between the EU and NATO, on the one hand, and Turkey, on the other. On the matter of Cypriot contribution to the operation, there seems to be a convergence of opinion between the military and the government, both of which objected fiercely to the inclusion of Cyprus to the mission. However, there was disagreement over the Turkish contribution the EU mission inside the country. To quote from Müftüler-Baç and Gürsoy:

> The military believed that unless the dispute was settled, Turkey should not contribute to the EU mission. However, the government opposed the military's position. The civilian cabinet was concerned about the possibility that 'Turkey might be excluded from the international body which will for some time have a say in the administration of Kosovo' (Inanç 2008). As a result, the government decided to contribute to the EU's Kosovo mission.[376]

These developments can be given as signs of Turkey's obedience the accountability criterion necessitated by the governance system of the globalization. The appointment of civilians to critical posts regarding the security and foreign policy of Turkey and the fact that elected civilians taking the lead over appointed bureaucrats can be argued to increase the political maturity of the country.

4.2.2.3 Turkish Model in the AKP Era

This section has been added to present the ideas and comments on the 'Turkish Model', which combines the two elements mentioned above, the economic development and the political maturity.

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[376] Müftüler-Baç and Gürsoy. "Is there an Europeanization of Turkish Foreign Policy? An Addendum to the Literature on EU Candidates", 9.

Mario Zucconi is one of the scholars commenting on the 'Turkish Model'. According to Zucconi, "what ultimately makes today's Turkey into an attractive and useful model is the combination of political and economic development".[377] In the following pages, Zucconi explains his idea in detail by noting that: "In fact, it is even more its cultural consistency with those regions, its quality of advanced democracy (post secularist and non-ideological), and its extraordinary success story of modernization, Europeanization, and economic development that make Turkey into an attractive example [...]"[378]

The following remarks also show the resonance of the success story of Turkey in the neighboring regions. According to Paul Salem, the Director of the Carnegie Middle East Center:

> Turkey is the only country in the entire Middle East that has integrated with modernity. It has a functional and democratic political system, a productive economy, and has found workable balances between religion and secularism, faith and science, individual and collective identity, nationalism and rule of law, etc. No other country in the region, from Morocco through to Pakistan, has succeeded in this way.[379]

Dr. Mustafa Ellabbad is, also, reported to say that "Arab population is looking to Turkey now as the model for political progress, stability and development in economy and in society."[380]

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[377] Mario Zucconi. "The Impact of the EU Connection on Turkey's Domestic and Foreign Policy", *Turkish Studies*, 10: 1, (2009), 32.
[378] Zucconi. "The Impact of the EU Connection on Turkey's Domestic and Foreign Policy", 33.
[379] Paul Salem. "Could This be Turkey's Century in the Middle East?", *Al Hayat*, 29 October 2009.
[380] Turgut. "Turkey Is a Regional Power".

4.2.3 Beauty

The spread of the universally accepted values both inside and outside of the country by a state helps it to gain respect and attractiveness in the eyes of other countries. The whole idea behind 'beauty' as a soft power currency is this. Therefore, the adherence to universal values in domestic and foreign insttutions and relations by the AKP governments constitutes the first sub-section of this part. As an addition to the original idea, the popularity of one's cultural products has been introduced as a soft power currency as a result of the endeavor to combine Nye's soft power conception. Hence, the popularity of Turkish culture during the AKP period is the second element to be examined.

4.2.3.1 Adherence to Universal Values

The problems related with the inability of Turkish state to comply with the norms and values of the Western world have been mentioned in the previous chapter. It seems, however, that Turkey has taken a long way to embed these values into its domestic political and social life as well as its foreign dealings in the period of AKP governments.

4.2.3.1.1 Domestic Policies and Institutions

It can be said that the reforms undertaken by the AKP governments in order to meet the Copenhagen criteria for EU membership have contributed to the positive image of the country in its region. According to Bilgin, "reform packages on the rule of law, human rights, and the market economy were approved by parliament so as to

satisfy the Copenhagen Criteria. Between 2002 and 2004, 17 legal reform packages were passed."[381] According to Altunışık, "through new "Harmonization Packages" and amendments to the Constitution, freedom of thought, expression and assembly have been enhanced while new measures have been taken to prevent torture."[382] The following remarks will provide several examples on the reforms initiated during the AKP term.

> Turkey took giant steps in the direction of democratic consolidation through a series of major reforms, building upon the initiatives of the earlier administrations (involving such key steps as eliminating the death penalty) and dealing with its perennial Kurdish problems through a series of democratic openings that involved the extension of cultural and language rights to its citizens of Kurdish origin.[383]

As a result of these reforms, Turkey has become a country taken as an example by the other states in the region. On this matter, Balcı and Miş state by quoting from the speech of Prime Minister Erdoğan that: "Turkey is "a democratic, secular Republic, with a market economy … where the majority of the people are the Muslims" and a "source of inspiration for the peoples of the region that wish to see modernization, pluralism, democracy, the rule of law, fundamental rights and freedoms in their own countries"."[384] Similarly, Altunışık argues that: "At a time when almost all Arab governments are facing a crisis of governance and legitimacy, which is well-documented by successive Arab Human Development Reports of the

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[381] Bilgin. "Foreign Policy Orientation of Turkey's Pro-Islamist Parties: A Comparative Study of the AKP and Refah", 413.
[382] Altunışık. "The Possibilities and Limits of Turkey's Soft Power in the Middle East", 43-44.
[383] Öniş and Yılmaz. "Between Europeanization and Euro-Asianism: Foreign Policy Activism in Turkey during the AKP Era", 8.
[384] Balcı and Miş. "Turkey's Role in the Alliance of Civilizations: A New Perspective in Turkish Foreign Policy?", 399.

UNDP, Turkey's recent reform experiences have been largely seen as a source of inspiration, especially by the reformers in the region."[385]

It can be claimed the reformation process in Turkey has contradicted with the general tendencies emerging after the September 11 attacks, which do prioritize security over freedoms. This point makes the efforts of the AKP governments more meaningful. On this subject, Öniş and Yılmaz state that "The AKP's emphasis on democratization and the use of soft power is all the more striking in the post-September 11, 2001 context, during which there has been a significant shift away from democratization to "securitization" at the global level."[386]

4.2.3.1.2 Foreign Policies and Institutions

The internal reform process has manifested itself in the foreign policy of the Turkish state in several areas. First of all, Turkey has started to push other countries for reform by using the multilateral forums. The governing elite of the AKP have called for reform on several occasions. On this matter, Hakan Altınay writes that:

> The AKP leadership speaks about reform in the Muslim world with authority – and a level of unusual candor. This started with Minister of Foreign Affairs Gul's speech in Tehran for the OIC summit of June 2003 where he argued that the Muslim world has a depressing record in terms of freedoms, basic rights, gender equality and social rights. In ensuing meetings, he urged Muslim countries to undertake these reforms without using the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as a pretext for delay.[387]

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[385] Altunışık. "The Possibilities and Limits of Turkey's Soft Power in the Middle East", 44.
[386] Öniş and Yılmaz. "Between Europeanization and Euro-Asianism: Foreign Policy Activism in Turkey during the AKP Era", 8.
[387] Hakan Altınay. "Turkey's Soft Power: An Unpolished Gem or an Elusive Mirage?", *Insight Turkey*, 10:2 (2008), 61.

"The adoption of the İstanbul Declaration with its emphasis on the need to move towards greater democracy in the Muslim world in June 2004 by the OIC summit"[388] can also be considered as another Turkish attempt for introducing more reforms in the region.

In line with this, Turkey has shown its support for democratically elected leaders and emphasized that democracy should be deepened. The support of Turkish state to HAMAS emerges as the clearest illustration of this policy.

In addition, it can be maintained that the democratic reforms, inside, especially on the Kurdish issue, help Turkish government ease the pressures and accusations exerted upon it and resulted in a more consistent foreign policy stance. It is thought that the following explanations accurately indicate what is meant.

> In the 1990s Turkey often encountered the criticism of double standards, for example when it tried to promote the rights of the Bosnians against the Serbs at a time when the rights of its own Kurdish minorities were effectively repressed in the domestic sphere. In the new era, with the enlargement of cultural and civil rights in the domestic sphere, Turkey's proactive foreign policy moves appear to be more convincing and stand on firmer ground.[389]

Secondly, in line with the third methodological principle of Turkish foreign policy declared by Davutoğlu, i.e. 'the use of soft power', Turkey has continued to refrain from use of force in its relations with other countries. If Turkey is in a position to do so, it seeks international legitimacy. The most prominent example of this situation is the military incursions into Northern Iraq. Öniş and Yılmaz argue that "in fall 2007 Turkey favored diplomatic channels before resorting to unilateral

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[388] Kirişçi. "Turkey's Foreign Policy in Turbulent Times", 90.
[389] Öniş and Yılmaz. "Between Europeanization and Euro-Asianism: Foreign Policy Activism in Turkey during the AKP Era", 20.

power in the crisis in northern Iraq over the cross-border operations against PKK terrorists."[390] Müftüler-Baç and Gürsoy, also, comment on this issue almost identically. They write: "Military operations still continue, but Turkey seeks more multilateral backing in its efforts against the PKK, including demands from the US against the PKK camps in the region. It is significant that both before and after the military operations, Turkey has sought diplomatic solutions."[391] Similar remarks can also be found in one of Oğuzlu's articles. Oğuzlu argues:

> Noteworthy in this regard is the fact that Turkey first exploited all non-military options and worked to gain international legitimacy before undertaking the military operation.[392]

4.2.3.2 Popularity of Turkish Culture

One of the arguments put forward for the rising soft power during the AKP period is about the popularity of Turkish cultural products in the neighboring regions. Laçiner argues, for instance, that "Turkish cultural products are part of Turkish soft power".[393] In another article of him, Laçiner asserts that:

> Other soft power elements for Turkey are in media and culture fields. Turkish cultural products correspond to the needs of region. Turkish serial films have remarkable potential in particular, and the TV series Nour for example was in high demand throughout the region. Thanks to the Turkish cultural products many people in the region see Turkish way of life as a model.[394]

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[390] Öniş and Yılmaz. "Between Europeanization and Euro-Asianism: Foreign Policy Activism in Turkey during the AKP Era", 17.
[391] Müftüler-Baç and Gürsoy. "Is there an Europeanization of Turkish Foreign Policy? An Addendum to the Literature on EU Candidates", 14.
[392] H. Tarık Oğuzlu. "Turkey's Northern Iraq Policy: Competing Perspectives", *Insight Turkey*, 10:3 (2008), 18.
[393] MacKenzie. "'Turkish Soft Power Changes Middle East'".
[394] Laçiner. "Turkey's New Middle Eastern Approach".

The popularity of the TV series 'Gümüş' aired in the the pan-Arab satellite service MBC as Noor ("Light") can be understood clearly when it is reported that it turned out to be the most watched program in the history of Arab satellite TV. "According to MBC, the final episode was seen by 85 million viewers, including more than 51 million adult women. That's roughly half the total female population of the region".[395] In another article, Mustafa Akyol writes that polls have shown that 74 per cent of Saudi women have watched 'Noor'.[396] In addition, Akyol indicates an effect of these series upon the Saudi women by writing that:

> What is important is that in the series, Saudi women see a Muslim society in which young men and women, if they like each other, can go out on a date, sit on a bench near the sea, and hug each other while watching seagulls. These are unthinkable acts in the Saudi Kingdom, but their presence on the screen makes them thinkable dreams. Hence the cultural impact of the series, according to a poll by Ka Research Limited Company, has been to "promote the idea of individual freedom and independence among Saudi women."[397]

The success of Turkish film and music industry can also be presented as an illustration of the rising soft power of Turkey. The films of several Turkish directors such as Nuri Bilge Ceylan, Fatih Akın and Semih Kaplanoğlu have been awarded in various film festivals in Europe and the USA.[398] Furthermore, Turkish singers have been increasingly awarded in the various competitions across Europe. The success of Sertab Erener, who won the Eurovision Song Contest in 2003 with the song 'Every Way that I Can', has been followed by the band Athena, Kenan Doğulu and Hadise,

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[395] Martha Bayles. "Hearts and Minds:Soft Soap Power".
[396] Mustafa Akyol. "Turkey's soft power in the Arab world", *Hurriyet Daily News*, 30 April 2010.
[397] Akyol. "Turkey's soft power in the Arab world".
[398] Nuri Bilge Ceylan was awarded as the Best Director with his film, 'Üç Maymun (Three Monkeys)' at the 61th Cannes Film Festival in 2008. Fatih Akın, with his film, 'Duvara Karşı (Gegen die Wand)', won the "Best Film" and the "Audience Award" at the 2004 European Film Awards and the Golden Bear for Best Film at 54th Berlin International Film Festival in 2004. Very recently, Semih Kaplanoğlu has been given the Golden Bear award for his film, 'Bal (Honey)' in 2010.

who got the 4th place in the very same competition in 2004, 2007 and 2009 respectively. Similarly, Emre Aydın became the first in the MTV Europe Music Awards 2008 in the "Europe's Favorite Act" category. One year later, the Turkish band, maNga, got the Best European Act award in the MTV Europe Music Awards 2009. They, also, represented Turkey at the Eurovision Song Contest 2010 with the song "We Could Be the Same" and took second place.

Another development aimed at raising the popularity of Turkey in its environs is the launch of the first Turkish Arabic channel on 4 April 2010. One of the projections of such an increase in the popularity can be considered the speech of its director, Sefer Turan, who states that "TRT Arabic's main aim is to introduce Turkey to the Arabs "directly"."[399]

The important thing to note here is the process of turning this popularity into real influence in the region. On this subject, a voice from the region explains this situation very briefly. Dr. Ellabbad says that:

> For example, many Arab viewers are looking to Turkish TV series. It reflects that Turkey's soft power is very high now, so it is up to Turkey how to use its soft power to create stability and peace in the region, that is exactly why Turkey is favorite candidate to lead this region towards stability, economic development and peace.'[400]

4.3 Analysis

It can be deduced from the enormous analysis of Turkish foreign policy conducted by the AKP governments that soft power character of Turkish state has increased and strengthened. It appears to be right to conclude that when compared

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[399] Amira Howeidy. "Dateline Istanbul", *Al Ahram Weekly*, 994, 15 -21 April 2010.
[400] Turgut. "Turkey Is a Regional Power".

with the analysis of traditional Turkish foreign policy, covering almost 80 years, the soft power of Turkey during the AKP term in the last 8 years has augmented substantially. The success of the foreign policies followed by AKP governments is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, it can be argued that the visibility of soft power in Turkish foreign policy since 2002 has risen. It can also be maintained that this rise has been in conformity with the foreign policy outlook of the AKP and the principles emerging out of that broad setting.

When investigated in detail, the instances of the rising Turkish soft power can be summarized as such. Turkish state under the AKP rule has become very active in multilateral settings, in terms of formation of new organizations and of becoming more effective in the existing ones. Moreover, Turkish contribution to spreading the zone of peace in its neighboring regions via mediation and facilitation efforts and Turkish endeavor to help the needy countries through economic, technical and humanitarian assistances have tried to be augmented. The developments in the economy in terms of growth rates, GDP (gross domestic product), export rates, etc., and in the political life through democratization attempts have been considered as the successes of the Turkish state by other countries which think of taking Turkey as a model. Furthermore, the amelioration of the fundamental rights and freedoms inside the country and the promotion of such values in Turkey's surrounding regions together with the rising popularity of Turkish cultural products have been presented as a source of inspiration for other countries. All of these factors have contributed to the soft power of Turkey during the AKP term. Nevertheless, these are not said to give all credits to the AKP governments. In other words, the current level of Turkish soft power has not solely been achieved by the AKP leadership, but it is reached through the accumulation of past experiences and developments.

The impact of the Europeanization process should also be considered in this regard. When closely examined, the AKP governments activities such as the utilization of a foreign policy style emphasizing the use of non-military, diplomatic means and the betterment of domestic conditions in terms of economy and politics can already be taken into account as the requirements of the prospective European Union accession. To put it differently, the transformation process of Turkey in order to meet the Copenhagen membership criteria on the way to EU is very likely to have a significant impact in the adoption and implementation of soft power policies by the Turkish state. Therefore, it can be argued that Turkey has been pursuing a soft power policy as a result of the requirements of the EU membership and that if there has not been such a projection of Turkey, Turkey may not have been acting as a soft power state. The following remarks of Eleni Fotioua and Dimitrios Triantaphyllou seem to support this argument:

> Turkey's European Union bid has deeply affected its political identity in terms of democratic opening, the enhancement of a cooperative culture, and an increase in the participation levels of civil society. Turkish political culture is moving from what Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba defined as ''parochial'' to a more ''participatory'' model; this may entail the transformation of Turkish foreign policy from the use of hard power to the adoption of soft power patterns depending on diplomacy and culture to achieve their goals in the liberal idealist vein.[401]

In addition to the internal changes, the perception of Turkey by other states, especially the Muslim ones, can also be argued to change in a positive manner due to the possible EU accession. On this matter, Zucconi writes that:

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[401] Eleni Fotioua and Dimitrios Triantaphyllou. "Assessing Turkey's "Soft Power" Role: Rhetoric versus Practice", *The International Spectator*, 45: 1 (2010), 100.

[…] others find Turkey's relations with it a promising, important development. Syria, after its rapprochement with Ankara, counts on reaping benefits from its neighbor's accession. Morocco, itself interested in possible formal ties with the Union (a formal application for membership by Rabat was turned down by the European Council in 1997), is eager to see Turkey breaking the barrier of a Muslim country entering that institution.[402]

Similarly Dietrich Jung points out the rising prestige of Turkey in the Arab world with the following sentences:

In the light of Turkey's EU accession process, the image of the country among its Arab neighbors could change from it being seen as an "instrument" of western interests to it being recognized as a respected partner in EU-Middle East relations.[403]

To sum up, Turkish state has had some degree of soft power before the AKP' coming to power as stated in the previous chapter. What the AKP governments have done in this vein is that Turkish efforts to play the role of a soft power by presenting the country as an attraction center through its domestic and foreign policy activities, its successes and its cultural assets have been intensified under the AKP governments which have succeeded in benefiting from the EU accession process on this endeavor.

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[402] Zucconi. "The Impact of the EU Connection on Turkey's Domestic and Foreign Policy", 32.
[403] Dietrich Jung. "Turkey and the Arab World: Historical Narratives and New Political Realities", *Mediterranean Politics*, 10: 1 (2005), 13.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In this study, soft power in Turkish foreign policy has been discussed in a comparative manner by dividing the history of Turkish Republic into two phases, before the AKP era, 1923-2002, and during the AKP era, 2002-2009, according to the refined theory of soft power presented. When the issues discussed in the respective chapters are reviewed, the following conclusions can be drawn.

As a result of the discussions made in the second chapter, it can be argued that the soft power theory presented originally by Joseph Nye Jr. has emerged specifically in the American context and it has not provided a universally valid theory applicable to all cases. Furthermore, it has been problematic in terms of the definition and sources of soft power. Rather than providing a specific definition of soft power, Nye chooses to exemplify it by giving the examples of the wielding of soft power. Also, even though Nye counts three sources of soft power, which accounts for the production of attraction, he does not provide the process in which these sources are made ready for implementation. In other words, Nye does not explain how the attraction is gained. Therefore, it can be argued that Nye's theory of soft power is both hard to apply for the examination of soft power of other countries due to its heavily American approach and it is partly flawed since it does not

adequately explain the crux of the issue of soft power, i.e., the production of attraction, owing to the practical approach he has adopted. Hence, a refined theory of soft power has been aimed to be presented at the concluding section of the chapter. The newly-created theory has been constituted by combining the views of several scholars reached through the literature review about soft power theory. In the proposed theory, it is mainly argued that soft power is the ability of one state to reach the outcomes it wants in a co-optive manner which heavily depends on the perceptions of other states on the capabilities and the actions of the power-holder state. What is meant by the co-option is that the power-holder state does not have to resort to any threats or inducements, but it gets its desires realized due to the fact that power-exerted states find it appropriate to act in accordance as they are admired by the attractiveness of the power-holder, or as they see the actions legitimate and credible, or they believe that they share the same values and norms with the power-holder. On the issue of production of attraction, the conceptualization and operationalization provided by Alexander Vuving has been utilized, since it is thought that it would serve better for the objectives of the current study. Vuving introduces three power currencies that create soft power and these are benignity, including the foreign policy actions of the states and the approach adopted in foreign dealings; brilliance, which accounts for the accomplishments of a state in terms of economy, politics, military, science and technology and many other fields; and beauty, which comprises the values, ideals, visions represented and advocated by a state. As a modest addition to this categorization of power currencies, popular culture has been added as an item under the beauty section. In this context, the analysis of soft power in Turkish foreign policy has been based on this theoretical approach. In other words, Turkish foreign policy has been analyzed through the lenses of three

power currencies of benignity, brilliance and beauty. Under the benignity section, the multilateral relations of Turkish state, the adoption of a peaceful foreign policy and the peace promotion attempts, and lastly the economic and humanitarian assistance efforts have been examined. The items that have been discussed under the brilliance include the economic development, the political maturity, the military strength and the 'Turkish model'. The beauty section comprises of the adherence to universal values in domestic and foreign spheres and the popular culture.

As a result of the study based on the research of these elements in Turkish foreign policy history, it can be concluded that Turkey has had some degree of soft power before the AKP came to power in 2002. The foreign policy understanding, approach, practices and methods of Turkish state have shown the characteristics of a soft power state resorting to foreign policy strategies using co-optive methods. It can be claimed that the main determinants of Turkish foreign policy and the principles coming out of that broad setting has played the most significant role in granting such a role for Turkish state. When examined respectively, all of the three determinants, the Ottoman heritage, the geographical location and the Kemalist ideology, have called for a modest and peaceful foreign policy for Turkish state. Throughout the period from 1923 to 2002, Turkey, in most cases, has avoided from utilizing command and coaxing strategies aimed at threatening or inducing other states in its foreign relations. Instead, Turkey has shown its willingness to co-opt with other states by adopting of a non-aggressive stance, by respecting the universally valid norms and practices, by searching for the attainment of legitimacy and credibility in the eyes of others. At the same time, Turkey has played an initiatory role in various multilateral settings and has tried to contribute to the regional and international peace and stability through mediation efforts, economic and humanitarian aid programs.

The domestic reformation of the country according to the Western model in line with the ideals of the founding fathers of the Republic has placed Turkey as a successful example for a number of other countries especially in the immediate aftermath of the establishment of the Republic and in the early 1990s. However, soft power of Turkey has been hampered by various factors during the period under investigation in the chapter three. First of all, the cases in which Turkey resorted to use of force or threatened to do so have damaged the image of Turkey as a peace-loving country. It can be claimed that Cyprus problem and the unease relations with Greece come first in this regard. The problems with the Middle Eastern neighbors of the country, namely Syria and Iraq, in the mid-1950s and in the 1990s worsened the situation. Secondly, on the contrary to the initial expectations about the success of Turkish reformation process, Turkey has not been able to reach the level of a developed country in economic and political terms, despite some level of accomplishment. The country has experienced serious economic crises, the industrial base of the country could not been established on firm grounds. In terms of the politics, the relatively late transition to multi-party democracy and the interruptions to civilian rule with three military takeovers are among the factors that have been influential in preventing Turkey to represent a successful example for other countries. Thirdly, Turkish state has not been in a position to promote values and norms in a staunch manner due to the internal problems it has been facing in those years. The poor record of Turkey in terms of both human rights and the achievement of a peaceful multicultural society can be given as instances signaling that Turkey has been far from being admired by other countries for respecting these values in its own domestic practices.

As a result of the discussions about soft power in Turkish foreign policy under the AKP governments made in the fourth chapter, it can be concluded that soft power of Turkish state has augmented significantly with the AKP's coming to power in 2002. It comes with no surprise that such an increase is in conformity with the foreign policy understanding of the AKP and the AKP governments which has been outlined by the writings of Ahmet Davutoğlu. Davutoğlu, himself, points out the use of a new method, style in the conduct of Turkish foreign policy, which he calls Soft Power, as one of the methodological principles guiding Turkish foreign policy. It can be said that Davutoğlu utilizes this concept for the strategies rejecting the use of hard power, in other words, military power. His statement that "No Turkish leaders have used any terminology in any plane that has threatened the use of hard power"[404] can be argued to prove that argument. The other principles mentioned by Davutoğlu can also be argued to provide support to the increasing soft power in Turkish foreign policy. For example, the 'zero problems with the neighbors' principle has called for a peaceful foreign policy towards the neighbors of Turkey. Similarly, 'the proactive and pre-emptive peace diplomacy principle' illustrates the willingness of Turkey to expand the zone of peace in its region and in the world. What is important in this regard is that these principles have not remained in paper, but have turned into the policies followed by Turkish state. In terms of benignity, one of the power currencies for the production of attraction, especially, Turkey can be said to show a great performance under the AKP government. Turkey not only have initiated a number of new multilateral institutions, but also increased its effectiveness in the existing ones. Turkey has altered its stance towards its neighbors with whom it has problematic relations especially towards Armenia, Syria and Cyprus and taken up a conciliatory

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[404] Ahmet Davutoğlu. "Principles of Turkish Foreign Policy", Address by H.E. Foreign Minister of Republic of Turkey Ahmet Davutoğlu at the SETA Foundation on December 8, 2009.

approach aimed at solving the bilateral issues through dialogue. In addition, Turkey has increased its mediation efforts and tried to provide good offices between various conflicting states for the long term resolution of conflicts in a peaceful manner. Turkey has turned out to be regarded as a donor country as a result of the increasing amount of economic and humanitarian aid it has provided to the needy countries. The attractiveness of Turkish state in the sense of brilliance and beauty has also increased during the tenure of the AKP. The economic situation has become stronger and, now Turkey has been pointed out to be located in the top-20 economies of the world. In terms of the political maturity, as well, Turkish state has achieved a lot in the recent years. The coming of a political party with Islamist roots, like the AKP, into the power has been perceived as a sign of the political development in Turkey. At the same time, the Tezkere crisis of March 1, 2003 has been given as an example of a functioning parliamentary democracy. The same event has, also, helped the destruction of the image of Turkey as 'the pious servant of the interests of the West' in the neighboring countries. The changing of the balances in the civil-military relations in favor of the civilians has also been considered as the development of political culture in Turkey. These developments in the economic and political domains have generally been commented on to signify the attractiveness of 'Turkish model' in the recent years especially in the Arab lands and in the Middle East. At the same time, Turkey has ameliorated its performance in respecting universal values and promoting them via various opportunities. The success of cultural products, recently, have been also been presented as one of the indicators of rising soft power of Turkish state.

One of the recent surveys conducted by TESEV (Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı; Turkish Foundation on Economic and Social Studies) on the

issue of Turkish perception in the Middle East seems to confirm the points mentioned in the previous paragraph. According to the survey conducted in seven Middle Eastern countries, namely Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, and Syria, Turkey has a positive image in these countries by 75 per cent and it comes second after the Saudi Arabia, which is regarded positively by 80 per cent, in this regard.[405] Similarly, Turkish government is believed to behave in a friendly manner towards these countries with a percentage of 78 among the interviewed people.[406] Turkey is thought to be able to suggest a model for these countries by 61 per cent of the interviewed people in these countries as well.[407] The experience of Turkey in terms of combining the elements of Islam and democracy is perceived to be successful the 63 per cent of the people in these countries.[408]

Nevertheless, the increasing weight of soft power in Turkish foreign policy should not be attributed to the AKP governments only. It should be remembered from the analysis of the third chapter that Turkey already had some degree of soft power before the AKP took office. What the AKP governments have accomplished is that they have intensified the use of soft power strategies in the foreign dealings of Turkey and have strengthened the attractiveness of Turkish state through the reforms they have been introducing since the beginning of their term. In this regard, the impact of Europeanization process should be taken into account. It is highly likely that the increasing use of soft power strategies and the rising attractiveness of the Turkish experiences have been realized as a direct outcome of the Europeanization process that the country has been undergoing since the 1999 Helsinki Summit during

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[405] Mensur Akgün, Gökçe Perçinoğlu and Sabiha Senyücel Gündoğar. 'Orta Doğu'da Türkiye Algısı (Turkish perception in the Middle East)', *TESEV Yayınları, Dış Politika Analiz Serisi 10*, (December 2009), 11.

[406] Akgün, Perçinoğlu and Gündoğar. 'Orta Doğu'da Türkiye Algısı', 19.

[407] Akgün, Perçinoğlu and Gündoğar. 'Orta Doğu'da Türkiye Algısı', 21.

[408] Akgün, Perçinoğlu and Gündoğar. 'Orta Doğu'da Türkiye Algısı', 22.

which Turkey was announced as a 'candidate country' eligible for European Union membership. The argument that various signs of increasing Turkish soft power have been gathered in the coalition government, in which İsmail Cem was the Foreign Minister, serving before the elections in 2002 seems to be convincing in this vein.

As could be seen above, the soft power in Turkish foreign policy under the AKP governments have significantly increased according to the criteria set by the suggested theory of soft power in the related chapter. However, the current level of Turkish soft power should be assessed by taking the accumulation of the past experiences, i.e., the existing soft power culture before the AKP period, and the Europeanization process into account.

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